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THE
HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE:
WITH AN
ACCOUNT OF THE DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE;

AND A
VIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY,
FROM THE
RISE OF THE MODERN KINGDOMS TO THE PEACE
OF PARIS, IN 1763;

IN A
SERIES OF LETTERS FROM A NOBLEMAN TO HIS SON.

NEW EDITION,
CONTINUED TO THE DEATH OF WILLIAM IV. OF ENGLAND.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE.

PART III.

FROM THE PEACE OF PARIS, IN 1763, TO THE TREATY OF
AMIENS, IN 1802—(*Continued.*)

LETTER XI.

*History of Europe in general, with the Exception of Great
Britain and France, from the Year 1787 to 1793.*

AT the time of the revolution in favour of the stadt-holder, there seemed to be a prospect of a few years of peace, if not of durable tranquillity. France, Spain, and Great Britain, were desirous of repairing the mischiefs and losses attendant on the late war. The Austrian potentate and the czarina were indeed fond of power and dominion, and looked with an eye of avidity at the European provinces of the tottering empire of Turkey; but they had no wish to *precipitate* hostilities. The king of Prussia was more addicted to pleasure than to war; and he was of opinion that the terrors of a strong confederacy would secure the Porte against an attack.

The hopes of peace, however, were transitory and delusive. The pompous procession of Catharine into the Crimea, her conferences with Joseph, and the journey of her ambassador Bulgakoff from Constantinople to meet her at Cherson, alarmed the grand signor. The connexions of France with Russia, and the

adjustment of a treaty of commerce, granting to the subjects of Louis such advantages as had long been exclusively enjoyed by the English, strengthened the suspicion of danger. The British and Prussian ministers insinuated to the sultan, that the empress had detached the French court from his interest, and would probably soon attack him, in concert with the ambitious Joseph. Thus (says Ségur) mere appearances were mistaken for realities, and actual war arose from the apprehension of it ¹.

The encroachments of the Russians, on the rights of the Porte and its vassal provinces, had been the subjects of repeated expostulation; and when Catharine began to find that the grand signor had a serious intention of taking arms, she promised to desist from her pretensions, and remove all grounds of offence. Bulgakoff, with Ségur and the Austrian envoy Herbert, concerted a plan of accommodation; but, as it did not include a resignation of all authority over the Crimea, and as the divan did not entertain a favourable opinion of the honour or the sincerity of the czarina, Aug. 24, war was declared in form, and preparations were made 1787. with extraordinary alacrity for its commencement and prosecution. The people blamed the government for not having arrested the progress of Catharine in the Crimea, or obstructed her arrogant and vain-glorious triumph. They called for vengeance upon an enemy whose ambition was never at rest, and who evidently aimed at the dismemberment of the Turkish empire.

Although the empress was thus hurried into a war when she wished to remain at peace, she resolved to face the storm with spirit. Prince Potemkin encouraged her with hopes of success, and boasted that he would quickly humble the pride of the crescent. A manifesto was issued, accusing the Porte of Sept. 13. a general disregard to the faith of treaties, and of a particular wish to annul all conventions subsequent to the treaty of Kainargi; imputing to the rash ministers of the grand signor the whole blame of hostilities; and prognosticating the triumph of the Russian arms in a cause of justice and of self-defence.

Soon after the declaration of war, the Turks commenced hostilities near Kinburn, where Souvoroff then commanded. They fiercely bombarded that town; and five thousand men, selected from the garrison of Oczakoff, began to form trenches for a siege. Being attacked while they were thus employed, they fought bravely, and were on the point of overwhelming the Russians;

¹ *Histoire des principaux Evénemens du Règne de Frederic Guillaume*, chap. 3.

but the latter being seasonably reinforced, cut off about four-fifths of the party, and Kinburn was saved.

The alarmed adherents of the Porte were also employed in desultory actions in other parts of Tartary. The Sheik Mansour appeared within the Russian frontiers at the head of seven thousand men; and three conflicts ensued, in all of which the troops of the empress had the advantage.

It was the opinion of the Turkish cabinet, that the emperor of Germany would only take part in the war as an auxiliary; but it soon appeared that this prince intended to act with vigour as a principal. He ordered four armies to be prepared for action, and eagerly looked forward to a participation of the spoils of Turkey. He had no sense of gratitude for the forbearance of the Turks, at a time when their arms, added to those of the formidable enemies of his mother, might have decisively turned the scale against the house of Austria; and he resolved to take advantage of the declining state of their empire. He even began the war with an act of treachery. General Alvinzi, tutored by a prince whose ambition overpowered his sense of honour, silently crossed the Save at night with a select body of infantry, Dec. 2. and waited for the arrival of another corps at the confluence of that river with the Danube. The expected troops not appearing, the general awkwardly apologized to the governor of Belgrade for his freedom in approaching the town, and hastily retired within the Austrian confines¹. An attempt was afterwards made to surprise Gradisca; but the Turks were ready to A.D. receive the assailants, who were repelled with loss. 1788.

When Joseph thought proper to declare war, he did not pretend to affirm that any injuries or provocations had Feb. 10. been offered to himself or his subjects: he merely alleged that he was bound to assist his ally, who had made fair proposals of accommodation, and who was willing to adhere to treaties, which the grand signor was determined to violate. He affected to lament the failure of his negotiatory endeavours, and to think that he deserved success for the rectitude of his conduct.

He endeavoured to rouse the Italian powers to a sense of the expediency of opposing the irreconcilable enemies of Christianity. Venice he particularly wished to draw into the confederacy, that her ports might be at the command of Russia: but the republic withstood all the attempts to make her a belligerent power. Genoa promised to gratify the Russians with the use of her har-

¹ Coxe's *History of the House of Austria*, vol. ii. chap. 49.

bours, without embarking in the war. None of the states of Europe, indeed, would join the imperial confederates in hostility. On the contrary, there was reason to apprehend that some powers would oppose them with spirit.

Being desirous of witnessing the exertions of his troops, the emperor exchanged the peaceful scenes of his capital for the turmoils and dangers of the camp. He assisted at the siege of Schabatz, where, after the town had been taken by assault, the garrison surrendered bravely defended. Th by a breach, were dr being reinforced in destroyed the works : at ns, and compelled them to raise the siege¹.

Yusef, the grand v time encamped near Silistria, with an intention ly on the defensive. In the meanwhile, various between detached parties; and much blood was purpose. It was expected that the siege of Belgrade would be formed without delay; and, indeed, such preparations and dispositions were made as seemed to threaten that fortress. For the protection of so important a frontier town, the vizir advanced into Servia, and took an advantageous station, with his left extending to the Save, and his right to New Orsova. The emperor now fortified his camp at Semlin, and contented himself with employing his troops in partial and desultory engagements.

The seeming want of vigour in the Austrian army, encouraged the Turks to rush into the territory of Temeswar, where they attacked the troops stationed near Old Orsova, and slew about four thousand men. They afterwards made an attempt to storm the heights of Mehadia, where general Wartensleben was posted; but they were so warmly opposed, that they retreated in confusion, after a considerable diminution of their number. Another attempt was also frustrated; but the assailants at length accomplished their purpose².

Alarmed at this irruption, and hearing also of an invasion of Transylvania, Joseph left thirty thousand men at Semlin, and hastened with a more numerous army to the valley of Caransebes, where he was joined by Wartensleben, who had retired from Mehadia without suffering any great loss. He now called a council of war, and was advised by all the staff-officers, except

¹ *Annual Register*, vol. XXX.

² *London Gazette* for September, 1788, and also for October.

Lacy, to risk a general engagement: but he disregarded this advice, and exposed himself to the mortifying insults of the infidels, who, having erected batteries on some commanding eminences, cannonaded and bombarded his camp for two days without an hour's intermission, and endeavoured, by a bold manœuvre, to outflank him. He baffled all their efforts for this purpose; but the menaces and movements of the enemy induced him to order a retreat, which was so ill-conducted as to be disgraceful to the Austrian arms. Many of his soldiers were killed in the night, in a conflict between parties that mistook each other for the foe; others were cut off by the pursuers; and, when the fugitive prince reached Lugos, four thousand of his men no longer appeared. The army then returned to Semlin, and a partial armistice was concluded ^{Sept. 21.} ¹.

An army of Austrians and Russians, acting on the frontiers of Poland, invested Choczim, and soon destroyed a great part of the town: but the garrison, even amidst the horrors of famine, defended the place above two months, and then procured honourable terms. The success of the prince of Saxe-Cobourg on this occasion, did not sufficiently console Joseph for the disgrace of his principal army. The fatigues which he had shared with the meanest soldier,—his exposure at one time to oppressive heat, and at another to the pernicious exhalations of marshes,—that activity of mind which encroaches on the time that ought to have been appropriated to repose,—and the agitation of anxious feelings,—produced a fever which irreparably injured his health. ^{Sept. 29.}

In moments of chagrin, he complained that he had not been properly supported by the Russians; but their exertions against the Turks were obstructed by the bold operations of a new adversary, which occasioned a diversion of force unfavourable to the execution of the great plan of conquest projected by the two imperial courts.

The king of Sweden had offered his mediation between Russia and the Porte; and when the empress, who perhaps did not think him sincere in the offer, had contemptuously rejected it, he was encouraged by the king of Prussia and the grand signor to attack a princess who viewed him with an unfriendly eye, who had endeavoured to excite discontent in his realm, and whose power aroused his jealousy and apprehension. Conceiving that the time was favourable for such a war, he made both naval and military preparations, and privately informed the Danish court

¹ *London Gazette.*—Coxe's *History*.

...on his departure
soon followed in Finland. The Swedes
and pretended to threaten even the Ru
of Sudermania, brother to Gustavus, b
of the line in quest of the fleet which Ac
consisting of seventeen ships of that desc
much greater weight of metal. The Ru
the wind before it subsided into a com
engagement arose¹, near the isle of Ek
was the capture of a ship by each party.
on both sides, each claimed the victory.
flict off Sweaborg, the Russians had ob
and they maintained their superiority to 1

The king's hopes of military success w
affection of many of his officers, who, al
right to involve the nation in war witho
states of the realm, refused to obey his ord
the campaign. He was also thwarted in l
sition of the prince of Denmark, whom he
join him, and who ordered Prince Charl
invade Sweden on the side of Norway, in c
of alliance which had been concluded long
of Petersburg. The empress at the same
the force which she had sent against the T
embarrassed, that he scarcely knew how to

A Russian fleet had been intended for tl
the refusal of Great Britain and U. S.

life, and unwilling to interfere on this occasion. His eldest son Philip having been declared incapable of reigning, on account of an extraordinary deficiency of intellect, his second son Charles succeeded him before the close of the year¹. The father of these two princes did not possess a strong mind or a cultivated understanding: but, if he displayed not the illumination of genius, he exhibited occasional gleams of good sense. Charles IV., by the advice of his ministers, refused to take any steps against the empress; and the queen of Portugal was equally disposed to be neutral.

In the Euxine a *flotilla* was equipped by the czarina, who intrusted it to the command of the prince of Nassau Siegen. A naval engagement occurred in the summer near Oczakoff. The capitan-pasha, with fifty-seven small vessels, bore down upon the prince of Nassau, who, not dismayed by the great superiority of the Turkish fleet in point of number, and disregarding the advantage which his adversary derived from a leading wind, fought with such spirit for five hours, that the Turks were glad to escape to their grand fleet, after six of their vessels had been burned, and two captured. About two thousand of their number fell in the engagement; while the Russians did not lose two hundred and fifty. In another conflict, Hassan lost three thousand men; one of his ships of the line, and two frigates, were taken; three sail of the line blew up, and other serious damage was sustained. In two subsequent actions, some frigates and galleys were burned, and others captured².

At an advanced part of the season, a numerous army of Russians advanced from the banks of the Bog, to the investment of Oczakoff, with a formidable train of heavy artillery. The siege was superintended by Prince Potemkin, who left it, ^{Aug. 29.} however, to be conducted by his lieutenants. As provisions could not easily be found for so great an army, many of the besiegers were enfeebled by the want of sufficient nourishment; and extreme cold concurred with scarcity to send a considerable number prematurely to the grave. Observing that the weakest part of the place was on the side of the Liman, the prince ^{Dec. 17.} gave orders for an assault, when access was facilitated by the strength of the ice; and the grenadiers and chasseurs selected for the service forced their way into the town, after a long contest on the ramparts. The conflict was continued with vigour in the streets; and the Russians lost about four thousand

¹ On the 13th of December.

² *Histoire des Campagnes de Suworow*, tome ii.

eight hundred men on the occasion, while the Turks lost thrice that number. Many of the inhabitants were put to the sword by the fierce assailants, who rioted for three days in carnage, rapine, and debauchery¹.

St. Nicholas, the guardian saint of the Russian empire, received the solemn thanks of the conquerors of Oczakoff for the success with which they were gratified on the day appropriated to his honour; and the empress was so pleased with her new acquisition, that she in it as a valuable frontier town, useful also for poses. She rewarded the prince with a liberal nferred on him the dignity of hetman of the Coss officer who had any concern in the enterprise recei. r bounty and regard.

Her Swedish adviser the camp in Finland, had returned to Stockholm, to the loyalty of the citizens against the disaffection and officers. To their protection he committed d they took measures for putting the capital in defence. The king then hastened into the province of Dalecarlia, to rouse the inhabitants against the Danes. He was soon joined by three thousand of their number; but they were ill-armed and undisciplined. A Danish army now appeared on the Swedish frontiers, and seized Stromstadt; and Gothenborg was only saved by the opportune arrival of the king. Sweden, however, was still so far endangered by this invasion, that Great Britain, Prussia, and the states-general, thought proper to interpose. Here it may be observed, that the first of these powers, after the renewal of connexion with Holland, had agreed to a treaty of confederacy with the court of Berlin, which had also formed an alliance with the states. Mr. Hugh Elliot hastened to the seat of war, and declared in the names of the allies, that Denmark should be attacked, if the operations against Sweden should be continued. The prince royal, who accompanied the army, now reluctantly agreed to a truce, which was repeatedly prolonged. Gustavus, though rescued from peril, did not seem pleased with an armistice which precluded the gratification of his vengeance.

A.D. 1700. A diet being convoked by the offended king, he demanded the punishment of the chief-malcontents. The order of nobility, instead of gratifying him, seceded from the assembly; while the other three bodies of the diet, although they did not consent in form to all his wishes, suffered him to im-

¹ *Vie de Catherine II par Castéra, tome ii.—Histoire des Campagnes de Suède, tome ii.*

prison a great number of nobles and officers, suppress the senate, and exercise an absolute authority. The nobles were soon liberated: but some of the disobedient officers were punished with death¹.

The forces of the grand signor commenced a new campaign with a mixture of hope and anxiety. In various skirmishes, they acted with an appearance of spirit; but the loss of his best troops enfeebled the operations of the survivors. The vizir, in compliance with the wishes of the people, had been subjected to a trial for his evacuation of the territory of Temeswar, and his supposed neglect of the defence of Oczakoff; but, being acquitted, he was allowed to resume the command of the army. He was highly esteemed by the sultan; but he now lost his imperial friend, who died in an apoplectic fit. April 7.

Selim, who was now enthroned, did not immediately follow the example of his uncle; for he marked the beginning of his reign with acts of cruelty and rapacity. He put the vizir to death, and seized his immense property; and other individuals fell victims to his inhuman caprice or his insatiate avidity. As Selim was not inclined to sue for peace, he sent a new vizir to open the campaign; but neither this commander nor the other generals were successful in their operations. The Russians obtained a victory near the Sereth, in Moldavia; and, in Walachia they ably and effectually co-operated with the Austrians. The prince of Saxe-Cobourg, being joined by Souvoroff, advanced against the Turkish camp near Focksani. His right wing engaged and routed a numerous body of cavalry; and the left met with similar success. The assailants of the camp were exposed July 21. to a furious cannonade; but, the artillery not being well served, they scarcely felt its effects, and soon forced the entrenchments by the use of the bayonet. The fortified convent of St. Samuel was afterwards attacked. A powder-magazine within the building exploded, with the loss of many lives; but the defence was protracted by the spirit of the commandant. The gate being forced, the confederates put the garrison to the sword. Another convent was stormed by an Austrian battalion, and two-thirds of its defenders were massacred. About two thousand Turks were killed in this engagement. The spoils of the camp, and the stores in the convents, were valuable; and the victory was hailed as a retrieval of the honour of the Austrian arms².

¹ *Annual Register*, vol. XXXI.

² *Histoire des Campagnes du Comte Alexander Suworow Rymnikski*, tome ii. chap. 3.

When Souvoroff had retired toward the Pruth, the grand vizir took the opportunity of entering Walachia, in the hope of crushing the prince's army. The Russian general, apprised of the danger which threatened the Austrians, hastened to rejoin them; and he advised their commander to anticipate the enemy's intentions by immediate attack. The Russians, whose number did not exceed seven thousand five hundred, were arranged in three lines, as were also the Austrians, whose force consisted of twenty thousand men. The former commenced the conflict by rushing
Sept. 22. upon a body of Janisaries who were mounted *en croupe* behind the Spahis, and who, instantly leaping down fought for an hour before they were put to flight. At the post of Tyrkogukuli, twelve thousand Turks were quickly thrown into confusion; and, at the same time, the pasha Osman, who with five thousand Spahis had turned the left wing of the Russians, could not secure himself against a sanguinary repulse. Near Bochsá the prince encountered the vizir; but he was in frequent danger of being overpowered, and repeatedly summoned Souvoroff to his aid. The count at length opportunely reached the spot where the Austrians were bravely combating; and, preventing the attempts of the enemy to turn his right wing, advanced to the entrenchments in front of a wood. The allies now leaped over the fosses and parapets, stormed the post, pursued the Turks with vigour, and killed almost every one whom they overtook¹.

About eight thousand of the fugitives were drowned in the Rymna and the Buseo; and seven thousand others fell in the battle and the pursuit. The whole Turkish army exceeded eighty thousand men, the majority of whom abandoned the vizir after his defeat. The victors are said to have lost only two hundred and seven men; and even their wounded, it is affirmed, were only four hundred and ten; but such a statement is not altogether credible.

So great a victory filled the Austrian and Russian courts with joy. The emperor conferred on Souvoroff the dignity of count of the Holy Roman Empire; and the czarina sent to each of the commanders a sword enriched with diamonds. The soldiers were publicly praised for their gallant efforts, and rewarded with pecuniary presents.

¹ *Campagnes de Suworow*, tome ii. chap. 5.—By the Austrians this is called the battle of Martinesti. Mr. Tooke speaks of this engagement as a different battle from that which took place near the Rymna; an error arising from that blind and hasty mode of compilation which is too evident in his *Life of Catharine*.

Before this engagement signalized the campaign, Laudohn, having taking Gradisca, had invested Belgrade; and he carried on his operations with such vigour, that all the outworks were taken much sooner than the besiegers expected. The body of the place, being very strong, was capable of enduring a longer siege than it actually sustained: but the dispirited governor, not considering it as defensible against the formidable artillery and determined spirit of the enemy, soon surrendered it, ^{Oct. 8.} when honourable terms were offered to him.

In other quarters the Turkish arms were likewise unsuccessful. Hassan, the distinguished naval commander, who had also acquired laurels in Egypt by subduing the refractory beys, assumed the direction of a considerable military force in Bessarabia, and encountered at Tobak the princes Potemkin and Repnin: but he was defeated in spite of all his exertions. Bender and other strong towns in that province were afterwards reduced by the Russians, while their allies gained possession of the Walachian capital ¹.

Gustavus, who was aided by pecuniary supplies from the grand signor, had renewed hostilities in Finland, and obtained an advantage over the Moscovites in a very fierce engagement. On another occasion, his troops also remained masters of the field: but he was afterwards driven back within his own frontiers. His brother met a hostile fleet on its way from Revel to join another squadron; but he could neither bring on a close encounter, nor prevent the intended junction. When the king had again entered Russian Finland, he was attended along the coast by a flotilla, which, being attacked by the prince of Nassau, could not effectually resist his superior force. The Swedes were also harassed by land; and the hopes of Gustavus were again frustrated.

While the emperor exulted in the general success of the campaign, the state of affairs in the Netherlands seriously alarmed him. The innovating spirit of that prince was highly displeasing to his Belgic subjects. The different provinces had long enjoyed distinct privileges, which Great Britain and Holland had guaranteed, after the conquest of the country in the reign of queen Anne. Joseph had bound himself to the support of the constitution of each province; but, having exalted ideas of prerogative, he thought himself at liberty to make any alterations on pretence of improvement. He formed nine territorial divisions, and ordered a new government to take place in each, superseding the power of the

¹ Coxe's *History of the House of Austria*, vol. ii. chap. 49.

states, or provincial representatives¹. In lieu of the university of Louvain, he instituted a new theological seminary, exempt from hierarchical control, and subject to the direction of foreigners. By these and other ordinances he disgusted all ranks of the community, and excited such clamours as portended a revolt.

Joseph was proceeding to Cherson, to confer with his Russian ally, when he received intelligence of the forcible suppression of his seminary at Louvain, of the eruption of tumults in other towns, and of the general demand for a redress of grievances. After his return to his capital, he was informed that the people had actually taken up arms against his authority, and intimidated the ruling power at Brussels into submission; and that prince Kaunitz had pledged himself for the redress of all grievances. Condemning the weakness of his minister, he declared that he would enforce his schemes of reform; and, sending troops to the Netherlands, ordered the states to intimate their wishes by a deputation, and submit to his control. The deputies were treated with contemptuous *hauteur*, and mortified by imperious demands: but, in another audience, he assumed a conciliatory air, and promised to restore the ancient government. Count Murray, having suppressed some commotions at Brussels, issued an edict confirmatory of the privileges of the provinces; and the inhabitants were apparently pacified².

Soon throwing off the mask, the emperor recalled Murray, deputed Count Trautmansdorff to act as governor, and gave the command of the army to an officer of a harsh and unfeeling spirit, who boasted that he would quickly reduce the whole country to unconditional submission. This was an Hibernian of the name of Dalton, who was not, however, countenanced by Trautmansdorff in his violent schemes. The latter having suspended, for three months, a decree for the re-establishment of the seminary, Joseph ordered him to enforce it without farther delay. As the council of Brabant refused to concur in it, Dalton prepared to carry it into effect by military coercion. A tumult arising in the streets, the soldiery shed some blood; but the count prevented the conflict from being more sanguinary by declaring that he would not press the adoption of the decree.

Another interval of tranquillity ensued. The university of Louvain was then superseded by the seminary, after the murder of many of the inhabitants by the troops of the despot. At

¹ In March, 1787.

² Coxe's *History*, vol. ii. chap. 50.

Mechlin and Antwerp, the old colleges were also shut up, amidst the murmurs of the clergy and the people.

These grounds of offence did not prevent the states, in the majority of the provinces, from granting the usual subsidies to their sovereign. The states of Hainault, refusing to allow what they thought he did not deserve, were dissolved by force, and the privileges of the province were annulled. The three orders in Brabant did not at first agree in their votes; but they at length joined in opposing the court, when an immediate change in their constitution was threatened. As they refused to approve the edicts offered for their assent, the assembly was dissolved, and the constitution declared void.

While the Netherlands were thus agitated the French revolution broke out. The example of the Gallic adversaries of the court, and the hope of aid from a free nation, encouraged the Belgians to counteract, with redoubled zeal, the views of the emperor. The emissaries of Prussia and of Holland fanned the rising flame; and in several towns, the people attacked the soldiery, and did not desist before many lives were lost.

An advocate, named Vander-Noodt, had been condemned on a charge of treason, but had escaped by flight from the vengeance of the government. Being protected by the Dutch, he organised at Breda a considerable body of Belgic emigrants, and prepared to return triumphantly to Brussels. The command of this force was given to Vander-Mersch, who had obtained some military reputation. A manifesto was issued, in the name of the Brabançons, intimating that a prince who had evinced no regard for their rights and privileges had no just claim to their allegiance.

Some forts near the Scheldt were seized by a party of insurgents, while Vander-Mersch, advancing with about three thousand men, encountered fifteen hundred of the armed adherents of Joseph, and prevailed in the conflict. When a greater force approached, the revolted returned into Dutch Brabant. Expecting to be favoured by the inhabitants of Ghent, Vander-Mersch sent a part of his army to attempt the reduction of that town. The garrison did not long defend either the city or the fort; and Bruges and other towns were soon taken by the opponents of an arbitrary court. The states of the province of Flanders now agreed to a vote of independence, and invited the rest of the Netherlands to concur in shaking off an oppressive yoke¹.

¹ Coxe, vol. ii. chap. 50.

General Dalton and count Trautmansdorff did not act in unison at this crisis. The former was still inclined to be rigid and coercive; the latter, temperate and conciliatory, suppressed the new seminary, and revoked other innovations. The general marched to attack Vander-Mersch, who had re-entered Austrian Brabant: but, on farther deliberation, he resolved to oppose the insurgents in the Flemish province. Before he had an opportunity of action, however, the adverse party found means to draw off a great number of his

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declared the province independent. Hainault, Limburg, and other Belgic territories, were also rescued from Austrian tyranny; but Luxemburg did not withdraw itself from the yoke. An alliance was formed by the emancipated provinces; and the new administrators of public affairs devoted their attention to the re-establishment of order and tranquillity.

In another portion of the emperor's territories, similar discontent prevailed. He had acknowledged the privileges of the Hungarians on his accession to their throne; but he had given offence to that nation, by refusing to be crowned (that he might not be obliged to confirm those privileges by the solemnity of an oath); by removing the *regalia* from native custody to the Austrian capital; by ordering a discontinuance of the use of the Hungarian language in public acts and records; by introducing new modes of judicial process, and altering, in various points, the ancient constitution of the country. The rigours of military conscription, and the exorbitancy of taxation, at length elevated the murmurs of the people into loud clamours; and an insurrection seemed to be on the point of breaking out.

Declining in health and in spirits, Joseph was keenly affected by the intelligence of the state of Hungary, and confounded at the news of the Belgic revolt. He sent count Cobenzel into the Netherlands to promise a full restoration of constitutional rights: but no regard was paid to professions which were deemed insincere. He consented to a re-establishment of the Hungarian

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constitution, and sent back the *insignia* of royalty, with a declaration of a willingness to be crowned, and to take the accustomed oath of just and legal government. But he had no opportunity of performing his promises, even if he had been so inclined. His lungs had been gradually decaying; he had been harassed by a slow fever, which was followed by an asthma. Thus afflicted in his person, agitated also with mental inquietude, he approached the close of life. No longer fretful and irritable, he resolved to meet with firmness a fate which he could not prevent. He died in the tenth year of his reign over his hereditary dominions, at the age of forty-eight years¹. A.D. 1790. Feb. 20.

The countenance of Joseph was expressive: his manners were courteous; and he was, in general, temperate, chaste, and attentive to exterior decorum. His abilities might have raised him to a high rank among modern potentates, if his judgment had been more mature and correct. But his spirit was so restless, and his rage for reform so violent, that he did not sufficiently consider the nature, tendency, or probable efficacy of his schemes, or examine how far one was consistent with another; and his disposition was so arbitrary, that he would not condescend to adapt his innovations to the temper or wishes of his people, but seemed to think that his will and pleasure constituted an ample recommendation of all the projects or whims with which his brain teemed².

As he left no issue, by either of his wives, Austria and its dependencies devolved to his brother, the grand duke of Tuscany. Wisdom and policy were essentially requisite for the adjustment of the disordered affairs of a part of those territories; and Leopold was not altogether deficient in such qualities.

The grand duke had been involved, by his reformative spirit, in a contest with the pope. He had made some progress in the restriction of the power of the holy see, when he met with a prelate who was warmly disposed to second him in that species of reform. This was Scipio Ricci, bishop of Pistoia, whose alterations of discipline exposed him to papal animadversion, which, however, he disregarded and despised. He even ventured to pro-

¹ Coxe, vol. ii. chap. 57.

² "He himself (says Mr. Coxe) bore witness to the folly, the inconsistency, and the impracticability of his schemes, when, at the close of his life, he said, "I would have engraven on my tomb, 'Here lies a sovereign, who, with the best intentions, never carried a single project into execution.'"

He married the princess Elizabeth of Parma, grand-daughter of Philip of Anjou, king of Spain, and Maria of Bavaria, daughter of the unfortunate emperor Charles VII. To the former he was particularly attached; but he had no affection for his second wife, chiefly because her person was disagreeable.

pagate opinions not exactly agreeing with the received doctrines of the catholic church; and, in a diocesan synod, his innovations were readily adopted. Pius threatened him with excommunication; but was deterred, by the firmness of Leopold, from proceeding to that extremity. A general synod being convoked at Florence, three archbishops and ten bishops gratified the pope by dissenting from those reforms which the grand duke wished to establish; and the populace exclaiming against Ricci as a heretic, plundered his palace: but he interceded with his sovereign for the pardon of the rioters. In the progress of the contest, Leopold prohibited all appeals to Rome, deprived the nuncio of all spiritual privileges and power, and annihilated all dependence of the members of religious orders on foreign superiors; and, not forgetting temporal affairs and worldly advantages, he claimed the duchy of Urbino as an original appendage of the Tuscan principality. But, when he was called by his brother's death into a wider field of action, he desisted from his territorial pretensions¹.

The new king of Hungary and Bohemia endeavoured to conciliate the subjects of the former realm, and the Belgians, by disclaiming all intention of pursuing the projects of their defunct sovereign, and promising to govern them with justice and equity. He intimated, to Great Britain and the States-general, that he wished to be on terms of amity with them, and would accept their mediation for the re-establishment of peace. He assured them that he had no high degree of ambition, and that his demands would not be unreasonable. To the Prussian monarch he applied for an explanation of the precise object of a late alliance with the Porte; and, that he might be prepared for an eventual war with that prince, he ordered an army to be assembled in Bohemia; requesting, at the same time, that Frederic William would assist him in obtaining the imperial dignity. The king promised to vote for him on this occasion; but was less compliant in other points.

Being eager to prosecute the war against the Turks while fortune favoured the Austrian arms, Leopold objected to a truce proposed by his Britannic majesty, and made preparations for vigorous hostilities, before the Prussian potentate seemed to be fully determined upon action. He hoped by a display of courage and spirit, to confound the hopes of those who derived confidence from his embarrassments. Aware of the anti-Austrian zeal of Hertzberg, he directed baron Spielman, the confidential agent

¹ *Mémoires sur Pie VI. et son Pontificat*, chap. 18.

of the veteran Kaunitz, to exert all his address in weakening the credit of his opposing minister, and counteracting the schemes of Prussian hostility. As Bischoffswerder, and the *illuminés* of the court, concurred with Spielman on this occasion, the king, after expensive preparations, desisted from his high demands; suffering Leopold to retain every district in Poland which his mother had seized, and to procure from the Porte a cession of the territory of Old Orsova, and not insisting on his adoption of violent measures to compel Russia to make peace¹.

In the third campaign of this war, the Austrians having reduced Orsova, formed the sieges of Widin and Giurgewo; but the besiegers of the latter place were so fiercely assaulted, that they retired in confusion. The mediation of Great Britain and her allies prevented farther disgrace or additional success. A convention was signed at Reichenbach, by Mr. Ewart, count Hertzberg, the baron De Reede, and Spielman, providing for a speedy treaty of peace between Leopold and Selim, almost entirely on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*. An^{July 27.} armistice followed, and a negotiation for a definitive treaty commenced at Szistova².

The Russians continuing the war, various incidents occurred in its progress, of which the most memorable was the siege of Ismail, a strong and well-garrisoned town in Bessarabia. At this scene of action, the courage and cruelty of Souvoroff were strikingly displayed. Prince Potemkin had besieged it for seven months, and was so far from despairing of success, that he ordered the count to reduce the town within three days. The besieging army, including the marines in the squadron of rear-admiral Ribas, consisted of twenty-eight thousand men; while the garrison amounted to forty-three thousand. To a demand of surrender it was said in reply, that the Danube would stop its course, and the heavens begin to fall toward the earth, before Ismail would surrender. Smiling at this bravado, Souvoroff coolly made preparations for the hazardous assault. Before day-break, six columns advanced on the side of the land, and three from the banks of the Danube. In approaching the ramparts, they sustained some loss from a brisk cannonade. The first^{Dec. 11.} column, having passed two fosses and leaped over a chain of palisades, seized one bastion, and attacked a second with vigour. The fourth and fifth columns met with an obstinate resistance. They were driven back from the rampart into a deep fosse; and

¹ *Histoire des principaux Evénemens du Règne de Frederic Guillaume*, tome ii.

² *Coxe's History*, vol. ii. chap. 52.

sonal exertions of a veteran pasha, who, when he gave himself to captivity, lost his life in an in-
cavalier was so furiously attacked by Ribas
Ismail, who had retired to this post, yielded
to massacre. Within eleven hours
of the assault, all opposition of momentary
conflicts occurred for three days, and
the victorious general permitted his soldiers to pillage.

It was computed, that thirty-three thousand
of whom were many women, were sacrificed in
the assault. About ten thousand soldiers, beside the
prisoners; and these were ordered by the Emperor
to render it difficult to dig the earth, to throw
it into the Danube. Souvoroff reported, that only
one hundred of his men were killed or wounded.
The Russians have extended the number to fifteen thousand.
The camp was abounded with all kinds of stores; and the
treasure amounted to two millions sterling.

The Russians were also gratified, in this
success. Near the isle of Andros, indeed, they
were defeated by a superior Turkish and Algerine force: but
they disabled and dispersed a considerable
force, destroyed the admiral's ship, and bore off the
loss of only twelve men.

On the part of the Swedes, some resolute
measures were taken in the remaining course of the war. They defended

port of Revel, lost two ships of the line. The two brothers then united their squadrons, and were stationed at the entrance of the bay of Wyborg, where the king had made a fruitless attempt to destroy a coasting flotilla. When the grand Russian fleet approached, the retreat of the Swedes became difficult and dangerous. On each side of a strait through which they were to pass, were two Russian sail of the line, which, however, did not materially injure the Swedish van in its progress from the bay. The duke endeavoured to burn those ships : but the vessels employed in that service were driven upon two of his ships, which quickly blew up. In the confusion that ensued, four Swedish sail of the line struck upon the rocks, and were taken ; and two more, beside a great number of small vessels, fell into the hands of the enemy¹.

Between the prince of Nassau, and the monarch whose fleet thus narrowly escaped total destruction, an engagement took place in the following week near Swensk-Sund, chiefly with small ships. Gustavus was assisted by sir Sydney Smith and other British officers, whose example stimulated the hereditary valour of his subjects. He captured or destroyed forty-two ships, and obtained a complete victory over a fleet which far outnumbered his own.

The peace of the north was soon restored after this action. By the mediation of the Spanish minister at Petersburg, and under the influence of the convention of Reichenbach, preliminaries were concluded in the summer ; but the empress was not inclined to an immediate pacification with the Porte, unless she should be permitted to retain some important conquests.

Leopold was engaged in the task of conciliating the opposers of his late brother, when his dignity and power were augmented by the acquisition of the imperial crown. He now renewed his declaration, that he would restore those privileges ^{Oct. 9.} which the Belgic provinces had enjoyed under the government of his respected mother ; and on that ground he demanded, by a fixed day, the return of the inhabitants to their allegiance. The king of Prussia and his allies had bound themselves, in the late convention, to a guarantee of that constitution which Charles VI. had engaged to maintain, when the Netherlands were transferred to the house of Austria, but Leopold wished to elude that part of the agreement ; and, as dissensions pervaded the provinces, and superstition, prejudice, and ignorance, rendered the people

¹ *London Gazette*.—These conflicts occurred on the 3d and 4th of July.

in a great measure unfit to enjoy the blessing of independence, he hoped to prevail by the terrors of his power. He found the British court not very rigid on the subject: he disregarded, in this respect, the indignation of Frederic William; and gained the point at which he aimed. His troops recovered Brussels, and exterior submission was restored. He had already pacified the Hungarians, whom he overawed by a force collected in the tranquil kingdom of Bohemia; and he received their crown upon hi

In these negotiations, Leopold was influenced by the advice of the cabinet. This he followed in all his affairs from the year 1790 to 1791. He had the confidence of Vienna and Versailles. On that occasion, he procured a clear head and an active disposition, and too firm

of a scheme or enterprise. — was superior to the mean arts of intrigue, and did not cherish the malignity of ministerial vengeance. He was not rapacious, or fond of pecuniary accumulation, though he knew that he had the purse of the empress, in a great measure, at his command.

As the allies had influenced Leopold to make peace with the Turks, they expected to be able to check the ambition of the czarina: but she was not disposed to submit to their dictates. Imputing the aggression to the enemy, she claimed the right of prosecuting the war until she should be able to obtain favourable terms, in return for an enormous expenditure and the sacrifice of so many of her subjects. She refused to restore Oczakoff, though the king of Great Britain commanded a fleet to be fitted out

A.D. 1791. with views of intimidation. She ordered her generals to commence another campaign, that her infidel foes might be humbled. With unabated spirit, she also resolved to take the first opportunity of repressing the political innovations of the Polish patriots, whose cause, she knew, was favoured by the confederates and by the Porte.

After the partition of Poland, Catharine had been the chief administratrix of the new constitution which the three powers had framed for the remaining kingdom; and the licentiousness of her troops, and their contemptuous treatment of the nation, had

tions, Leopold was uninfluenced, who now ceased to sway as minister for foreign affairs. Three years after his appointing the long-divided courts and perseverance, on that use. He certainly possessed was capable of great application by the apparent difficulties

¹ Coxe, vol. ii. chap. liii. liv

excited general odium. Hence, when the czarina, embarrassed by the war, and thwarted by Great Britain and Prussia, proposed a treaty of close alliance with Stanislaus, the diet, considering the offer as merely dictated by a sense of danger, had no inclination to accept it. Hertsberg resolved to take advantage of this reluctance; and the artful Lucchesini, the representative of the Prussian monarch at Warsaw, was ordered to inflame the disgust and animosity of the Poles, and amuse them with the hope of being delivered from the Russian yoke, and restored to a state of independence, by the friendly zeal of his sovereign. Hailes, the British minister, promoted the same object with less insincerity; and the ardent desire of freedom pervaded the Polish nation¹.

It was now proposed in the diet, that the army should be augmented from twenty thousand to sixty thousand men; and, notwithstanding all the efforts of the partisans of Russia, a vote for that purpose was adopted. It was afterwards resolved, that the permanent council should be abolished; and the correction of various abuses occupied the deliberations of the assembly. To provide for the military expenditure, and for the new arrangements in other departments, a considerable land-tax was imposed; and, on this occasion, the clergy evinced their public spirit by a free gift, exclusive of their proportion of the recent impost.

The expediency of a new constitution for Poland being generally acknowledged, the king was requested to appoint a committee, whose attention should be directed to that desirable object. Eleven individuals were accordingly selected²; and the important work was undertaken with a judicious and temperate spirit. Many plans were discussed, many proposals rejected; and above nineteen months elapsed before the diet voted all the constitutional articles. It was then agreed, that the crown should not be generally elective, but should be confined to the house of Saxony; and the king received, from the new code, a degree of power which rendered him more respectable and dignified. The nobility had no longer in their hands the potent means of tyranny which they had long enjoyed, the middle class became more considerable, and all the peasants were admitted to the protection of the law. The majority of the nation exulted in the change; but the apprehensions of Russian hostility allayed the rising joy.

¹ *Histoire du Règne de Frederic Guillaume, par Ségur, tome iii.*

² In September, 1789.

The troops of the empress prosecuted the war on the banks of the Danube with a vigour which did not seem to be diminished by the secession of the Austrians. Prince Repnin, with
 July 10. about twenty-five thousand men, routed seventy thousand Turks at Maczin, after a considerable advantage had been obtained over another army at Babada in Walachia; and, on the side of the Crimea, the Muscovites were also victorious.
 Aug. 11. Catharine then condescended to agree to preliminaries of peace, under the mediation of the Danish court; and a congress was holden at Yassi for the completion of the treaty.

During the congress, the minister, whose sway in Russia had long been almost unbounded, was seized with a fever, which, from his intemperance and his neglect of the judicious advice of his physicians, soon became dangerous. On his way to Nicolayef for better air, he found himself extremely ill. Alighting from the
 Oct. 15. carriage in which he rode with the countess Branicka, one of his nieces, he threw himself despairingly on the grass, and died in the arms of the afflicted lady.

Prince Potemkin was one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived. His character was a compound of opposite qualities. Avarice and ostentatious prodigality, haughtiness and complacency, reserve and communicativeness, rigour and remissness, boldness and timidity, licentiousness and superstition, activity and indolence, coarseness and refinement, were among the features of his portrait. He had talents, if not genius; and his information was extensive, but a very small part of it was derived from reading. He could converse plausibly on all subjects, without being profoundly acquainted with any. He evinced his political address in detaching the French cabinet from its connexion with the Porte, and in procuring for his mistress the friendship of the court of Vienna. He promoted the military success of his country, but in a great measure disorganized the army. He conceived good schemes, but deranged the finances and disordered the government. His ambition was high, but inconsistent. His thoughts wandered from one extreme to another; one embryo scheme was rapidly succeeded by a rival fancy. His whims and inconsistencies seemed to render him more interesting to the czarina. At one time he flattered and courted her; at another he arrogantly domineered over his sovereign and benefactress. Satiated with luxury and with power, he had scarcely a wish ungratified; and, in the midst of his prosperity, he was so listless and uneasy, that he even seemed weary of existence. After an interval of *tædium* and torpor, he would suddenly rouse himself;

but fresh satiety soon followed. With such a mind he was not happy ; for he was never contented.

On the death of Potemkin, the empress did not manifest that poignant grief which, from his long enjoyment of her favour, she was expected to feel. She soon re-entered into the vortex of politics, and gave new instructions to her ministers. Her paramour Zouboff being now desirous of acting in the cabinet, Markoff became his political instructor, and obtained the confidence both of the favourite and his mistress.

The negotiations at Yassi led to a peace. Count Bezborodko was commissioned to treat at the congress, and a definitive treaty was at length signed. The chief articles im- Jan. 9, 1792. ported, that the Niester should be the boundary of the two empires ; that the privileges of the principal towns of Walachia and Moldavia should be confirmed, and the inhabitants be, for two years, exempt from tribute ; that the government of the principality of Georgia should be guaranteed by the Porte ; and that the latter power should endeavour to put a stop to the depredations and outrages of the pirates of Barbary. The grand signor also consented to pay twelve millions of piastres to Catharine by way of indemnification for the charges of the war ; but, with a disinterestedness which excited the admiration of the Turkish plenipotentiaries, she declined the acceptance of the offer ¹.

Resuming her attention to the affairs of Poland, the empress publicly expressed a strong disapprobation of the proceedings of the diet, and encouraged the discontent of the nobles who opposed the new constitution. She resolved to counteract by open arms the views of the patriots ; but waited until the war broke out between France and Austria. Bulgakoff then delivered a declaration to the king, couched in a very imperious strain. The majority of the members of the diet were reviled, in May 18. this hostile manifesto, as factious men, who had arrogantly usurped all branches of power, exercised the most tyrannical sway, and completed their political iniquity by the subversion of that constitution under which the republic had for many ages prospered. They were accused of having harassed and oppressed the subjects of Russia, who were lawfully employed in Poland, and of having even offered to join the Porte in the war against the empress. But, as the greater part of the nation did not appear to her to concur in the proceedings of which she

¹ *Tooke's Life of Catharine*, vol. iii.

complained, she would have sacrificed her just sentiment to the hope of seeing these grievances redressed in a new diet; if a great number of Polanders, among whom were many of high distinction and merit, had not implored the assistance of her arms for the restoration of the laws and liberty of the republic. She had therefore ordered her troops to march into Poland, and trusted that all who had a regard for the true interest of their country would zealously promote the good cause in which she had embarked.

To this declaration a temperate answer was given by the diet. All intentions of offending the czarina were disclaimed; and, if any of her subjects had been treated with seeming harshness, it was because they were engaged in seditious practices. Her regard for Poland was not disputed; but the right of reforming the government was asserted, and the constitution which she disapproved was vindicated as the deliberate and prudent work of patriotism, consonant with the wishes of the generality of the nation. A firm resolution of maintaining it was announced; and, in an address to the people, the king and the diet recommended the most vigorous exertions against eventual hostilities.

It was not probable, however, that the Polanders, weak and divided, would be able to withstand the Russians alone; and, if the troops of the king of Prussia should co-operate with the northern barbarians, the hopes of independence would, it was apprehended, be soon frustrated. Stanislaus appealed to the good faith of that monarch, and expressed a confidence (which he could not really feel) in his guarantee of the Polish government. Frederic William denied that he was bound to support the new constitution, and hinted his displeasure at the conduct of the diet. The empress, he added, felt high and just indignation at the new arrangements; and there was no prospect of allaying her disgust, unless the Polanders should retrace their steps, and relinquish their innovations. He was willing to be so far their friend, as to promote a reconciliation between them and the Russians; and he would endeavour to interest the court of Vienna in the same cause. The king of Hungary, connecting in his mind the revolutions of Poland and of France, notwithstanding the difference between them, advised Stanislaus to aim at the restoration of the old government, if he wished to avert the miseries which threatened the nation.

Not expecting that the czarina would listen to any terms but such as would degrade and enslave Poland, the king and the diet had raised a considerable army, of which prince Joseph

Poniatowski had the command. Hostilities soon arose; and the first conflict was favourable to the Poles; but subsequent trials of strength were adverse to their interest, and the prince was obliged to retreat, until he received a reinforcement. He then engaged the Russians for about ten hours at Zielime, and drove them from the field. One of his officers acquired reputation in this campaign by courage and conduct. This was Thaddeus Kosciuszko, a poor gentleman of Brzesci, who had served in North America under Washington; but neither his exertions, nor those of his patriotic associates in military command, could long check the progress of the enemy, who prevailed over all opposition, not only on the side of the Ukraine, but also in the grand duchy of Lithuania, where the capital was quickly reduced¹.

The intrigues of Russian emissaries had in the mean time increased the number of mal-content nobles, by whom a confederacy was formed at Targowitz for the annulment of the new constitution. The king was desired to enter into this association; and, being also menaced by Catharine with the warmth of resentment, he promised full submission. His compliance with the stern demand of his former friend was followed by the general acquiescence of the nation. The short war was closed; and Stanislaus again became a cipher, while a Russian general dictated laws to Poland.

When I lately mentioned the king of Hungary, as interfering in the affairs of Poland, I did not allude to Leopold. That prince, after he had concluded a treaty at Szistova with the grand signor², directed his chief attention to the concerns of France. He was disgusted at the revolutionary politics and licentious doctrines of the demagogues, and at the encroachments of the national assembly on the rights of the empire. Frederic William also hated democracy, and wished to crush it in France while it was yet in its infancy. He was taught by the emigrant nobles to believe that the majority of the nation favoured the cause of royalty; that the troops, divided, undisciplined, and ill-furnished with the requisites of war, would be unable to withstand his orderly and well-appointed battalions; and that his exertions for the extinction of Jacobinism, and the restoration of tranquillity to France, would ennoble and immortalize his name. His favourite Bischoffswerder promoted the influence of these counsels. Prince Henry was not so sanguine. He apprehended

¹ *Annual Register*, vol. XXXIV.

² On the 4th of August, 1791.

that war would rather aggravate than remedy the evil; and M. De Boufflers, being of the same opinion, warned the king of the danger in which his armed interference would involve the unfortunate Louis. The persuasions of M. De Ségur, who had been sent by the French ministry to infuse pacific sentiments into the court of Berlin, also contributed to cool the ardour of the monarch, who declared that he would not make war upon the French, unless they should attack the emperor or some other German prince. He consented, however, to sign a declaration¹ at Pilnitz (where he had an interview with Leopold), intimating that, if Spain, Sardinia, Switzerland, and the Germanic body, would unite in a cause which affected the interest of every European power, Austria and Prussia would act promptly and cordially with an ample military force, in such a manner as might enable the French king to frame a government, consistent both with the happiness of his subjects and the rights of other princes².

The object of this meeting was misrepresented by the leaders of the national assembly, as a plan for the partition of France. Strong censures and invectives were lavished upon all the framers and abettors of such a scheme: and war was declared to be necessary for the defence of the nation, and the chastisement of the determined foes of liberty. Spirited remonstrances passed between the executive ministers and the court of Vienna; but neither party derived from such negotiations any other benefit than delay. Leopold certainly had no strong desire of engaging in hostilities; he rather wished to avoid war by seeming to be prepared for it. His caution counteracted the eagerness of Fre-

deric William; and he died before the sword was unsheathed. His disorder was a malignant fever, which closed his life in the vigour of his age; for he had not completed his forty-fifth year. His son Francis, to whom Joseph was so much attached as even to wish that he might fill the imperial throne in preference to his father, now assumed the joint titles of king of Hungary and Bohemia, and was soon involved in a war with France. The circumstances which led to it, and the incidents of the first campaign, have been related in a former letter, as the subject was intimately connected with the affairs of the French nation³.

¹ On the 27th of August, 1791.

² *Histoire du Règne de Frédéric Guillaume*, par Ségur, chap. ix.—Coxe's *History of Austria*, vol. II. chap. iv.

³ See Letter IX.

The Swedish monarch was inflamed with an eager desire of opposing by arms the progress of the revolution. A prince of his character, fond of monarchical power, could not approve a government in which the king was an inefficient part of the state: he therefore resolved to make an attempt for its subversion. He was encouraged in this bold scheme by the king of Spain and the czarina; and he concerted with M. De Bouillé a plan of operations, which argued greater spirit than prudence. He proposed a descent on the northern coast of France, with thirty-six thousand Swedes and Russians, and a speedy march to Paris, during an invasion of the different frontiers by the troops of other powers¹. But he was not destined to shine as the Agamemnon of the confederacy. A conspiracy was formed against him by the counts Horn and Ribbing, baron Ehrensward, colonel Liljehorn, and other partisans of the aristocracy, who deeply resented not only his arbitrary change of the government in 1772, but his subsequent violation of those articles (favourable to the diet or the nation) which he had then suffered to be included in the constitutional act. Disregarding, with the courage of a Cæsar, an intimation of his danger, he attended a masquerade at the opera-house, and was shot by captain Ankarstrom, who, being more incensed against his sovereign for a criminal prosecution to which he had been subjected, than grateful for the pardon that he had received, had offered to the conspirators his regicidal services². After lingering about twelve days, the royal victim died with the resignation and fortitude of a Christian. He ^{Mar. 29.} had reigned twenty-one years, and had entered into the forty-seventh year of his age.

The character of Gustavus soared above the ordinary standard. He had a quickness of apprehension, a ready flow of eloquence, and a considerable fund of knowledge. He had a taste for literature, and a turn for varied inquiry. His manners and address were pleasing and elegant. He had great courage, both political and military: but his policy was more artful than profound, and he had not the skill of a consummate general. Though arbitrary, he was not cruel; and he evinced his magnanimity by desiring that none of the conspirators should be put to death: but his brother extorted from him an assent to the capital punishment of Ankarstrom. This daring assassin was exposed on the pillory, and subjected to repeated flagellation; his right hand was cut

¹ *Mémoires of the Marquis de Bouillé.*

² *Appendix to the Annual Register, vol. XXXIV.*

off; he was then decapitated and quartered. Count Horn and two of his accomplices committed suicide; Ribbing, Ehrenstam, and Liljehorn were banished for life.

The crown prince being only in his fourteenth year, the duke of Sudermania was constituted regent; and, instead of adopting the warlike schemes of his brother, he abstained from all hostilities against the Gallic revolutionists. The Danish court followed this example of neutrality without approving the conduct of the French.

The empress of Russia, although she had so far profited by a revolution as to acquire a crown to which from descent or consanguinity she had no pretensions, was not fond of democratic or republican revolutions. She loudly condemned the presumption and audacity of the leaders of the convention, who had traitorously dethroned their king, and subverted the old régime. She considered their proceedings as an insult to the sovereigns of Europe, who were bound, she thought, to crush such seditious vipers as had ungratefully stung the bosom of royalty. But she contented herself with exclamations and invectives, and did not join in a hostile confederacy. When she coolly reflected on the distance of France from her empire, and turned an ambitious eye toward less remote territories, she resolved only to issue anti-Gallican manifestos, while other powers attacked the new republic with the vigour of hostility. The Spanish court, when Louis accepted the constitution, had receded from its promise of supporting Gustavus; and, even after the formation of a republic had annulled the authority of the house of Bourbon in France, Charles IV. declared that he would observe the strictest neutrality in the war which then raged. This prince interceded in behalf of the royal prisoner: but all such solicitations were unavailing. After the death of Louis, he sent the French diplomatic

Mar. 7, minister out of Spain; and the convention soon denounced 1793. war against him. The court of Lisbon wished to avoid a rupture; but, as an auxiliary, it detached succours to Spain for the defence of the Pyrenées. By this conduct, and by refusing to acknowledge the republic, it excited the indignation and the menaces of France. The queen was at this time in a state of (chiefly religious) insanity; and the prince of Brasil exercised the supreme sway.

With regard to Switzerland and Italy, it may be observed, that the cantons for some years found means to preserve peace; but several of the Italian powers were drawn into the war. The king of Sardinia became a confederate with Francis king of Hun-

gary, after the latter prince had acquired the dignity of emperor of Germany ; but Ferdinand, grand duke of Tuscany, brother of Francis, could not be prevailed upon to accede to the coalition. The republics of Venice and Genoa were disposed to forbearance ; the pope also, and the dukes of Parma and Modena, were not very eager for war ; but the king of Naples was easily persuaded to embark in it, being not only connected by consanguinity with the Bourbon family, but closely allied to the house of Austria ; for he had espoused a sister of Joseph, had given one daughter in marriage to the new emperor, and another to the grand duke, while his eldest son was the husband to a daughter of Leopold.

In speaking of his Neapolitan majesty, I am induced to remark, as it serves to illustrate the manners of the times, that he had been at variance with Pius VI. from the commencement of his pontificate. The minister Tanucci continued to encroach on the supposed rights of the holy see ; and the pope thought it his duty to resist such encroachments. Among other grounds of dissension, the appointment of an archbishop of Naples was contested ; and, when this dispute had been compromised, it was rekindled by the refusal of a cardinal's hat to the new prelate, on pretence of his being tainted with Jansenism. The mode of presenting the white palfrey, the annual mark of feudal subjection, was also productive of dispute. Under the administration of the marquis della Sambucca, the supply of several vacant sees occasioned a fresh contest ; and the king menaced the pontiff with actual hostilities, if he should continue to withhold his confirmation of the royal appointments. The storm was warded off by concessions from the pope. The suppression of a great number of monasteries, and the diminution of various sources of papal revenue in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, continued to exasperate Pius, who repeatedly solicited the interposition of the court of Madrid. Charles III., who then reigned, desired his son to be moderate in his ecclesiastical reforms ; but Acton (the son of an Hibernian physician), who had obtained great influence at the court of king Ferdinand, encouraged him to a resolute perseverance. When this minister had procured the dismissal of Sambucca and the substitution of the marquess Caraccioli in the department of foreign affairs, a total rupture with the court of Rome was expected. Count Galeppi was sent by Pius to propose a new compromise ; but the king declared that the pontiff's pretensions were inadmissible. Cardinal Buoncompagni, who had succeeded Pallavicini as secretary of state, was equally unsuccessful as a negotiator at Naples. It is unnecessary, how-

ever, to trace the progress of these disputes. It will be sufficient to inform you, that the decline of the papal power and influence constrained the pope to acquiesce in the abolition of Neapolitan vassalage to the holy see, and in a modification of his claims with regard to interference in promotions and the grant of dispensations; while he procured a promise that five hundred thousand ducats should be given, as an offering to St. Peter, by every king of Naples on his accession to the throne¹.

III.

*A Survey of the Affair
the*

*o the Revolution effected by
d, in 1795.*

EUROPE was now den a remarkable contest between a nation aiming at freedom, and a formidable confederacy of powers, whose efforts, if not directed to the extinction of liberty, were certainly not employed to cherish the rising flame. It was easy to foresee that such a league would not be attended with the desired success, as it would rather tend to rouse the resentment and invigorate the exertions of those who imagined that they were pursuing a right course, than to humble their spirit or overawe them into submission. If French licentiousness excited apprehensions, the malignity of hostile violence did not promise remedial efficacy. Contemptuous forbearance might have been more beneficial.

The defence of Holland was the first object of the British ministry. Dumouriez, who expected to subdue the seven provinces with as much facility as he had reduced the Austrian Netherlands, had entered Dutch Brabant, near the close of the winter, and sent Berneron's division to invest Williamstadt and Klundert, while colonel Le Clerc formed the blockade of Bergen-op-Zoom and Steenberg, and general D'Arçon attacked Breda. After sustaining a feeble bombardment for three days, the count de Byland, being informed by a French officer that the commander-in-chief was approaching with the grand army, surrendered Breda Feb. 24, upon such terms as were deemed honourable, yet with 1793. no honour to his character. Klundert was weakly gar-

¹ *Mémoires sur Pie VI.* chap. xix. xx. xxi.

risoned, but briskly defended. When this town had been reduced, Williamstadt was besieged, though with little effect. Gertruydenberg made only a short resistance, although (says Dumouriez) "it had very strong outworks and a garrison of eight or nine hundred men, beside a superb regiment of dragoons, the guards of the stadtholder." Here the general found a considerable flotilla; with which, and other small vessels, he prepared to pass into the isle of Dordrecht¹.

During these operations on the Dutch frontiers, the Austrians were far from being idle. General Clairfait attacked the invaders of Germany, and obtained some advantages over them. The personal exertions of the prince of Saxe-Coburg led to a more important defeat of the French. He rushed upon them near the city of Aix-la-Chapelle; and about three thousand five hundred of their number were killed or wounded Mar. 3. in the conflict. The retreat was precipitate and disorderly; and one thousand five hundred men were reduced to a state of captivity. Prince Frederic of Brunswick, on the same day, routed a strong corps at Brugge.

As soon as Dumouriez was informed of the event of these engagements, he sent orders to Miranda to continue the bombardment of Maestricht from the left bank of the Maes, and take such a position near Tongres as might enable him to arrest the career of the Austrians. Miranda, however, abandoned the Maes, and suffered the emperor's troops to seize the French magazines in Liege, while he retired toward Louvain. General Champmorin, who had taken Stevenswaert and the fort of St. Michael, evacuated both places, and retreated to Diest.

Being desired by the convention to hasten to Louvain, and re-organise the army, Dumouriez left De Flers to command the troops in Dutch Brabant, and advised him to make an immediate attempt to penetrate to the centre of Holland. But this officer, concluding that his advance would be endangered by the efforts of the English, of whom a considerable number had arrived in Holland, and finding that the Prussians were approaching by the way of Bois-le-Duc, threw himself into Breda, while colonel Tilli occupied Gertruydenberg; and the rest of the army retired to Antwerp.

The Austrians having advanced to Tillemont, a partial conflict ensued, in which they sustained a much greater loss than their adversaries. Encouraged by this success, Dumouriez resolved to

¹ *Mémoires du Général Dumouriez*, livre ii. chap. iii.

Mar. 18. risk a general engagement. His right wing, commanded by Valence, attacked Middel-Winden and Ober-Winden, and forced both posts, but did not long retain them. The duke de Chartres, with the central body, also seized Neer-Winden, without being able to keep it. The left wing, under Miranda, endeavoured, without effect, to turn the right flank of the Austrians. In this part of the field, the prince of Wurtemberg distinguished himself; for, with a detachment which scarcely exceeded seven thousand men, he repelled above eighteen thousand of the French, and chased them to the banks of the Löss. The archduke Charles likewise obtained praise for his exertions in dislodging the republicans from Orsmael. The efforts of Clairfait disordered the division of Valence, who was wounded and obliged to retire. Dumouriez led a fresh body of cavalry from his centre to support the right; but the regiment of Nassau cuirassiers, with a rapid charge, penetrated the French line, so as to decide the fate of the day. This corps, however, suffered severely by the fire of two batteries. The whole French army at length retreated, and, on the following day, the Austrians made a partial attack, during which many of the fugitives were drowned in the Geete. By the acknowledgment of their general, above four thousand of the French were killed, wounded, or taken; but it is probable that the real amount was considerably greater. It may also be concluded, that the Austrians lost more than they pretended. Perhaps, in their army, two thousand five hundred men lost their lives or were wounded¹.

So discouraged were the troops of the republic, that they deserted in great numbers. Danton and La Croix, who had been sent by the convention to watch the movements of the army, met whole companies and battalions of deserters, and were assured by Dumouriez, that he could not prevent this misfortune, as the conduct of the assembly, in thwarting his operations, and not furnishing him with a sufficient number of regular troops, or with proper supplies in other respects, had involved him in serious difficulties.

Mar. 22. The prince of Saxe-Coburg, who had followed the French general to the neighbourhood of Louvain, attacked him in the strong post of Pellenberg, which was so well defended that it could not then be forced. After a night's respite, the assault was renewed, and the Austrians were suc-

¹ Dumouriez' account (in his *Mémoires*, tome ii.) compared with the narrative of an Austrian officer.

cessful. The French, having lost above two thousand men, were driven over the Dyle, Louvain was seized, and Brussels was left defenceless.

Finding himself suspected, and even hated by the two principal parties that divided the convention, Dumouriez prepared for the execution of a scheme which he ought to have previously attempted. He lamented the misfortunes of his country, and considered the constitutional monarchy as better calculated for their removal than the sway either of the Girondists or Jacobins. He intended (if he could procure the concurrence of the greater part of his army) to march to Paris, dissolve the convention and the Jacobin club, carry into effect the constitution of 1791, and conclude peace with the combined powers. He disclosed his scheme, by the medium of colonel Mack, to the princes of Saxe-Coburg and Hohenlohe, and solicited their assistance, which he offered to purchase by a complete restoration of the Netherlands to the emperor¹.

While he remained at Tournay, waiting for communications from the Austrian generals, he was visited by three emissaries of the Jacobin club, who came to sound his intentions, which they soon found to be hostile to their society. Being summoned to Lisle by seven commissioners of the convention, he replied that he would answer in his camp to any charges which might be adduced against him. He found a great number of the regulars disposed, as far as he could judge, to forward his views, but the national guards were decidedly inclined to support the republic. He directed general Miaczinski to prepare his division for the enforcement of the scheme; the disclosure of which, however, without sufficient caution, occasioned the arrest of the unfortunate Pole, who was afterwards beheaded. Many officers, who had seemed to be attached to the commander-in-chief, deserted him when they knew his counter-revolutionary sentiments; and their example had a great effect on the army in general. He had promised to put the Austrians in temporary possession of Condé, and he endeavoured to secure other frontier towns; but he failed in every part of his project.

An order for his appearance at the bar of the convention was now communicated to him by the minister of war and four members of that assembly. He had so little inclination to submit to a trial before the revolutionary tribunal, that he declined obedience to the mandate. As soon as the prevailing anarchy should

¹ *Mémoires du Général Dumouriez*, livre ii. chap. 9.

give way to a regular government, he would, he said, give an exact account of his conduct and his motives, and would even solicit an inquiry; but at present such submission would be an act of madness. Camus, reproving him for his disobedience, suspended him in the name of the convention from all his functions, and ordered his arrest. "This is not to be borne," said Dumouriez: "it is time to put an end to such insolence!" The minister and his companions were immediately seized by a party of hussars, and sent to the Austrian camp, as hostages for the safety of the prisoners in the Temple¹.

Having agreed to a meeting with the prince of Saxe-Cobourg near Condé, the general rode toward that town with a small escort. Being discovered by a body of volunteers, he escaped with the greatest difficulty, and found refuge in the camp of a party of Austrian dragoons. He sent for colonel Mack, with whom he adjusted a proclamation in the name of the prince of Saxe-Coburg, disclaiming all thoughts of conquest, and engaging only to promote the true interest of France, by the restoration of her constitutional king. It was published as a sequel to April 6. an address from Dumouriez to the French nation, protesting against the tyranny of the disorganising faction, and urging a return to the constitution of 1791, the work of a free people².

The renewed exhortations of the general, who now visited the camp of Maulde, were fruitless. His troops had some regard for him; but their republican spirit would not suffer them to betray the convention. Still acting as their commander, he was employed at Rumegies in dictating orders, when intelligence arrived of the march of the whole corps of artillery to Valenciennes, and of the declared zeal of other divisions in the cause of the republic. He now hastened to the Austrian camp, followed by fifteen hundred men. The prince did not attempt to take advantage of the confusion which prevailed in the French army. He faithfully observed the truce to which he had agreed with Dumouriez, although it was only concluded with reference to the secret and abortive negotiation. He might have pursued with effect the scattered battalions; but he suffered them to be re-assembled by Dampierre, who, when requested by Dumouriez to concur in his schemes, had disdainfully refused.

Alleging the inutility of the late proclamation, the Austrian general now revoked it, and issued another, by which the war

¹ *Les mêmes Mémoires*, livre ii. chap. 12.

² *Mémoires*, livre ii. chap. 13.

was put upon the same basis on which it stood when he began to treat with Dumouriez. He then prepared for a vigorous renewal of hostilities; and an engagement soon occurred in the province of Flanders.

When Dampierre assumed the command of the army, he found it so disorganized, as to require all his efforts for the restoration of order and discipline. He then attacked the advanced posts of the allies, but met with a severe check, which, however, did not deter him from assaulting a formidable line of posts, extending from the Scheldt to the abbey of Vicogne and St. Amand. Knobelsdorf (the Prussian general) having weakened his army by detaching a considerable corps to support the harassed Austrians near the abbey, the duke of York seasonably advanced to assist him with some brave and well-disciplined battalions. The Coldstream regiment distinguished itself on this occasion, and eminently contributed to check the advance of the enemy. At the abbey, the conflict was prolonged till the close of day; and the Austrians under Clairfait firmly maintained their ground. Two days afterward, that general and his Prussian associate attacked with success the batteries which had been recently erected along their front; and the republicans fell back upon Orchies¹.

In the battle of Vicogne, Dampierre was shot in one of his thighs, and died of the wound; and three thousand five hundred of his countrymen, but not more than fifteen hundred of the allies lost their lives or were wounded. Custine was now ordered to act in the Netherlands. That commander had made a bold attack on the posts near the Rhine, in the hope of relieving Mentz; but he was repelled with considerable loss. He had not yet joined the army on the French frontiers, when the prince of Saxe-Coburg and the duke of York commanded four columns to advance against the camp of Famars, which served to protect the town of Valenciennes. One of these divisions marched toward the entrenchments which had been formed upon the right bank of the Ronelle, and forced them by a vigorous assault. Other posts were attacked with equal spirit; and all parts of the line were stormed except a strong redoubt, which the enemy evacuated in the ensuing night². May 23.

The arbitrary rulers of France menaced Custine with exemplary vengeance, if he should suffer Valenciennes to be taken; but he could not prevent the gradual approaches or the ultimate

¹ *London Gazette of May 14.*

² *Gazette of May 27.*

success of the besiegers. The place was invested with the fortifications prescribed by old engineers, and all the outworks were at length taken. The governor, Ferrand, then capitulated, and very reluctantly consented that the garrison should become prisoners of war. The siege was not prolonged beyond the seventh week; but Condé was blockaded for a quarter of a year before it was reduced.

The conquest of these important towns elevated the hopes of the confederates, the most sanguine of whom seemed to think that the way to Paris would soon be open. The French were alarmed at the apparent danger; but they did not sink into the apathy of despair. Custine was put to death for imputed negligence; and the terrors of the guillotine were displayed as incentives to patriotism.

The French having retired to a strong camp in the vicinity of Cambray, covered by the Scheldt, and by the wood and fortified heights of Bournonville, the duke of York led a body of the allies toward that post; and, with little difficulty, an abandonment of the station was enforced. Instead of a warm pursuit of the retreating enemy, the Austrian and British commanders now agreed to a division of that force which, when united, seemed irresistible. The army of the emperor, in whose name the late conquests were made, marched to undertake the siege of Le Quesnoi; while the English and Dutch directed their course by the way of Menin to Dunkirk, which had long been a thorn in the side of Britain. This impolitic attention to separate interests greatly injured the common cause.

During the siege of Valenciennes, that of Mentz was prosecuted by the king of Prussia, who, when he retook the place, only bound the garrison not to act, for one year, against him or his belligerent associates. The subsequent inactivity of that prince gave the French an opportunity of drawing off a great force from the armies of the Rhine and Moselle; and Houchard was sent with a formidable host to drive the invaders from the Flemish frontier. Before Dunkirk was invested, an engagement which deserves notice occurred near Menin. William Frederic, the elder of the two sons of the stadtholder, seized Blaton and Lincelles, while the duke was on his march; but, being attacked at the latter post by a force which threatened to overwhelm him, he requested the aid of some British regiments. When these troops arrived, the Dutch had been compelled to retreat; but Lake, who commanded the detachment, consisting of the footguards, assaulted the French without being dismayed by the

great superiority of their number, and put them to flight, though they were defended by strong works ¹.

While the duke was besieging Dunkirk, an army of Hanoverians remained to the southward of the town, for the purpose of securing his approaches ; but he was not seasonably assisted by sea, and the covering army could not effectually withstand the repeated attacks of Houchard, whose perseverance at length involved the besiegers in such peril, that they were glad to escape with a small loss of men, leaving the greater part ^{Sept. 7.} of their artillery and stores to the exulting foe. On this occasion gross misconduct was imputed to the conductors of the siege and to the ministry. The measure itself was, indeed, unadvisable ; but its ill-success, perhaps, was wholly occasioned by the extraordinary number of the enemy.

The Austrians, continuing the siege of Le Quesnoi, were gratified with the possession of the town and the captivity of the garrison. They afterwards prepared to invest Maubeuge, a strong town on the Sambre, near which the French had an entrenched camp ; but Jourdan, being ordered to obstruct, with the utmost activity, their operations in this quarter, vigorously attacked Clairfait near Birlemont. His left wing was defeated, and his right met with a severe repulse ; but on the following day, he prevailed in an obstinate conflict, and drove back his adversaries over the Sambre. About two thousand of their number were killed or wounded, while the French sustained a more considerable loss. Jourdan then harassed the allies at Werwick and other Flemish posts. At Nieuport, however, he was checked by inundation ; his attacks were repelled by the garrison, with the aid of British soldiers and seamen ; and the nocturnal retreat was rapid and confused. On the same night, a detachment under Kray surprised Marchiennes, killed three hundred men, and captured above sixteen hundred. Chatillon was afterwards seized, with the slaughter of most of its defenders.

In the autumn, Moreau, an officer of courage and talent, attacked the Prussian camp at Pirmasens, and flattered himself with the hope of forcing it ; but a part of his army being suddenly surrounded, the rest hastily retired. Landau was at this time exposed to a siege, and, to accelerate its reduction, general Wurmser assaulted the strong lines near the Lautre. All the redoubts were successively taken, and the different posts were cleared of the enemy by the strenuous efforts of six well-conducted columns.

¹ *Gazette of August 22.*

The town of Wissembourg resisted till the next day; and the French, before they quitted it, set fire to their magazines in the neighbourhood. Fort Louis was reduced after a siege of four days, and four thousand men were there taken, with an abundance of artillery. The duke of Brunswick, being twice attacked near Landau, made great havock among the assailants; and Wurmsers, in a conflict which continued from morning till night, withstood every attempt to defeat him, and drove the foe beyond Strasbourg. In these battles, and in one at Rainstein, above fourteen thousand of the French were killed, wounded, or captured¹.

Hoche, a youth of twenty-five, who had distinguished himself in the defence of Dunkirk, was now invested with the command of a great army; and his zeal and promptitude changed the scene. He retook Haguenau and Drusenheim, which had been lately seized by the allies, triumphed, in repeated conflicts, over all opposition, and compelled the invaders of Alsace to return within the imperial boundaries.

In Italy, the contest was not invigorated by the presence of an Austrian army, as the emperor had full employment in the Netherlands. The king of Sardinia was unable to recover Savoy; but his generals, Colli and Dellers, obtained repeated advantages over Brunet at Raus and Auchion; and he personally opposed Kellermann without serious loss or disgrace. By the activity of Massena, however, he was dispossessed of several Alpine posts of apparent strength.

This prince was assisted by his catholic majesty with a fleet, which sailed in the spring for the defence of Sardinia, and the recovery of two of its dependent isles. The French had made a second attempt upon Cagliari, but could not make themselves masters of the town, though they reduced the isles of St. Peter and Antioch. Admiral De Borgia now gratified the ally of his sovereign, by the expulsion of the republican intruders².

A Spanish army, entering France from Catalonia, under the command of don Antonio Ricardos, menaced Perpignan, and reduced Bellegarde. That officer was sometimes successful in the field, at other times unfortunate. Near Truillas he obtained a victory with very small loss on his side, compared with that of the enemy; but the French afterwards prevailed over him, and took several towns in Catalonia. They were subsequently routed

¹ *Gazettes* of October 22, November 23, and December 14.

² *Mémoires Politiques et Militaires pour servir à l'Histoire Secrète de la Révolution Française*, tome ii.

in Rousillon by Spanish valour, and deprived of Colioure and Port Vendre. Near the western extremity of the Pyrenées, the Spaniards in vain attacked St. Jean Pied-de-Port, and made little impression on their adversaries in the field.

While the war raged in Europe, its mischievous effects were also felt beyond the Atlantic. The danger of a premature introduction of liberty among the negroes, whose minds were not prepared for its proper reception, did not deter the Gallic advocates of freedom from instituting a society of *Amis des Noirs*, who professed a wish for the emancipation of the blacks. Some of the members, indeed, were more actuated by the hope of throwing the colonies into confusion, and profiting by the spoils of the chief planters and proprietors, than by liberal or philanthropic views. The French division of the island of St. Domingo had proved much more beneficial to the mother country, in point of commerce, than any other colony; but the propagation of the new doctrines soon obscured the pleasing prospect. Provincial councils were formed at Cape Françoise, Port-au-Prince, and other towns; and at St. Marc a general assembly was constituted, but its resolutions were opposed by the inferior assemblies. That of the Cape even sent a military force, under colonel Mauduit, to dissolve the superior council: a majority of the terrified members embarked for France, and implored redress. In the meantime a body of mulattoes took arms under Ogé, in the hope of obtaining an equality of privileges; for, though they were not slaves, they were excluded from all share in general, provincial, or municipal government. They were unable to prevail in the contest; their leader and his lieutenant Chavanne were broken alive upon the wheel, and twenty of the inferior insurgents were hanged. The assembly of St. Marc now seemed to triumph in the public opinion, while that of the Cape declined in credit, from its supposed concern in the excitation of disturbances. On the arrival of troops from France, severe measures were pursued for the prevention of a renewal of disorders; and Blanchelande, the governor, issued a proclamation for a general assembly at the Cape. The elections were studiously hastened, in consequence of the report of a French decree for an equalization of rights; an ordinance which, by alarming the white inhabitants, and elevating the spirits of the mulattoes, filled the colony with confusion¹.

¹ *Histoire Générale et Impartiale des Erreurs, des Fautes, et des Crimes commis pendant la Révolution Française*, tome vi.

An intestine war arose, which was marked with strong features of barbarity. Men of colour were shot like wild beasts in the streets of Cape Town; and the negroes were encouraged to assassinate them, by a present for each head. But a great army of blacks were soon induced to join them; and the most destructive ravages were committed by the allied rebels. From August to October 1791, above two thousand white persons (says the English historian¹ of St. Domingo) were massacred: one hundred and eighty sugar plantations, and nine hundred settlements appropriated to other articles, were destroyed: twelve hundred Christian families were reduced from opulence to poverty and misery: ten thousand of the insurgents perished by the sword or by famine; and some hundreds either suffered a death of torture upon the wheel, or were sacrificed in other modes to justice and to vengeance.

The repeal of the decree, by the constituent assembly of France, gave new ferocity to the war, which, by mutual agreement, had for a short time ceased. The most horrible cruelties were committed on both sides. Roume and other commissaries, who arrived in the island from France, offered a general amnesty; but this concession was derided by the rebels, who, instead of submitting, continued their atrocities.

In the legislative assembly, Brissot procured a confirmation of the decree of equality for the mulattoes; but it was not deemed prudent to enfranchise the negroes. Santhonax, Polverel, and Ailhaud, were sent to enforce the ordinance, and restore peace to the colony. These were their instructions; but their real views were those of ambition and avarice. Instead of amalgamating the rival classes, they encouraged mutual animosity, and governed despotically amidst the hostilities which they excited. They introduced into the island the distinctions of aristocrat and democrat, and harassed the whites as citizens of the former designation. Santhonax formed the siege of Port-au-Prince, quickly reduced it, and suffered the mulattoes and negroes to murder many of the inhabitants, while others were plundered and confined in ships. General Galbaud, who was sent to the island as governor, was immediately embroiled with the democratic commissaries, whom he ordered to be arrested; but they avoided the danger and instigated their partisans to set fire to Cape François. To secure the negroes in their interest, they offered the boon of liberty, which was abused to the most villainous pur-

¹ Mr. Bryan Edwards.

poses. Unable to cope with the ruffian Santhonax, the general retired from the coast, with a multitude of colonial emigrants. Such was the convulsed state of the French portion of St. Domingo¹.

The internal affairs of France were, in the mean time, sufficiently remarkable to excite the anxious attention of Europe. After the defection and consequent outlawry of Dumouriez, the animosities of party were carried to such a height, that a speedy explosion was apprehended. Robespierre and Marat called for vengeance on the Brissotins, whom they accused of being accomplices of the traitor; but the convention so far favoured the latter party, as to order the imprisonment and trial of Marat, for exciting insurrection and encouraging murder. This incendiary, however, was so popular, that he easily obtained an acquittal; and the influence of his associates procured the presentation of numerous petitions to the assembly for the disgrace or the punishment of the adverse party.

Brissot and his friends were too timid and spiritless to contend with effect against the boldness and energy of the Robespierrean faction. They trusted more to eloquence than to action, and seemed to think that the comparative goodness of their cause would ensure their ultimate triumph over the encouragers of anarchy and popular licentiousness. Isnard, president of the convention, in vain addressed the nation in behalf of his party, and unmasked the views of the Jacobin leaders. Equally fruitless were the attempts to silence the ruffians in the galleries, whose clamours overawed the Brissotin majority in the assembly. In consequence of incessant attacks this majority gradually declined; and the public foresaw the triumph of the *mountain*.

Twelve of the national deputies had been commissioned to inquire into plots or conspiracies, and take measures for the defence of the assembly, and the preservation of general order and security. The Jacobins importunately demanded the abolition of a committee which tended to counteract their schemes; and they instigated the populace to take arms against the convention. Committees, illegally formed amidst the factious tumults of the capital, had confided their usurped power to a central body, which even dared to suspend the constituted authorities.

Supported by a multitude of armed citizens, this body insisted on the immediate suppression of the committee of twelve², the

¹ *Histoire des Erreurs*, &c. tome vi.

² This institution had been exploded by a tumultuary vote; but, on a revision of the decree of abolition, the Girondists prevailed in favour of the committee. *Garat*.

May 31. trial of those members and of twenty-two others, and the regular formation of an army of *sans culottes*. As these requests were not granted, they were repeated on the following day, but without effect. Some of the obnoxious deputies absented themselves from the next meeting; but others faced the storm with an appearance of courage. While Henriot and the armed Parisians blockaded the hall, Couthon, a member devoted to Robespierre, whom he rivalled in malignity and cruelty, proposed that Brissot, I... Baroux, Vergniaud, Rabaut, Gorsas, Buzot, Lou... Brun, and others of the Gironde party, should be arrested and confined. A vote to this effect was obtained by a large majority, and the ascendancy of the violent faction was complete.

The Jacobin leaders, pursuing their sanguinary intentions, affected to be desirous of the expulsion of unpatriotic citizens from the convention. The bloodthirsty Marat advised the speedy infliction of capital punishment on the arrested deputies, but the convention disregarded his proposal, and his career was suddenly stopped by the hand of a bold female, who, over-rating his importance in the state, imagined that his death would confound his party. The name of the heroine was Corday. She gloried in her crime, and submitted to her fate with extraordinary fortitude. She thought, as did colonel Titus when he wished to rouse the people against Oliver Cromwell, that, in some cases, *killing was no murder*; but the revolutionary tribunal, not adopting her sentiments in this case, condemned her to death. The honours paid to the remains and the memory of the monster whom she destroyed disgraced the convention, and stigmatized the French character. The agitations of the new republic, the vehement collision of sentiment, and the fierce contests of faction, were attended with alarming insurrections. The friends of royalty and of the church in La Vendée, La Loire inférieure, and some neighbouring departments, disdained submission to the assassins of their king and the persecutors of their priests. The citizens of Marseilles, detesting the ferocity of the Jacobins, took arms against the convention; those of Lyons were roused by the eloquence of Biroteau to similar exertions; at Mende the people also resisted the ruling powers; and at Toulon the government could not prevent the explosion of counter-revolutionary intrigues.

¹ *Mémoires de la Révolution*, par Garat.—*Histoire Secrète*, par Pagès.—*Moniteur*.

Pethion, Louvet, Lanjuinais, and some other proscribed members, having eluded the enforcement of the orders of arrest, fled into Normandy, and began to excite commotions; but their prejudices would not suffer them to coalesce with general Wimpfen, who was intent on promoting the cause of royalty. Nantes, and other towns of Bretagne, were attached to the former party; and that city was therefore besieged, but not reduced, by the royalists of La Vendée, who, after obtaining several victories in the field, had seized Saumur and Angers. Biron, being sent against these insurgents, impetuously drove them before him, and Westermann committed inhuman devastations in the territories through which he pursued them; but they took vengeance in some fierce engagements, particularly that of Mont-aigu, and dispersed the republican army. The dissensions which arose among their chiefs obstructed their success; yet they continued to oppose with spirit the forces of the convention. At Chollet, however, they were routed by general Lechelle, and three of their chiefs were mortally wounded. They afterwards marched to Dol, in expectation of succour from Great Britain; but the supplies not arriving in due time, they returned toward the Loire. Near the close of the year they were defeated with great slaughter at Mans and Savenai; and their efforts then seemed to be paralyzed, and their power annihilated¹.

The revolt in the south of France drew violent decrees from the exasperated convention. Marseilles and Mende were soon tranquillized; but Lyons continued for four months in a state of insurrection. It was closely besieged and furiously bombarded; and resistance at length was found to be inefficacious. The bombs blew up the arsenal, fired a hospital which was filled with the wounded of both parties, and destroyed a considerable part of a city which was the boast of France. The sallies of the garrison had little effect, and the strongest posts were at length forced by the besiegers, whose fury threatened the revolted with the horrors of a general assault. About two thousand five hundred of the besieged endeavoured to escape; but they were quickly pursued with merciless rancour by bodies of cavalry, and scarcely sixty of the number found safety in flight. As soon as the convention had been informed of the termination of the siege, six intemperate resolutions marked the inhuman spirit of the assembly. It was decreed, that five deputies should be empowered to

¹ *Histoire de la Guerre de la Vendée*, par Turreau.

individuals were sacrificed in the devoted to

While the emissaries of the government, the eyes of Collot and Fouché, prosecuted the and massacre, the dreadful engine of decapitation employed at Paris; and the queen herself was not its keen edge and decisive stroke. When, in presentation of a long delayed report respecting deputies, an order had been issued for a judgment on their delinquency, Billaud de Varennes praised for the justice of this decree, and proposed against "the widow of Louis Capet." She was sent immense sums of money to Vienna, disclosing to the republic the views and schemes of the excited intestine war in France. Being tried by a tribunal and a prejudiced jury, she was proved guilty of every part of the charge. She heard the sentence with least discomposure, and retired from the court in silence. In her way to the place of execution, to which she was taken in a common cart, with her hands tied behind her back, wholly unmoved by the brutal shouts of the people, she reached the scaffold, she seemed eager to die, which she could not preserve. She had not yet reached her thirty-eighth year; but her sufferings had given her a countenance and form the appearance of more advanced age.

Oct. 16. Marie Antoinette was well formed, and had a dignified exterior. In capacity she was neither a great mind, nor a great heart.

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culated to be an adviser of the sovereign. She was too fond of power to recommend moderation, too giddy and gay to be steady or prudent.

Some of the Girondist prisoners endeavoured, by interrogatories and objections, to perplex the court which tried them: but, as they knew the malignity of Robespierre, they did not expect to avoid condemnation. Brissot, Gensonné, Ducos, Carra, Sillery, Vergniaud, Duprat, the prelate Fauchet, and others of the party, were sentenced to death, for having “conspired against the unity and indivisibility of the republic, the liberty and safety of the people.” The behaviour of Le Hardy answered to his name; he was particularly bold and intrepid. Brissot, with a cool aspect, saw the blood of sixteen of his associates stream from the scaffold before he underwent the same fate. Four others were beheaded immediately afterwards. Their fate would have been more generally lamented on account of their private virtues, if their public conduct had not plunged their country into disorder and confusion. Oct. 31.

The duke of Orleans, who was detested by all parties for his profligacy and villany, did not long survive the Brissotin victims. He was tried and condemned as an enemy of the nation. He bore the scoffs and insults of the multitude without emotion, and evinced, in his last moments, a degree of courage which few supposed him capable of displaying.

Many other executions were ordered; and among the sufferers were the eloquent Rabaut, the scientific Bailly, the ex-minister Le Brun, the generals Houchard, Luckner, and Brunet, and the deputies Manuel and Barnave. Madame Du Barri was also decapitated, and the politically intriguing wife of Roland was involved in the same fate. To avoid a similar disgrace, Clavière and that minister committed suicide.

The chiefs of the republic not only exercised their tyranny over the bodies, but also over the minds of the people. They endeavoured to prevent religion from diffusing its salutary influence in the correction of evil propensities, and in the promotion of the efficacy of law. They encouraged the clergy to renounce Christianity in form, and to inculcate only the maxims of republican morality. Death was declared to be an eternal sleep; the wicked were taught no longer to dread the judgments of another world, and the good no longer to hope for a blissful futurity.

The constitutional labours of the convention tended, nominally, to the formation of a democratic republic, but did not preclude the subjection of that republic to the sway of a few artful men,

or even of one dictator. The rights of man, and the sovereignty of the people, were expressly recognised in the new code; liberty and equality were promised; the rights of property were acknowledged; and justice was a prominent article. The primary assemblies of the districts were not to consist of less than two hundred or more than six hundred citizens; and they were empowered to name one elector out of two hundred persons, and so in proportion. These electors, meeting in the sequel, were to fix upon one deputy for every mass of forty thousand individuals. No law was to be adopted by the legislative body thus constituted, unless it should be approved by the primary assemblies of more than one half of the departments. An executive council was to be formed out of a list of candidates, named by the electors of the legislature, in the proportion of one for each department.

The military part of the code declared that all the French were soldiers; and, in conformity with this declaration, the convention decreed, that the people should rise *en masse*, not in one body, as some translate the phrase, but in a very numerous and formidable mass, in defence of liberty and equality, of the constitution, and of national independence. To supply the wants of the great armies which were now levied, a general seizure was ordered; or, if the government condescended to pay, *assignats*, the revolutionary paper currency, were given for articles of necessity or of use. The extraordinary multiplication and subsequent depreciation of these notes seemed to threaten pernicious consequences, but did not prove generally ruinous.

The republican spirit continued to be energetically displayed. The English had taken temporary advantage of the disaffection of the Toulonese to the new government, and had obtained possession of a valuable sea-port, which they hoped to retain until the house of Bourbon should be reinstated, or revolutionary principles should have subsided into moderation. They were soon joined by a Spanish armament; and the kings of Naples and Sardinia readily consented to reinforce the new garrison. The fortifications were rapidly improved, and as strong a line of defence was formed, as could be prepared by those who were not in possession of all the neighbouring eminences.

Dugommier, who conducted the siege of Toulon in the name of the convention, was assisted by a young Corsican adventurer, who bore the appellation of Napoleonè Bonapartè. The appearance of this extraordinary character on the public scene, as a military subject of that republic which he afterwards aggrandized

and enslaved, calls for the mention of his origin, and a sketch of his early life. He was born in Corsica, being the second son of a gentleman of that island, who relinquished for a time the profession of the law, that he might act as a soldier against the Gallic invaders of his country. Being taken under the patronage of M. de Marboëuf, the French general, he was sent after his father's decease to the college of Autun, whence he was removed to Brienne. Here he studied the sciences connected with war; and, repairing at the age of sixteen to the metropolis of France, he diligently continued the same pursuits. For some years prior to the revolution he served in a regiment of artillery; and, when the flame burst forth, he affected an ardent zeal for liberty. Returning to his native land, he became an officer in the militia or national guard. He served in the second expedition to Sardinia, and, being at length recommended to Barras, as a gallant officer, by Salicetti, he was employed at Toulon in the direction of the artillery¹.

His exertions during the siege were honourable to his character; but, after the recovery of the place, he disgraced himself by his inhuman zeal against the inhabitants, two thousand of whom (men, women, and children) being ordered to meet in the great square, and deluded with hopes of safety, were massacred under his eye, by order of Freron².

When the retention of Toulon became impracticable, it was seasonably evacuated by the allies. The Neapolitans embarked in the face of day; but their associates in arms retired in the night. The embarkation was well managed, and Dec. 18. effected without the loss of a man. The arsenal was nearly destroyed; nine ships of the line were set on fire by the English and Spaniards, and not a few were captured; but the accounts vary with regard to the number. Many of the inhabitants were gratified with an opportunity of escape, while the majority were obliged to remain, exposed to the risk of severe punishment³.

Soon after the intelligence of this retreat arrived in A.D. Great Britain, the parliament re-assembled. The king 1794. softened the disgrace of abandonment by remarking, that, "in the circumstances attending the evacuation, an important and *decisive*⁴ blow had been given to the naval power of the enemy,

¹ *Dictionnaire Biographique et Historique des Hommes Marquans de la Fin du Dix-huitième Siècle.*

² *Barre's History of the French Consulate*, and other publications.

³ Letters from Lord Hood, Sir Sydney Smith, and General Dundas, in the *Gazette* of January 15, 1794.

⁴ It was indisputably a severe blow and a signal advantage, but apparently not *decisive*, as farther blows were requisite to crush the naval power of France.

by the conduct, abilities, and spirit of his commanders, officers, and forces, both by sea and land." Early in the session his people were reminded of the negotiatory times of George the First and the Second, by the presentation of eleven treaties to the two houses, the produce of Mr. Pitt's ardent zeal for the humiliation, if not the subjugation, of France. The first was one which had been negotiated with Russia; but it proved nugatory, from the unwillingness of the czarina to send troops against the French. By another instrument, the court of Lisbon engaged to act with vigour; but who could expect *vigour* from such a government or nation? His Sardinian majesty consented to receive a subsidy from Great Britain; and some of the German princes agreed to furnish troops for liberal pay. The king of Prussia had concurred in a warlike convention with our sovereign, and he afterwards joined in a more specific treaty, by which he promised to employ sixty two thousand four hundred men against the French, on condition that Great Britain and the states-general should jointly pay him fifty thousand pounds in each month, beside an immediate pecuniary grant for contingencies.

A new campaign was commenced with spirit. In the days of Marlborough and Turenne, it was customary for the invaders of a country to besiege and reduce the principal fortresses before they ventured far into the hostile territory; but the French were induced to reverse the practice. They concluded that, if they should be victorious in the field, the garrisons of the fortified towns would be intimidated into a speedy surrender, and the conquest of the country would be much sooner achieved than by undertaking a variety of sieges before they should risk a general engagement. But the chief causes of their success were their prompt activity, their preponderance of number, and the skill of their officers.

A great force being put in motion by Pichegru for an invasion of the Austrian Netherlands, the allies advanced in the spring to oppose him. They met with considerable success in some connected and complicated attacks, on the side of the Cambresia. The emperor and the prince of Saxe-Coburg forced several strong posts, while the duke of York assaulted others with equal effect. These operations, which served to facilitate the siege of Landrecy, were attended with small loss on the part of the confederates, while the enemy lost above two thousand men. In an attempt to throw succours into that town, the French were baffled; and, in a conflict with a detachment near Cambray, about one thousand of their number fell.

An attack was now ordered by the republican general, upon the greater part of the line from Treves to the sea. ^{Apr. 25.} Of some of the posts, the French obtained possession; but this success was transitory; and, upon the whole, they met with considerable loss. At Moucron or Moescroen, on a subsequent day, they gained the advantage over general Clairfait, whose retreat was followed by the surrender of Menin to the arms of the republic, when one half of the town had been destroyed by bombs.

The allies having taken Landrecy, marched toward Tournay to check the progress of the French in Flanders. The British prince bravely resisted the efforts which were made to ^{May 10.} turn his left and to confound his centre; and a gallant charge from general Harcourt hastened the retreat of the foe. Clairfait was not so successful as the duke; for he was driven back to Thielt with serious loss. Being afterwards ordered to join the emperor, he advanced to Lincelles; but not gaining exact information of the movements of the column with which he was particularly desired to co-operate, he gave little aid to a grand attack planned by his sovereign, who wished to surround the French army in Flanders. The columns sent forward on this occasion did not act with proper concert; and the termination of the attack was therefore unfortunate. The Austrian and British troops suffered severely: but they soon avenged their losses; for, ^{May 22.} when Pichegru attacked them at Espierre and other posts, they sent prematurely from the world, or wounded, about ten thousand men; and, in an action near Rouveroi on the Sambre, those who fell on the side of the enemy, or were captured, were five thousand in number. In the former engagement his imperial majesty freely exposed his person, and encouraged his troops by his own exertions¹.

Inflamed by a most inhuman spirit of revenge, the French legislature now ordered that all the military subjects of the king of Great Britain, when captured, should be put ^{May 26.} to the sword. The duke of York, in announcing to his troops this atrocious and horrible decree, exhorted them "not to suffer their resentment to lead them to any precipitate act of cruelty on their part, which might sully the reputation they had acquired in the world." He would not believe that the French soldiers, however enslaved, would so disgrace themselves as to obey the nefarious order; and though it appears, from the acknowledgment

¹ *London Gazette*, compared with other accounts.

of a French historian of the campaign¹, that a general of brigade shot some Hanoverian captives, the execrable law was scarcely in any other instance carried into effect.

Pichegru again endeavoured to bring on a general engagement. He encountered Clairfait at Rousselaer, and compelled him to retreat. Another conflict occurred in the same week, more seriously unfavourable to the Austrians, to whom victory seemed at first to promise itself. Their hopes were frustrated, chiefly by the active vigour of Macdonald, a North Briton in the French service. Clairfait again took refuge at Thielt; and his discomfiture occasioned the loss of Ypres, and the greater part of West Flanders.

The Austrians were also opposed with success in the province of Namur. They were twice routed by general Charbonnier, whose troops, however, sustained considerable loss. In the dutchy of Luxembourg, the French at first harassed Beaulieu; but this officer afterwards prevailed in two engagements.

Jourdan (not the *coupe-tête* or assassin) distinguished himself in this campaign. In one battle, indeed, he lost the honour of the day, beside a great number of men. But he now returned toward Charleroi, of which he had intermitted the siege, and attacked the place with such fury, that the garrison ceased to defend it. The prince of Saxe-Coburg, having advanced to dislodge the besiegers, with whose success he was unacquainted, assaulted, in five columns, Jourdan's whole line. The first June 26. of these divisions drove the enemy from some posts, but obtained no important advantage. The same remark is applicable to the second and third divisions; and the fourth, led by the archduke Charles, although it stormed the heights in front of Fleurus, and vigorously attacked the entrenchments beyond that village, could not make a decisive impression. Beaulieu, who conducted the fifth column, disordered the right wing, but was repulsed. The prince was preparing for a new attack upon the line, when he found that the town had been reduced: he then retired into Brabant, lamenting the death, wounds, or captivity, of ten thousand of his men².

A course of rapid conquest followed the victory which Jourdan had thus obtained. Mons and other considerable towns were seized by the exulting republicans. Brussels, after a fierce conflict at Waterloo, was compelled to surrender; and few of the

¹ David, author of *L'Histoire Chronologique des Opérations de l'Armée du Nord, et de celle de Sambre et Meuse*.

² French and other accounts.

Netherland towns long resisted. Pichegru and Jourdan, having united their forces, attacked the British and Dutch troops near Louvain, and drove them toward Breda; and the accelerated progress of the enemy constrained the Austrians to retire across the Maes.

Unwilling to suffer an enemy longer to retain any part of the former territories of the republic, the French now invested Landrecy, with a menace of military execution, if the defence should be continued beyond twenty-four hours. The governor, having only a weak garrison under his command, complied with the requisition of a speedy surrender. At Le Quesnoi, however, the inhuman threat had no effect. The commandant did not surrender the place before it had undergone a siege of twenty-one days; yet the besiegers did not enforce the unjustifiable menace. Valenciennes, though it was admirably fortified, readily obeyed the demand of submission; and Condé, when summoned, did not resist. The German campaign was less splendid than that of the Netherlands, but not unimportant. The Austrians assaulted the French line in the Palatinate with little effect; but the Prussians were more successful in a simultaneous attack, driving the confused enemy in different directions. After a month's respite, the confederates repelled a fierce charge upon their extended line: but, in some other actions, they were unable to withstand their more numerous foes. Being informed that the French now aimed at the reduction of Treves, general Kalkreuth hastened to protect that electoral capital, which he knew to be ill-garrisoned; but he could not save it from the republican grasp.

General Clairfait was opposed to Jourdan in a fierce conflict near the frontiers of the empire. His centre and right wing repelled the enemy; but his left was disordered, and ^{Sept. 18.} even broken. He retired toward the Roer; and, after his rear-guard, in two engagements, had baffled the pursuers, and made considerable havoc among them, he entrenched himself near the city of Juliers. Jourdan again attacked him, and triumphed in a well-contested battle; and not only the dutchy of Juliers, but the city and electorate of Cologne, were quickly subdued by the troops of the formidable republic.

The bold demagogues who had crushed the Brissotin faction were not at this time in possession of power. Their long-continued enormities had occasioned their destruction. The convention itself was a mere instrument in the hands of Robespierre and the committee of public safety. The ruffians who composed this committee met in the Tuileries, formerly an abode of royalty;

and, as they ruled by terror, they guarded, by artillery and other defensive arrangements, the seat of their power and tyranny. All the schemes of murder and rapine, all the great crimes of the republic, originated in this retreat of usurpation and despotism. Every corner of France felt the effects of the vile ambition and sanguinary rage of the gloomy tyrant and his abandoned *satellites*. It might have been supposed that the spirit of the nation would soon have crushed these monsters: but they were supported by the soldiery and the populace, and the rest of the community seemed to be absorbed in apathy and stupor. Under the sway of this committee, prisons were more numerous in France than they had ever been, even in the reigns of the most inhuman oppressors; and the treatment which the wretched occupants received was such as could have been expected only from the most brutal savages. Foul air, and a want of the common comforts of life, sent many to their graves without the aid of the guillotine. Crowded in a narrow space, insulted and reviled by unfeeling keepers, debarred from communication with friends and relatives, neglected in illness, or injured by improper medicines, the prisoners found their situation calamitous and deplorable.

The trials before the revolutionary tribunal were preludes to murder rather than proceedings of justice. Fouquier-Tinville acted the part of public accuser, and he was a man in whose zealous co-operation Nero would have gloried. A jury was allowed to the prisoners, but the jurors were of the same stamp with the judges; and prosecution was, in general, tantamount to condemnation. In other countries, judges are pleased at the acquittal of an accused person, when guilt is not fully proved: but in France, innocence and merit could not command even an appearance of justice. The trials were despatched with the most indecorous precipitancy, and execution quickly followed an unjust sentence. Idle words were deemed sufficient grounds of condemnation. Charges brought forward by malice and falsehood, were eagerly accepted by the members of the tribunal, and the accusers were hailed as good citizens¹.

During fourteen months, an enslaved people witnessed these horrid scenes. The greater number of victims perished in the capital, but much blood was shed also in the provinces. At Brest and at L'Orient, packed tribunals condemned both the innocent and the guilty. Jean Bon St. André at one of those ports,

¹ *Histoire des Erreurs, des Fautes, et des Crimes, &c.* vol. v.

and Bon-jour at the other, encouraged the lowest of the people to multiply charges of *federalism* (a wish for a federal rather than an indivisible republic), incivism, or treason. A conspiracy for the surrender of Brest to the English, being fabricated by the accusers, rather than formed by the accused, served to gratify that thirst of blood which inflamed the Jacobin commissioner. Moreau, a respectable magistrate (father to the general), many of the municipal and departmental administrators, naval officers, tradesmen, and others, were, at different times, sent to the scaffold.

La Vendée, and the departments near the Loire, were exposed to a series of devastation and cruelty. The districts were ravaged with fire and sword; and the excesses of military fury were aided by the deliberate barbarity of the deputies Hentz and Francastel, and of the still more inhuman Carrier. Not only many thousands of young and old men, but also a multitude of women and children, were guillotined, shot, or drowned. Republican marriages (as they were called) were solemnized by the vile assassins. Men and women were tied naked in close embraces, and, after an hour's exposure in this state, were brutally assassinated.

The department of the Gironde severely felt the tyranny of Robespierre. Its early remonstrances against the views of his party excited his resentment; and, after he had obtained the victory over his rivals at Paris, he sent some of his partisans to Bordeaux to inflict vengeance on the federalists. The committee of safety, organised in that town, disclaimed the authority of the convention; and this assembly, in return, outlawed all the members and abettors of that committee. Tallien and Isabeau, having armed a body of peasants and assembled the refuse of the city, prevailed over the Brissotins, filled the prisons, and exercised a series of tyranny. The mayor was put to death, chiefly for his opulence; others suffered because they regarded Brissot and Vergniaud as better citizens than Robespierre and Marat; and many were sacrificed to the calumnious malignity of Jacobin informers. Yet the commissioners were blamed for their moderation. Tallien, indeed, became less ferocious after he had been captivated by the charms of Madame Fontenai, whose soft persuasions checked the progress of the guillotine. Returning to Paris, he was reproved for his weakness by Robespierre, who sent his fair companion to prison. The instrument of death was then more active. Only a hundred and fifty persons had been beheaded before his departure: but three hundred and fifty were soon added to the number of victims.

In the department of Vaucluse, the vengeance of the tyrant was inflicted on those who had presumed to censure the murderous spirit displayed at Avignon, where a great number of lives had been wantonly sacrificed by the Jacobins, soon after the annexation of the Venaissin had been decreed. Maignet was the deputy who superintended the barbarities ordered at Orange by the vindictive Robespierre; and, under his eye, three hundred and eighteen persons were guillotined. Bedouin, a flourishing little town in the same department, was condemned to the flames, and totally destroyed, because a tree of liberty had been cut down. Many of the inhabitants perished in the conflagration; others were beheaded or shot; and the rest were ordered to quit the spot for ever. "The conduct of Maignet (said Robespierre) entitles him to the approbation of the committee of public safety." Thus were assassins applauded and encouraged by an infamous government!

Lebon, in the mean time, filled the frontier departments of the north with terror and carnage. At Cambray and other towns, he multiplied executions with all the cruelty of a French revolutionist. Arras, though the birth-place of Robespierre, had its share of depopulation.

These cruelties at length disgusted and incensed even those who had been accustomed to admire the character of the *incorruptible patriot*. The populace began to think that he was unworthy of support, and to wish for a termination of the reign of sanguinary terror. But as the convention, the ostensible governing power of the country, was more particularly disgraced by the flagitious violence of the usurping demagogue, it was proper that the attack should commence in that assembly. The sacrifice of Danton and other associates of the tyrant proved that no dependence could be reposed on his friendship or attachment. His malignity suffered no one to entertain confident hopes of safety: it was therefore necessary to act with determined vigour against him.

After the celebration of a festival in honour of the Supreme Being (for even Robespierre now deemed it expedient to promote a sense of religion), it was hoped, but not expected, that, if mercy, one of the great attributes of the Deity, should be withholden from the guilty, the government would cease to confound the innocent with real delinquents. All hopes of this kind, however, were soon annihilated; for the infamous Couthon brought forward a plan for organising the revolutionary tribunal
June 10. in such a mode, that the process would be equivalent to

condemnation without trial, and for so multiplying pretended crimes, that the most upright and unoffending individuals would be in constant danger of falling under the sentence of perverted law. Bourdon de l'Oise, without inveighing against the general injustice of the scheme, merely proposed that it should be so far amended as to leave the national representatives in safety ; but it was affirmed that their privileges were already secured. Bourdon was virulently abused by Couthon and Robespierre for presuming to suspect the committee of public safety of an intention of invading the privileges of the convention, and a warm altercation arose between Tallien and the despot ; but the latter was defended by Billaud de Varennes.

The endeavours of Bourdon and Tallien to form a strong party against Robespierre might soon have been baffled, if discord had not arisen in the Jacobin councils. Some of his confederates in iniquity began to be jealous of his views, and to disdain his control. The members of the committee of public safety differed on the subject of particular victims ; and when animosity had once shown itself, other grounds of dissension could not fail to be introduced. For some weeks, the meetings of the dark cabinet were not attended by Robespierre, who, leaving Couthon and Saint Just to support his interest, brooded over schemes of infernal vengeance¹. The guillotine was still in frequent action, driving his inferior adversaries from the world, and destroying objects of unfounded suspicion ; but he could not immediately fix his determination with regard to the grand scheme of intended massacre.

His enemies, in the mean time, were not idle. Encouraged by Collot, who still pretended to be his friend, they held meetings to ward off the meditated blow, and devise the means of extinguishing the reign of terror. Robespierre, who had spies in all parts of the republic, was informed of these consultations ; but he suspended his revenge against the contrivers of his ruin,

¹ It is affirmed, in the *Mémoires Politiques et Militaires*, that a quarrel with Billaud was the immediate cause of Robespierre's secession from the committee. He wished to recal Carrier, whose sanguinary ferocity disgusted even the malignant immolator of so many human victims. Billaud defended the depopulator of Nantes. " You alone," said Robespierre, " support that monster."—" He is less guilty than thou art," replied Billaud ; " he did not force upon the nation the law of the 10th of June."—" You are afraid that your accomplices may feel its effects," rejoined Robespierre, who then turned toward the other members of the committee, and said, " You seem to be overawed by the inventor of the revolutionary government (for Billaud was the original proposer of a *régime* which subverted all law, humanity, and order) : if you thus persist in a system of bloodshed, you will entail odium on the name of liberty. I will no longer remain with you." He instantly retired with a scowling aspect.

although he still had powerful and tremendous means of action. The ancient observation——*quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*¹——was verified in his conduct at this crisis.

Instead of acting with the vigour of a Cromwell, he harangued the convention with declamatory absurdity, disclosed the divisions in the two committees², complained of the malice of calumniators and the arts of the enemies of liberty, and desired support with a mixture of entreaty and menace. Panis asked whether many of the deputies were not marked out for destruction. Vadier and others hinted at a scheme of that kind; but no regular accusations were ordered by the assembly against either party.

Another night was suffered by the sanguinary faction to pass without maturing its schemes of proscription. The Jacobin club met; but its deliberations were not so prompt or so energetic as the danger of its chief required from accomplices so deeply interested in his fate.

When Robespierre appeared on the following day in the hall of the convention, murmurs, which his habitual authority July 27. had long repressed, pursued him to his seat; and no one would condescend to sit near him. This reception appalled his shrinking soul: an extraordinary paleness marked his visage, and tremor shook his limbs. Saint-Just, who still adhered to him, began to discuss the subject which had been last debated; but the bold impatience of Tallien interrupted and confounded the speaker, and brought the contest to a point. "Your guilty intentions," said this deputy, turning towards Robespierre, "cannot be concealed. You have added, to your former atrocities, a new conspiracy against the lives of the national representatives. But justice now overtakes you in your criminal career." Billaud also inveighed against the flagitious schemes of the Jacobin leader; and, when these assailants had formed a parapet, behind which men of less courage thought themselves safe, the aggression became general. Loud shouts announced the rising confidence of victory; and, when Robespierre attempted to speak, the petrifying cry, "Down with the tyrant" (*à bas le tyran*), re-echoed through the hall. Tallien, exhibiting a dagger in his determined hand, threatened to stab the object of general odium, if the con-

¹ "God first takes away the senses of those whom he wishes to destroy."

² After an absence of six weeks, he had lately reappeared at a joint meeting of the committees, and earnestly proposed a reconciliation: but his advances were treated by the majority with contempt. Collet amused him with promises of continued friendship, urged him to extinguish by a new proscription the last sparks of federalism, and stimulated him to that imprudent speech which hastened his destruction.—*Mémoires Politiques et Militaires*, tome ii.

vention should not have the courage to vote a decree of accusation. The sitting was declared permanent, until the sword of the law should have saved the republic from the fury of its oppressors; and it was resolved, that the commandant Henriot and his chief officers, Dumas, the president of the revolutionary tribunal, and some other partisans of the dictator, should be arrested without delay. Robespierre again rushed to the tribune, and stigmatized his opponents as a gang of *brigands*; but he was not suffered to continue his reproaches. Vadier, who had acted under him, developed his iniquities, and a decree of arrest was pronounced against him. His brother was subjected to the same stigma, as were also Saint-Just, Couthon, and Le Bas ¹.

The officers who were empowered to execute the orders of arrest, still feeling the terror so long inspired by the great power of the Jacobin rulers, would not for some time venture to lead off the offenders: but the authority of the convention prevailed; and the deputies were taken to the prison of the Luxembourg. Another obstacle soon arose. The keeper refused to confine them; and the populace escorted them to the town-hall, which was filled with their adherents. The members of the municipality were now avowedly in a state of insurrection; and victory might yet have attended their faction, if the troops of the sections had been led against the convention by a spirited and able commander. But, fortunately for the interests of humanity, Robespierre was a coward, Henriot was an idle boaster, and the rest of the party could assassinate more readily than they could fight. The insurgent deputies and their chief abettors were declared outlaws; and the effect of this seasonable decree was instantaneously powerful. The revolted seemed to be paralysed; and the well-disposed part of the Parisian community rallied round the convention, under the direction of Barras, who, though by no means an estimable citizen, now rendered himself useful to the state. The night was employed in preparation; and, early in the morning, the town-hall was recovered without the trouble or the danger of a conflict. Robespierre was wounded in the jaw by a pistol, which he is said to have fired at himself. Henriot was thrown out of a window by the enraged Coffinhal, a Jacobin judge, but, not being killed by the fall, was reserved for the guillotine. Le Bas shot himself effectually, after refusing to fire at his friend Saint-Just. The outlawed delinquents, being

¹ *Histoire Secrète de la Révolution Française*, par Pages, livre xxviii.—*De la Révolution*, par Necker, tome iii.—*Letters of Helen Maria Williams*, vol. iii.

identified by the revolutionary tribunal, were condemned to death without trial, to the number of twenty-two, and were led, amidst bitter maledictions, to that scaffold which they had so frequently dyed with blood¹.

Robespierre could not have acquired such an extraordinary degree of power, unless he had possessed a considerable share of ability; and if his capacity had been greater than it really was, he could not have made himself a dictator in a great republic, unless he had been favoured by the state of parties and by a remarkable concurrence of circumstances. His eloquence was not brilliant, but it was occasionally forcible and impressive. He had the art of managing a party, and of conciliating the regard of the populace. He disguised, under the veil of patriotism, the most unbounded ambition; and, on pretence of aiming solely at the public good, he committed a series of cruelties which cannot be remembered without the utmost horror, and which have entailed an indelible stigma on the nation that could so long endure them. His disinterestedness has been praised; but this is a trifling merit, when weighed against the practice of continual murder. In departments which were the seats of insurrection, he suffered men, who were equally unfeeling with himself, to destroy suspected persons in multitudes, without the formality of a trial; but at Paris his massacres were perpetrated with the forms of law, and even with the sanction of juries. In this respect he imitated an English tyrant, who murdered his subjects under the exteriors of law: I mean Henry VIII., who thus added insult to atrocity.

The French dictator was puny in his person, had a livid aspect, and a look which indicated fear and malignity. His occasional gesticulations and movements were those of a restless and perturbed spirit, conscious of villany, and sensible of the odium which his enormities had excited among the just, the moderate, and the humane. He was vain, and fond of flattery, naturally proud and reserved (but occasionally affable where his interest was concerned), vindictive, and destitute of all sense of friendship or attachment.

The overthrow of the tyrant did not produce an immediate cessation of the Neronian system throughout France. Many prisoners, indeed, were instantly liberated; but, in different

¹ *Histoire Secrète*, par Pages.—Necker.—Above seventy of their accomplices, chiefly belonging to the municipality of the capital, were soon after guillotined. Two months before these odious offenders suffered, their leader had consigned to the same fate a princess whose virtues merited a long and happy life—Elizabeth, sister of the late king.

parts, outrages were still committed by Jacobin malignity. Lenity was pronounced by some of the deputies to be highly dangerous; and the present expediency of not exasperating Billaud, Collot, and other *men of blood*, who had assisted in the ruin of their leader, induced Tallien to yield in some instances to their arbitrary counsels.

Lively joy arose among our countrymen as soon as the fate of Robespierre was known: but the hopes of forbearance on the part of France, with regard to other powers, were not very strong. The characters of Tallien, Bourdon de l'Oise, Freron, Le Gendre, Merlin de Thionville, and Le Cointre, were far from being of that upright, honourable, and moderate cast, which would lead them to relinquish the prospect of humbling Great Britain and domineering over the continent.

Before this Thermidorian¹ revolution took place, the republicans had been signally defeated at sea by that nation which they particularly wished to humble: for, while France prospered on the continent, and acquired, chiefly by her superiority of number, a degree of power which she could not exercise with dignity or moderation, Great Britain still maintained her fame on the ocean. Lord Howe, in the two preceding wars, had displayed his courage and skill as a naval commander, and he now fully established his reputation. With pleasure he met a French fleet, which, though it did not seek an engagement, did not meanly avoid it. In the number of ships of which each fleet consisted, there was little difference; for Villaret Joyeuse had twenty-six sail of the line, while Howe had twenty-five. The British admiral broke the line of the enemy, and quickly secured the victory. Seven June 1. ships were taken; one of which soon after foundered, with the loss of three hundred of her men. Another ship of the line was swallowed up in the sea during the engagement; and so rapidly did it sink, that, according to lord Howe's narrative, not a man was saved. Not two hundred and fifty men were killed in the victorious fleet; but it is probable that above two thousand of the enemy lost their lives, and that a greater number were wounded.

This triumph revived the declining spirits of the people. The king, visiting the fleet, personally thanked the chief conductor of its operations, and applauded the valour of his maritime subjects.

About the same time his majesty acquired a new crown. The discontent of a great proportion of the inhabitants of Corsica,

¹ So called from its occurring in the month of *Thermidor*, corresponding with the latter part of July and the former part of August.

under the oppressive yoke of France, had induced them to wish for a revolution. Paoli, who had returned to the island, encouraged their disaffection, and was therefore marked out for the vengeance of the Parisian convention; but he eluded an order for his arrest, and procured, from the zeal of his countrymen, the appointment of generalissimo. Hostilities broke out between his supporters and the friends of the republic; and the former accepted the aid of admiral Hood, who, with a small force, wrested Fornelli and San Fiorenzo from the hands of the conventional party. Bastia, defended by three thousand men and by strong works, sustained a spirited siege, in which the alertness and intrepidity of captain Nelson attracted panegyric notice. After the French had been dispossessed of this post, and before Calvi was taken, which endured a siege for seven weeks, the Corsicans submitted to the sway of the prince who had assisted them, by the unanimous decision of an assembly, combining the most general representation known in the island.

Victor Amadeus rejoiced at the transfer of Corsica to a member of the coalition. To himself, however, the campaign was unfortunate. The enemy failed in the first attack of the great and little mountains of Cenis, but prevailed on a renewal of effort, and also forced St. Bernard. On the side of Nice the Piedmontese were harassed with repeated conflicts; and neither they nor their Austrian associates could prevent the French from seizing various forts and some important towns.

On the Pyrenean frontiers of France and Spain, the war was attended with more remarkable incidents. The count De l'Union was posted with thirty thousand men on the banks of the Tech, near Ceret; but he was driven from his entrenchments by general Dugommier, leaving fifteen hundred of his men, and ample spoils, in the hands of the French, who also recovered Port Vendre and Colioure. Bellegarde made a long defence, under the command of the marquis De Vallesantoro. The count endeavoured to relieve that town from blockade, but he was repelled by the skill and valour of Augereau. The garrison being in want of provisions, the commandant at length surrendered the place. After an interval of two months, Dugommier directed Augereau to assault the works near the Mouga, that a way might be opened for the reduction of the Catalonian province. The detachment met with success: but, while the commander-in-chief was preparing to improve the advantage, he lost his life by a random shot. Perignon, who succeeded him, ordered a general attack, and forced the works by a persevering energy which

despised the danger of death. The count fell in the defence of his country, lamenting the disgrace of the army ^{Nov. 20.} which he commanded. Figueras now surrendered, and nine thousand men were made prisoners. In the western part of the Pyrenees, Le Franc and other officers dislodged the Spaniards from different posts: Moncey also pushed forward in defiance of all the obstacles raised by engineers: and Tregeville was equally fortunate. Fontarabia was taken without the labour of a siege: so was St. Sebastian: Port Passage and Tolosa were likewise seized. The province of Navarre was better defended than that of Biscay. The duke of Ossuna, indeed, was driven with considerable loss from Roncevalles; but he took some revenge in a subsequent conflict; and, though again repelled, prevented the enemy from reducing Pampeluna.

The French had some reason to boast of their exploits in Spain; but their success in Holland was more decisive. After the conquest of the Netherlands, Pichegru, postponing the siege of Breda, resolved to drive the duke of York over the Maes. When he had reached Hoogstraten, he attacked the outposts with success; and the duke retired behind the Dommel. The French passed that river in the face of the enemy, stormed the post of Boxtel, captured about fifteen hundred men, and baffled the efforts of general Abercrombie for its recovery. The British troops and their associates crossed the Maes without any serious molestation from the enemy, by whom, however, Crevecœur was quickly reduced, and whom even Bois-le-duc did not withstand above a fortnight. Moreau, whose division had taken Sluys, now joined Pichegru; and these able officers boldly pushed forward to the conquest of Holland¹.

At this crisis the burghers of Amsterdam manifested their disinclination to the existing government, and their aversion to the war. The hereditary prince of Orange and the duke of York having repaired to that town, to propose (among other objects) an inundation of the neighbouring country, they resolved to counteract the measure, as unnecessary and dangerous. Though popular meetings were prohibited, they assembled in the square before the stadthouse, and voted a petition to the council of regency, not only against the scheme of inundation, but also against the introduction of foreign troops, which formed a part of the stadtholder's plan. They deputed Vischer and two other per-

¹ *Histoire Chronologique des Opérations de l'Armée du Nord*, par David, chap. xiii. xiv.

sons to present the remonstrance, which was answered by a denial of the adoption of either scheme. The three burghers were punished with imprisonment for their boldness; but their associates in opposition were so far from being intimidated, that they continued to assemble, and formed regular companies for the protection of the capital.

A conflict which had a considerable effect on the subsequent operations took place near the Waal. Pichegru disposed his troops in four columns, and directed them to the most prominent

Oct. 19. parts of the hostile line, which extended from Appelthern to Druyten. Those and other posts were vigorously attacked: a body of emigrants suffered so severely, that few escaped; and the ranks of some English battalions were alarmingly thinned, before the duke retreated across the Waal. The investment of the strong town of Grave was now completed:

Venlo was taken; and Nimeguen was besieged by general Souham. In the erection of batteries for this siege, the French were exposed to a vigorous attack from a select *corps*, consisting chiefly of British soldiers; but, as they continued their operations without discouragement, the duke thought proper

Nov. 7. to abandon the place. Maastricht had already surrendered, after a siege of two months¹.

The middle class of the Dutch community (and great influence is usually possessed by this class in a commercial republic) apparently wished for, rather than dreaded, the arrival of the French. That wish was soon gratified by Pichegru's renewal of hostilities. A frosty winter promoted the views both of the French convention and of the disaffected party in Holland. A body of the invaders crossed the Waal in boats with little effect. They afterwards passed it by favour of the ice, but were driven back with

A.D. 1795. loss. They re-crossed it with augmented force, and the allies were constrained to retire over the Leck, and afterwards behind the Yssel.

Avoiding the delays that might attend sieges, the French now advanced into the province of Utrecht, and one of their detachments took easy possession of the capital of that territory. Pi-

Jan. 20. chegru penetrated to Amsterdam, and offered to the inhabitants the boon of Gallic freedom. The prince and princess of Orange fled to England, whither the British troops at length returned, after a series of difficulties and dangers, aggravated by an inclement season.

¹ *Histoire Chronologique*, par David.—London Gazette.

Two proclamations were now issued at Amsterdam, one by a revolutionary committee, exhorting the people to remain quiet, and recommending elections of national deputies; the other by those representatives of the French republic who attended the army. In the latter it was affirmed, that the French came as friends of the Dutch, and only wished to rescue them from the tyrannous yoke to which they had been subjected by the treacherous stadtholder. It was declared that persons and property should be protected, religious freedom secured, the laws and customs of the country provisionally maintained; and that the people, exercising that sovereignty which was their indisputable right, should alone enjoy the power of modifying or altering their constitution.

The provincial representatives of the province of Holland soon commenced their deliberations at the Hague. Peter Paulus, whom they chose for their president, congratulated them on the event of the campaign, and on the opportunity afforded to them, by the wonderful success of the French arms, of rearing the edifice of their liberty, amidst the influence of virtue, of reason, and philosophy, and restoring peace, security, and freedom. The rights of men and of citizens, and the sovereignty of the people, were asserted by the assembly; the distinctions of privileged orders, and various political institutions, were abolished; and committees of public safety, of finance, and of military organization, were appointed *pro tempore*.

The new municipality of Amsterdam laboured, with zeal and success, for the preservation of public tranquillity. A slight tendency to a partial riot, arising from an unwillingness to submit to a continuance of the established taxation, was easily suppressed. The new demands of provision, clothing, and money, for the use of the French army, were granted without disorder, and with little complaint. Inquiries were made into the abuses of the late government, and into the affairs of the Bank and the East and West India companies; and, when various delinquencies had been discovered, many officers were dismissed: but the municipality refused to gratify the vengeance of the violent democrats, who, from political animosity, rather than a detestation of crimes, wished for the punishment of the chief adherents of the stadtholder.

As soon as deputies could conveniently be chosen for all the provinces, a general assembly was holden; and one of the first votes ordained the abolition of the dignity of stadtholder. This decree was productive of great joy at Amsterdam: and a repub-

lican festival was celebrated, to cement the union between the Dutch and the French. But the rising friendship suffered some diminution, on the part of the former, when the terms of peace and alliance between the republics were communicated to the world. By one of the articles the Dutch were obliged to pay one hundred millions of livres to the French government, as an indemnification for the charges of the war; and, by another, to resign Dutch Flanders and other parts of their frontier, under the promise of an equivalent from the French at the epoch of a general peace. They were required to open the Scheldt to the Belgians and the French, and suffer the latter to garrison Flushing, to employ, in aid of their new allies, one half of their military force (subject to the command of French generals), and twelve ships of the line, with eighteen frigates.

This treaty rendered the United Provinces completely dependent on the French republic. Gallic fraternity proved a very inefficacious remedy for the evils imputed to the late government. The trade of Holland declined after this revolution. The people were impoverished by frequent defalcations from their property; and, as they were despised by their new masters, they had no prospect of redress if they should presume to complain. Their misfortunes and degradation did not excite the compassion of other powers, for they were considered as accessory to their own sufferings and disgrace.

Orders were now given for the speedy equipment of a fleet, that the tyrants of the sea might be checked in their career. But in the reduced state of the Dutch navy, it required a considerable time to fit out a respectable fleet; and, when ready for action, its egress from port served only to add to the glory of Britain.

During the operations of the French on the frontiers of Holland, some individuals who were supposed by the malice of party to be well affected to the French cause, and inclined to promote the formation of a republic in this country, had been accused of treason, and subjected to a criminal process¹.

In every country, my dear son, there are seditious spirits, eager to fish in troubled waters, and ready to take advantage of all the errors of government. They studiously propagate jealousy and suspicion, magnify ministerial delinquency, and exaggerate the evils under which the people labour. In this kingdom, fortunately, such characters are not very numerous, compared with the general population of the empire; and, even

¹ In November, 1794.

at the rise of the French revolution, when the subject roused and inflamed the friends of liberty, they did not compose such a multitude as to excite a serious alarm. We must not confound the parliamentary opposers of a minister, or the condemners of real abuses and grievances, with the incendiaries above-mentioned : but, amidst the rage of party, the distinction was scarcely noticed, for those who presumed, in either house, to question the patriotism or the political ability of Mr. Pitt, were branded with the odious appellation of Jacobins, and stigmatized as enemies of their country, though they were apparently better friends to the constitution than that minister and his advocates. Some free speakers, not members of the legislature, were at this time suspected of a wish to subvert the existing government, and introduce republican innovations, while they merely professed a desire of parliamentary reform. The premier, forgetting his own declarations of the necessity of a reform, resolved to institute a process against these presumptuous individuals, who wished to purify the great council of the nation. Hardy, who was the first in the indictment, was tried for high treason, and acquitted ; two others, of whom one was Mr. John Horne Tooke, were also pronounced not guilty ; and the crown lawyers then desisted from the prosecution of the rest.



LETTER XIII.

A Continuation of European History to the Treaty of Campo Formio, in 1797.

THE easy subjugation of the Seven United Provinces A.D. gave great pleasure to the convention. To the territories 1795. of the house of Bourbon the French had now added the seventeen provinces which were formerly governed by the house of Burgundy. Holland, indeed, was not annexed in form to the dominions of the great republic ; but the leaders of the Parisian assembly intended and expected to direct the movements of the ostensible rulers of the newly-fraternized state. They hoped to profit by the aid of the Dutch fleet to diminish the commercial facilities, and check the maritime triumphs of Great Britain.

While the Dutch thus readily submitted to the sway of France, the reluctant Polanders were constrained to yield to the arms of

potentates who affected to condemn the encroachments and the violence of the republican revolutionists. After the hostilities of the year 1792, the northern empress and the king of Prussia resolved to lighten, by a second partition, the political burthen of Stanislaus, which, they pretended, he was unqualified to sustain with the requisite dignity. The Russian troops were therefore directed to seize a great extent of country from the Dwina to the Niester : and general Krechetnikoff, assuming the government of this territory, ordered all the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to her imperial majesty, or retire from the districts thus transferred. A Prussian army followed the example of spoliation ; and several provinces, beside the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, were wrested from the Polish dominion, with the assent of the emperor Francis. These acts of injustice were pronounced to be necessary precautions against the contagion of Jacobinical principles, which might otherwise infect all the states bordering on Poland. A diet being convoked at Grodno, the deputies were exposed to military intimidation, and obliged to sanction the new dismemberment so imperiously prescribed¹.

The spirit of the people would not suffer them to submit tamely to the violence of their enemies. They wished for a leader who might form them into a regular confederacy ; and Kosciuszko appeared, to those who had influence among them, to be well qualified for that station. He had retired into Saxony, with Ignatius Potocki, Kolontay, and Zajonzek ; and these four resolute patriots declared their readiness to exert their energy in the cause of freedom. Zajonzek repaired to Warsaw, and privately conferred with the chief mal-contents ; while Kosciuszko, on the frontiers, anxiously awaited the result of their consultations. It was resolved that an insurrection should be risked ; but as suspicion was excited among the Russians, postponement was deemed advisable. Kosciuszko retired into Italy, where he remained until Zajonzek, being ordered, as a propagator of sedition, to banish himself from the Polish territories, informed him that his countrymen wished him to appear among them without delay, as a better opportunity might not soon arise. Madalinski, who commanded a regiment under the existing government, refused to disband it, and erected at Cracow the standard of revolt. Kosciuszko, again presenting himself in Poland, was elected chief of the confederacy. He took an oath of fidelity to the nation, and of adherence to the principles stated in the act of

¹ On the 24th of September, 1793.

insurrection, by which war was declared ¹ against the invaders of the rights and independence of Poland, and an equal enjoyment of civil liberty guaranteed to all the inhabitants of that country. So extensive was the power granted to Kosciuszko, that if it had been committed to any one who did not (like him) unite equity and moderation with courage and ability, patriots might have thought it dangerous to freedom; but, in his hands, it was only exercised for just and beneficial purposes ².

The Russians at Warsaw suffered severely from the animosity and rage of the Poles. General Ingelstrom having arrested many suspected individuals, the confederates seized the arsenal, and attacked the Russians, of whom about fifteen hundred fell, while the rest escaped to the camp of the Prussian general Wolki. The patriot chief had already routed seven thousand of the enemy; but he was subjected to a similar misfortune by the personal exertions of Frederic William, in a battle near Piliczka. That prince was afterwards compelled, by the defenders of a strong post, to retreat with some loss of honour.

Near Brzesci, the Poles, under Sirakowski, formed in three compact columns, were attacked by the Russians with great vigour. One column destroyed many of the assailants, but could not elude defeat. The other two divisions retired to Corochin, and took possession of an advantageous height, which, however, they quitted on the approach of general Islenief. Of three thousand men who composed one of the retiring columns, very few escaped death, or even deigned to implore mercy: in the other corps, an opportune dispersion rendered the slaughter less considerable. Another sanguinary conflict took place in a wood, to the advantage of the Russians; and, from Dobrzin, the Poles were dislodged with little difficulty. In these actions, above twelve thousand of the vanquished are said to have lost their lives ³.

After some inferior operations, an important engagement occurred at Matchevitz ⁴. The baron De Fersen, hearing that Kosciuszko expected to be joined by Poninski, resolved to attack him before the junction could be effected. Denisoff's division animated rather than fatigued by a difficult nocturnal march, first assaulted the enemy. The rest of the army came up about sun-rise; and the battle raged beyond mid-day. Kosciuszko was then convinced of the inutility of ulterior resistance,

¹ On the 24th of March, 1794.

² *Vie de Catharine*, par Castera, tome ii.—*Histoire du Règne de Frederic Guillaume*, par Ségur.

³ *Histoire des Campagnes de Suworow*, tome ii.

⁴ On the 10th of October, 1794.

as six thousand of his adherents lay dead on the field. He endeavoured to escape by the swiftness of his horse, but was overtaken by some Cossacks, one of whom, not knowing him, thrust a spear into his back. Falling senseless from his horse, he was taken to a monastery, when one of his officers had intimated that he was commander in chief. Chirurgical aid was administered to him; and he was conveyed in safety to Petersburg¹.

The reduction of Warsaw being the great object of Souvoroff, he sent orders to Dorfelden and Fersen to join him in his way to Praga, a suburb of the capital. At Kobylka, Islenief routed a Polish detachment; and other advantages were obtained over the unfortunate natives. When the two generals arrived with their troops, Souvoroff had twenty-two thousand men under his command; and he prepared with his usual activity and zeal for an attack of the entrenchments of Praga. He offered an amnesty to the revolutionists, if they would submit without farther contest; but they rejected overtures which involved their return to a state of slavery.

As soon as the Russian army had reached the suburb, three batteries were erected in the night: the points of attack were then fixed, and seven columns commenced their operations. The two first divisions were harassed, in every direction except the rear by a vigorous fire; but, being well supported by some squadrons of *chasseurs*, they surmounted all obstacles, and, rushing into the place, pursued their adversaries through the streets, slew about two thousand, and drove one thousand into the Vistula. The third and fourth columns, having passed with difficulty a sandy hill, penetrated within the works, put a body of horse to flight with the bayonet, seized one battery after another, and flanked the Poles. In this scene of action, a regiment of Jews made an obstinate defence, and at length suffered total destruction. The rest of the divisions forced the entrenchments with celerity, cleared the space between those works and the interior fortifications of the suburb, and filled the streets with heaps of dead. Some thousands, stopped by the river in their flight, were massacred by their savage foes, who did not even spare the weaker sex or helpless age. At least fifteen thousand persons were killed or drowned: fourteen thousand were made prisoners, the majority of whom were soon released and sent to Warsaw².

¹ *Histoire des Campagnes de Souvorow*, tome ii.

² Nov. 3, 1794.—*Histoire des Campagnes de Souvorow*, tome ii.

Confounded by the success of the invaders, the magistrates of the capital sent deputies with offers of submission. Souvoroff promised a full security of persons and property, if the troops and all the inhabitants would immediately deliver up their arms. The soldiery under Waurochewski, the successor of Kosciuszko, were inclined to carry off the king and all the Russian prisoners; but the magistrates opposed that intention, and ordered the people to resist the troops. The general then resigned his authority into the hands of the king and the supreme council, declaring that he had no farther means of providing for the safety of the republic. Stanislaus now liberated the Russian captives; and Souvoroff entered Warsaw in triumphal procession. The keys of the city were presented to him; and, looking toward the scene of the late carnage, he is said to have embraced the magistrates with a suffusion of tears.

Thus was the Polish revolution terminated by the hand of violence. The new constitution was annihilated, as inconsistent with the views of the confederate powers. They declared, that it was no longer expedient to have a separate king for Poland; and a third partition, a final spoliation, ensued. The palatinates of Cracow, Chelm, and Lublin, with other territories, were assigned to the house of Austria; Warsaw and other considerable towns were included in the Prussian share; and the czarina extended her acquisitions to the centre of Poland. The estates of many patriots were confiscated; and Stanislaus was deprived of the royal dignity, receiving assurances, however, of protection and support¹.

In private life, many (it is hoped) are "too fond of the *right* to pursue the *expedient*." But princes seem to be of opinion, that they are not bound by ordinary rules of rectitude or justice. Policy and expediency form the leading principles of their conduct.

This settlement was highly satisfactory to the king of Prussia, who, being no longer inspired with the zeal of anti-Gallican hostility, was inclined to revert to a pacific system. He even consented to resign that part of the dutchy of Cleves which was situated on the left side of the Rhine, that the French convention might be induced to gratify him with a pacification. That assembly acceded to his wish; and he also, at the request of the imperial diet, offered himself as a mediator between the republic and the court of Vienna. April 5.

¹ *Vie de Catharine*, tome ii.

The members of opposition, in the British parliament, freely stigmatised his character, for the neglect of those engagements by which he had bound himself to prosecute the war with extraordinary vigour in the preceding campaign; for he had accepted the money offered to him by a prodigal cabinet, and employed it against the Polanders rather than against the French. The speakers of the same party also censured the ministry for not having opened a negotiation for peace; but the majority of both houses deemed the French government too unsettled to authorise the hope of a permanent accommodation. The hopes rather than the expectations of the same members were disappointed at the result of a trial which had been protracted to the eighth year. It was generally, I may say universally, supposed, that the high court of peers would not pronounce Mr. Hastings guilty of high crimes, or even of misdemeanours; and indeed, after a course of nugatory litigation, he was acquitted of every charge. The members of such a court do not consider themselves bound by the rules of inferior courts, in which, when guilt is clear, character or services do not influence the verdict. They are inclined to balance useful acts or judicious measures against delinquency, and to acquit the able governor, where strict justice would condemn the plunderer or the oppressor. I may add, that a wish to gratify the sovereign probably influenced many of the noble judges. The declared opinion of the chief minister of the crown, against the accused person, had little weight in this instance, because it was concluded that he was not particularly desirous of the condemnation of the governor-general.

The debates of the convention were more acrimonious than those of the parliament. The subverters of the Robespierrean domination had frequent and warm contests with those deputies who were still inflamed with the Jacobinical *mania*; and the former did not triumph to the extent of their wishes, before the Girondist members, who had been secluded by the tyrant (to the number of seventy-three), were permitted to resume their seats.

In consequence of the report of a committee appointed to inquire into the conduct of the accomplices of Robespierre, Le Gendre proposed that Barrière, Billaud de Varennes, Vadier, and Collot d'Herbois, should be arrested as enemies of the nation. Barrière endeavoured to exculpate himself by alleging, that he had merely acted in compliance with the will of the convention, and the general sense of the people; but this evasive defence was unavailing, and the four obnoxious deputies were put under a guard in their own houses. It was afterwards voted

that they should be banished; and when the Jacobins had in vain attempted to rescue them, they were sent to the coast. Carrier had already been guillotined; and Fouquier-Tinville, with fifteen judges and jurors of the revolutionary tribunal, deservedly suffered the same punishment.

The Jacobins were so enraged at these acts of justice, that a conspiracy was formed against the convention. A tumultuary assemblage of men, and of clamorous women, approached the hall, demanding bread and the constitution of the year 1793. The gates were forced; and the insurgents, some of whom trampled upon the deputy Ferraud, spread themselves over the exterior court. They were repelled by the guards, but soon renewed the attack. They poured into the hall, shot a citizen who offended them, and also murdered Ferraud, who threw himself between some musquets and the president. Boissy D'Anglas then filled the chair; and, while horrid imprecations and menaces assailed him, he exhibited a philosophic calmness and magnanimity which over-awed the assassins. They urged him to give a written assent to their wishes for the prevalence of the Jacobin constitution and the release of the terrorists. He peremptorily refused; and Vernier, who afterwards took the chair, was equally firm. The committees of government deputed Le Gendre to restore tranquillity; but the insurgents ordered the arrest of those administrative bodies. A faithful battalion interfered, and apprehended the men who were proceeding to execute that order; the ruffians retreated in confusion, and the convention voted the arrest even of many of its members. On the succeeding day, the assembly soothed by concessions the battalions of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine; but when the mal-contents of that suburb had rescued a condemned assassin from the fate which he deserved, they were disarmed, and obliged to surrender the Jacobin criminals. Nineteen of the most active mal-contents were beheaded; and six deputies were condemned to death, three of whom stabbed themselves to avoid a public execution¹.

The murders committed by the Jacobins had left such keen sensations of revenge in the hearts of many of their countrymen, that a re-action of cruelty commenced after the return of a great number of individuals, whose names had been erased from the list of obnoxious emigrants. Regretting the loss of their relatives, and finding their habitations occupied by assassins, they were inflamed with a sanguinary spirit of vengeance; and assassi-

¹ *Histoire Secrète*, par Pagès, livre xxviii.

nations and massacres, in which not a few innocent victims were sacrificed, were perpetrated in various provinces, but more particularly in the southern departments. At Lyons, about one hundred and fifty supposed Jacobins or terrorists were sacrificed by the friends of monarchy, who alleged that the convention, satisfied with the exemplary punishment of the leading barbarians, seemed willing to spare the subaltern banditti. At Marseilles a greater number suffered; at Aix and Arles, similar scenes excited horror. These massacres did not constitute the proper mode of punishing guilt; but the anarchists, who had wantonly sported with the lives of their fellow-creatures, had no right to censure these acts of retaliation ¹.

The violence of the emigrants induced the legislature, after the suppression of an insurrection at Toulon, to revoke the amnesty, as far as it concerned the most determined assistants of the English in that town; and these were declared to be still liable to capital punishment as traitorous emigrants. All who had been dispossessed of their newly-acquired property on the return of its former possessors, were ordered to be reinstated without delay; and the constituted authorities were desired to attend with incessant vigilance to the establishment of tranquillity and order. Much blood, however, continued to be shed in the south by the virulence of party and the fury of revenge ².

The war was renewed with vigour on the southern frontiers, with a view of intimidating the Spaniards into a peace. The French troops in that quarter had been severely harassed by disease; and the great loss, consequent on that dreadful visitation, had delayed the opening of a new campaign; but their efforts were then so well directed, that, although the Spaniards had sometimes the advantage, additional conquests attended the republican arms. The duke of Alcudia, whose influence swayed the Spanish cabinet, now advised the king to make peace.

The Italian branch of the war was chiefly confined to the territories of Genoa, whose neutrality was not respected by either party. General de Vins attacked the French with success near Vado; but, when that commander engaged Scherer in the valley of Loano, seven thousand of the Austrians and their associates

¹ Freron stigmatized the authors of these barbarities as *ferocious and cowardly assassins*. They deserved the keen reproach; but he and his associates, who directed the horrible slaughter at Toulon, after the expulsion of the English, equally merited such epithets.

² *Histoire de la République Française, depuis la Séparation de la Convention Nationale, jusqu'à la Conclusion de la Paix entre la France et l'Empereur*, par Fantin des Odoards; tome i. chap. 3.

were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. Nelson, who served on that coast under admiral Hotham, manifested his zeal and alertness in the capture or destruction of store ships; and the admiral, in two engagements, diminished the naval force of the republic.

At a time when the Austrians, and the troops of the empire, expected a long respite from attack, as the French seemed to be unprepared to cross the Rhine, a considerable force passed that river and seized Dusseldorff. Another army took Mannheim; but the French were soon after routed near that city, and were at length driven from it; yet they prevented the victors from advancing to Luxembourg, which had been reduced early in the campaign. Jourdan was twice assailed in the Palatinate with an impetuosity which enforced his retreat. His troops encroached on the line of demarcation within which the French government had adjusted with the Prussian monarch an agreement of neutrality; and they committed horrible murders and devastations in their march ¹.

A bold attack upon a strong camp near Mentz led to farther success on the part of the Austrians. Clairfait made judicious arrangements for that purpose; and the double line of entrenchments did not long resist the simultaneous efforts of four divisions. About three thousand of the French were killed or wounded, and sixteen hundred of their adversaries: the prisoners were two thousand in number, and the artillery seized amounted to one hundred and six pieces, beside forty-three which fell into the hands of the pursuers. General Nauendorff afterwards obtained an advantage near Kirch-heim, and stormed the post of Rockenhausen. Oppenheim and other places were also taken, and the Palatinate was, for a time, fully recovered.

The desultory and desolating war in La Vendée had been closed, after the death of Robespierre, by a treaty which was advantageous to the insurgents: but it was now renewed, either because the terms of peace were not strictly observed by the governing power, or because the leaders of the royalists were encouraged by the British ministry with hopes of success. Before the re-commencement of hostilities, the death of the young prince, to whom the adherents of the late king gave the designation of Louis XVII., was announced to the world. It was attributed to the *scrofula* by the persons who opened his body; but the persecutions which he suffered, and the squalid

¹ *Gazette of Nov. 11.*

and comfortless state in which he lived, evidently hastened his dissolution ¹. His uncle, Louis Stanislaus Xavier, now assumed the royal title, and issued a proclamation to animate the friends of his family. To the supporters of the titular king speedy assistance was promised by our sovereign; but no one could very confidently expect that so small a force as that which was sent to the coast of Bretagne would effectually serve the royal cause, or materially injure the interests of the republic. Mr. Windham, however, who was then secretary-at-war, was of opinion that the emigrants ought to make some return, in active zeal, for the protection which they had received from the British government; and it was therefore resolved that a considerable part of their number should be transported to the peninsula of Quiberon, with such French prisoners as could, without actual compulsion, be prevailed upon to embark in the enterprise. Soon after their landing, they were joined by many of the Breton insurgents; and the count de Puisaye dispersed many copies of a manifesto announcing his wishes for the restoration of lawful government, and inviting his countrymen to co-operate in so just a cause. Fort Penthievre was taken, after a short siege; and various conflicts ensued, while Hoche was preparing to overwhelm the enemies of the republic. Assisted by the treachery of deserters, he re-took the fort, and advanced with an army which the emigrants and their associates could not long withstand. Sombreuil kept the enemy at bay while the British vessels were receiving numerous fugitives; and he and his division did not surrender before Hoche (as the emigrants declared) had promised that they should be considered as prisoners of war. Of the wretched captives who had no opportunity of embarking, about three hundred (among whom were Sombreuil and the bishop of Dol) were quickly condemned to death, and shot at Quiberon and at Vannes; and many others afterwards suffered.

While the French were rejoicing in this success, additional joy arose from the restoration of peace with Spain. Tallien announced the former intelligence amidst rapturous applause: Treilhard, from the committee of public safety, reported the latter in an animated tone. Having spoken of some operations against the *enemy* beyond the Pyrenées, he exclaimed, "Spain is no longer the *enemy* of France." The terms which he recited

¹ He was in the eleventh year of his age. His elder brother died in 1789, in his eighth year. His sister, Maria Theresa Charlotte, was exchanged for the deputies arrested by Dumouriez, sent to the court of Vienna, and married to her cousin the duke d'Angoulême.

were favourable to the republic, which, for condescending to restore what its arms had wrested from the Spaniards in Europe, obtained a valuable grant of American territory,—namely, the Spanish part of St. Domingo. This treaty was negotiated for the French by Barthelemi, envoy to the Swiss cantons, ^{July 22.} and signed at Basle by him and Don Domingo d'Yriarte. Barthelemi, in the following month, concluded a pacification with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who was constrained to withdraw his troops from the British service.

The terms to which his catholic majesty agreed were such as evinced his eagerness for peace. He dreaded the effect of the French arms, which his people were not sufficiently warlike to withstand; and, with reference to the opinions which the Jacobins so industriously propagated, he imagined that they would spread more rapidly in concert with victorious operations in the field, than during the prevalence of peace. Impressed with such sentiments, he disregarded the persuasions of the British court to a continuance of hostilities, and trusted to the barrier of law and usage which he might erect against Jacobinical doctrines.

It was the intention of the French government to draw the Spanish monarch into an alliance, that his navy might be employed against the English. It was therefore hinted to him that it would be advisable to strengthen his marine. In the mean time, lord Bridport and vice-admiral Cornwallis sustained against the French the honour of the British flag. The latter fell in with a fleet of very superior force, which, for a whole day, made a show of hostile intentions, but, instead of seriously endeavouring to overwhelm him, merely kept up a desultory fire. His ^{June 17.} men were in high spirits, and wished to engage closely; but prudence would not allow him to incur such a risk. His readiness for action, and the spirited conduct of sir Charles Cotton and sir Erasmus Gower, who commanded the ships which were most exposed, intimidated the French into a cessation of conflict. Lord Bridport was more fortunate than the vice-admiral, without possessing greater courage or ability. He attacked twelve ^{June 23.} ships of the line with ten sail, and compelled three to surrender: the rest escaped into the port of L'Orient ¹.

The contest for colonial power was prosecuted with spirit. An armament had been sent to Martinique, and descents were made on three parts of the coast. When the invaders had seized the strong post of Sourier, general Rochambeau offered to surrender

¹ *London Gazette*, of June 27, 1795.

the island, on condition that the English would engage to restore it to Louis XVII., if he should ever be actual king, or to the nation, if the republic should be acknowledged at a general peace by the chief powers of Europe. Sir Charles Grey rejected the limited offer, and demanded absolute submission. Fort St. Louis, which defended the chief town of the island, was stormed by the captain of the Zebra sloop (Faulknor), whose courage was so tinctured with ferocity, that he shot a seaman who seemed to shrink from the dangerous service. The governor now consented to the surrender of the remaining posts. St. Lucia was added to the British dominions without the loss of one life on the part of the invaders; and Guadeloupe was reduced within ten days by the active vigour and cooperation of the soldiers and seamen¹.

Disease soon emulcupants of Guadelou had risen from a low tide and a republica which he soon augme his standard; and the fered him, after great loss on th

St. Lucia was afte however, again disp of Hispaniola, or l transferred to the English by the colonists, amidst the dreadful dissensions which rendered the island a scene of misery; and, in the next year, they reduced Port-au-Prince, where they captured some valuable ships, but, by the tardiness of their movements, gave the French commissioners an opportunity of carrying off ample treasures. For some years a shadow of power was retained by the English in divided settlements.

Resenting the subserviency of the Dutch or Batavian republic to the French, the king of Great Britain ordered an attack of the Cape of Good Hope, and other colonies belonging to his late allies. Mr. Brooke, governor of St. Helena, without waiting for instructions, sailed with a ship of the line and some Indiamen, and a small land force, in the hope of taking the Cape by a *coup-de-main*; but, learning in his way that sir George Keith Elphinstone had been directed to undertake an expedition for that purpose, he returned to the seat of his government. Elphinstone and general Craig took Simon's-town; but their farther

tary success of the new ocgues, a bold adventurer, who ank of a national representa landed with a small force, g mulattoes and negroes to tated by his hostilities, sufdes, to re-take the island.

d by the French, who were, a subsequent year. A part id in 1793 been voluntarily

¹ *Gazettes* of April 21, May 16, 19, and 21, 1794.

success was doubtful, until fresh troops arrived. The Dutch were then confounded, and the governor of Cape-town Sept. 16. capitulated. Their territories in the island of Ceylon were also reduced, as well as those in the peninsula of Malacca.

While the leaders of the convention were pleased with the success of their efforts for a diminution of the number of their foreign enemies, they endeavoured to prolong their power by a decree which provided for the continuance of two-thirds of the assembly in a legislative capacity. This ordinance gave great offence to the advocates of the right of popular election, whose disgust was inflamed by the suggestions of the aristocratic party. The majority of voters, in the primary assemblies, favoured that arbitrary decree; but the sections of Paris, affirming that the suffrages had not been accurately or fairly collected, refused to submit to this decision. They declared their sittings permanent, issued proclamations against the tyranny of the convention, and levied an army in defence of the sovereignty of the people. The leaders of the confederacy were Le Maitre, a Spaniard named Marchena, the poet La Harpe, and La Fond. The acting general was Danican, who had served against the royalists in La Vendée. According to his account, the troops of the sections did not fire first; but it is affirmed by M. Pagès that they were the aggressors. They were destitute of artillery, and ill-provided with ammunition; and, therefore, the conflict was not of long duration. Oct. 5. Bonapartè had a considerable share in the easy victory obtained over the insurgents, of whom two thousand five hundred were cruelly slaughtered. "These victims," said some members of the national council, "were chiefly royalists, and deserved no regret."

While the remembrance of this insurrection was yet lively, the convention ceased to govern France; an assembly which Oct. 25. commenced its bold career with an unjust process against a patriotic prince, continued its progress for three years through scenes of multiplied horror, and perpetrated every excess of rapine, and every enormity of murder, that could enter into the thoughts of the most unprincipled and unfeeling barbarians.

By the new constitution, five hundred men, in the youthful vigour of life, were to form one legislative council; and two hundred and fifty, above forty years of age, were to compose another assembly. Laws were to originate in the former, and to be submitted to the approbation or rejection of the latter. Five directors, chosen by the legislature, were to be intrusted with the exe-

cutive power. These three divisions of the political body were compared to the imagination which conceives, the wisdom which deliberates and revises, and the movement which executes and carries into effect. In the convention, all powers were absurdly united; but, in the new plan, the executive and legislative powers were not sufficiently connected. The directory had not that close affinity with the legislature which the strength of government required, or that allowed power which would sway the balance between the councils; nor was the responsibility of that body, or of the ministry, precisely marked, or adequately settled¹.

The judicial authority was deprived of that permanency which would have rendered its administrators more respectable and independent, for they were liable to be removed after a service of five years. The tribunals also were too nearly equal in point of jurisdiction, and were not sufficiently under the control of a supreme court of law. Nor did the code provide (as a constitution professedly popular ought to have done) for the existence of an independent magistracy bound to listen to complaints of mal-administration or grievance, and demand redress from the government in the name of national liberty. It was stated, indeed, that the constituted authorities in the departments, cantons, and *communes*, had a right to present petitions to the legislature; but those authorities were too dependent to be respectable, and this branch of liberty was so restricted, that it could not be used to any purpose of general utility.

Juries were allowed; but the mode of choice left that valuable institution in danger of being perverted. An article, pretending to grant the privilege of *habeas-corpus*, was introduced; but it was so worded as to leave personal liberty imperfectly secured. In various parts of the code, indeed, there was a seemingly-intentional deficiency of precision.

While the people were thus left in a great measure under an arbitrary yoke, notwithstanding reiterated promises of the most desirable freedom, the right of occasional pardon, the power of softening by mercy the rigid dispensations of justice, found no place in the new code. Necker quaintly terms this omission a defect of unction (*un défaut d'onction*), and considers it as a remarkable instance of the dryness (*sécheresse*) of modern French legislation. A sense of religion, by suggesting a wish for the

¹ *De la Révolution Française*, par Necker, tome iii. sect. 4.

future participation of divine mercy, would (he thought) have prompted the framers of the constitution to assign, to some high authority in the state, the province of pardon : but religious ideas did not influence those politicians. A sense of humanity, I may add, might have served to point out such a subject : but, perhaps, they thought that it was necessarily included in the supreme power.

The most rigorous part of the code was that which authorized, on any pretence which the legislature might adduce, a general military conscription. Every citizen (it was said) was bound to afford his personal service for the maintenance of equality, liberty, and property, whenever the law required him thus to act for his country. Such a power is too arbitrary and extensive to be safely allowed to the rulers of any nation upon earth. No government can have a right to force the people into military service, except when the country is invaded or in real and undoubted danger ; and, certainly, a set of French legislators, in revolutionary times, were wholly unfit to be trusted with the power of forcible conscription, the majority being ardent, rash, violent, and unfeeling.

The new directors were not men of honour, humanity, or virtue : but some of them possessed considerable abilities. Carnot, who had superintended the military department, was one of the number ; the four others were, Barras, Reubel, La Reveillère Lepaux, and Le Tourneur. All were regicides ; but Le Tourneur was the least violent of the whole body.

Four parties at this time divided the French nation. The first consisted of those republicans who were attached to the new constitution. The approvers of the code of 1793 formed the second ; and these pretended that they were the only true republicans. The politicians of the third class were semi-royalists, and wished to restore the *régime* of the constituent assembly, which they considered as a proper medium between regal despotism and republican tyranny. The fourth party preferred the old system to all the innovations which had taken place since the meeting of the states-general in 1789. The members of this division, however, were not very numerous ; and most of them, from a despair of the success of their views, were ready to unite with the third party.

The directors soon began to extend their influence at the expense of the two councils ; and, at the same time, the executive power in Great Britain procured an augmentation of authority.

Two statutes were enacted, one for multiplying penal inflictions on pretence of treason, making even freedom of remark, when repeated, a misdemeanour punishable by transportation; the other for subjecting meetings of the people to new restrictions.

An extension of the rigours of the penal code might suit the arbitrary dispositions of Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville, but did not harmonize with the general feelings of the nation. The laws against treason and sedition were already sufficiently strong for any regular government; and the petty intrigues of obscure democrats did not require or justify additional severities. The king, trusting to his remaining popularity, and to the aggrandized influence of the ~~insane~~, might safely have dissuaded his ministers from the ~~which~~ impolitic measures; and ~~desirable~~ to make a frequent use of that branch ~~ve~~ which allowed him occasionally to refuse his true friends of their ~~e~~ stigmatized with ~~re~~ the constitutional rig.

A.D. Complying in ~~to~~ 1798. ~~jesty~~ ordered ~~to~~ to sound Bartholem ~~overture~~ failed in ~~co~~ int, importing that no territories which had been ~~and~~ the republic¹ would be restored. In the following autumn negotiatory conferences took place at Paris; and these also proved abortive for the same reason.

The republican directors were preparing for a vigorous campaign, when their power was menaced by a conspiracy. Babœuf, Drouet, Laignelot, and other turbulent men, directed by ex-deputies, were the intended agents in this plot, in which both Jacobins and royalists were concerned. Their views were pointed to the overthrow of the directory and the new constitution, and to a re-establishment of the code of 1793; but the plot was detected before the conspirators were ready for action, and Babœuf and some of his accomplices were put to death. The sequel of the scheme may here be mentioned, though it occurred four months afterwards. About five hundred armed men advanced to the camp of Grenelle, near Paris, intending probably to court the soldiery to a junction with them.

¹ The Belgic provinces had been thus incorporated in the preceding September.

They were quickly repelled with loss, and totally defeated. Three members of the late convention (Huguet, Javoques, and Cusset) were tried by a military committee for a concern in this violent scheme, and capitally punished¹.

General Jourdan was still employed in Germany to maintain the cause of the republic. About the close of the spring he detached Kleber to attack the prince of Wurtemberg, who was stationed between the Sieg and the Lahn. The French fought with such impetuosity and vigour, that the prince was driven from his post with considerable loss. He retired to Uckerath, and, when Kleber was preparing to surround him, hastened to Altenkirchen, where he was exposed to a fresh attack. The French were again victorious; and their success drew the arch-duke Charles to the Lahn, that he might check their career. Near Wetzlar he assaulted a strong position which Le Fèvre had chosen, and, by repeated efforts, obtained the advantage. He soon after compelled Jourdan to repass the Rhine, and sent about twelve thousand men, under Kray, to harass Kleber, who was retiring, with twice that number, toward the Sieg. The French general hoped to overpower his antagonists; and his confidence, for a time, seemed to be well founded: but the courage and firmness of three of Kray's battalions signally contributed to turn the tide of victory. Unshaken by the numerous artillery of the enemy, they rushed upon nine battalions with fixed bayonets, and, by defeating that part of Kleber's army, furnished the Saxon and Austrian cavalry with an opportunity of rallying. Those who so lately exulted in the hopes of triumph now made a hasty retreat toward Dusseldorff².

An invasion of Suabia was undertaken by the gallant and active Moreau. The fort of Kehl being weakly garrisoned, a small part of his force reduced it without the aid of cannon. He improved the works of the place; and then advanced with alacrity, expecting to divide the imperial army of the Upper Rhine. Of the three divisions of his army, the strongest was that which Desaix conducted. When this officer had attacked general Latour with advantage at Renchen, he was joined by Moreau, who engaged the same commander near Rastadt, and, after a long conflict, dislodged him from a strong post. Latour, as he was retiring, was gratified with the enlivening presence of

¹ *Histoire Secrète de la Révolution Française*, par Pagès, tome ii.

² *History of the Campaign of 1796, in Germany and Italy*, 8vo. 1797.

the archduke, who stationed himself at Etlingen, to observe the movements of Moreau.

Encouraged by the departure of Charles, Jourdan again crossed the Rhine, and, driving the Austrians before him, also passed the Lahn; between which river and the Maine, the French forced all the posts of their adversaries, who, retiring to Frankfurt, were soon dispossessed of that city. The archduke was now apprehensive of great danger from the eventual co-operation of Jourdan and Moreau; and to avoid it, he determined upon a speedy engagement with the French general. He had made judicious arrangements for this purpose, when Moreau attacked him in every point of his position. The archduke, who commanded the left division of the Austrians, repulsed the French in four assaults; but, being at length outflanked, he retired to Pfortzheim. Charles had baffled the attempts of the enemy on his right and in the centre; but the retreat of the rest of the army, and the seizure of the mountains on his left, rendered it expedient for him to quit the field, when about two thousand of his men had been killed, wounded, or captured. In a partial conflict which soon followed, the French were routed. The Austrian prince, however, retired toward the Necker; and the divisions of the prince of Condé and general Frolich fell back on the Danube. After various skirmishes, the archduke's movements were still retrograde; and the troops that opposed Jourdan also continued to retreat, maintaining, however, a communication with the grand army.

Near Allersheim, Charles hoped, by a general action, to arrest the progress of Moreau; but the bad state of the roads, in consequence of intervening rain, so retarded the advance of his columns, that the French general had time to prepare completely for defence. The Austrian centre prevailed, until the right had been severely treated; yet the latter division was on the point of being reinforced and rallied, when intelligence of the progress of Jourdan to a junction with Moreau, induced the archduke to desist from the conflict, although he found that his left wing had been very successful¹. Turning his eye to the operations of Jourdan, who threatened an irruption into Bohemia and Upper Austria, the heroic defender of Germany hastened from the Danube to the Naab, and prepared to crush the bold invader. He sent three columns against the front of the French army, and directed four others to turn it upon the right and left. Jourdan,

¹ *History of the Campaign of 1796*, chap. ii. and iii.

however, was not disposed to await the dangerous experiment. He precipitately retired to Amberg, where his pursuers routed a part of his discouraged host. At Sultzbach he sustained farther loss. Still harassed, he reached the Maine by forced marches, and halted near Schweinfurt. To facilitate the expulsion of the enemy from Franconia, general Hotze seized the town of Wurtzburg, and maintained the post against an impetuous attack from Jourdan. Retiring to Kornach, the republican commander resolved to await, in a favourable position, an assault from the archduke. The Austrians, by a vigorous charge, compelled the French cavalry to retreat, but were themselves disordered by the fire from batteries erected upon a chain of hills. The heights were at length forced, and Jourdan was defeated, with only the loss of about eight hundred men on the part of the victors, while five thousand of the French were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. The well-stored citadel of Wurtzburg was now obliged to surrender; and the Austrians improved their success by a diligent pursuit of the routed foe¹.

If the French had not acted with iniquitous violence, the miseries of their retreat would have excited the compassion of their adversaries. Fatigue, hunger, and the hostilities both of the soldiery and the incensed peasants, harassed and greatly thinned the retiring army, or rather the fugitive parties. The circle of Franconia was soon freed from its licentious invaders; and the works of Dusseldorff secured the vanquished general and the remains of his force.

When Charles left the banks of the Danube, he had entrusted general Latour with the defence of Bavaria. Moreau passed the Lech, but was prevented, by the arrival of a strong detachment which the archduke sent, from penetrating beyond the Iser. Having intimidated the elector into a retreat from his capital, he granted to that prince the indulgence of an armistice, on condition of the gradual payment of ten millions of livres, and the immediate or speedy delivery of a great quantity of corn, articles of clothing, and works of art. Intent on this accommodation, the French general neglected the concert which policy required him to maintain with Jourdan; and, for some weeks, he had no knowledge of the movements either of that officer or his brave antagonist. He was overreached on this occasion by the secrecy and circumspection of Charles; and, when he was informed of the defeat of Jourdan, and apprehended the return of the arch-

¹ *History of the Campaign*, chap. iv.

duke, he began to be sensible of the necessity of a retreat. In eluding the approximation of his adversaries, he manifested ability and judgment; but his celebrated retreat deserves more distinct notice than such general remarks would include or convey.

When Desaix had been attacked with success, in preparing to join Moreau, whose rear-guard had also been defeated, the commander-in-chief retired to the Lech. To repel his pursuers, he again pushed forward, until the danger of being surrounded drove him back to that river. He intended to take the route of Ulm, and pass through the duchy of Wurtemberg; but, when the Austrians obstructed his course to Stutgard, he turned off to Biberach. Driven from this town, he marched to the south-west; and, failing in an attack of the van-guard of Latour near Schussenreid, made a bold effort against the whole force which that general personally commanded. He defeated the right wing near Riedlingen, and constrained the left and the centre to retire. The corps of Condé being ordered to cover the retreat, performed that service with distinguished spirit, and prevented the ruin of the army. About three thousand five hundred of the Austrians were made prisoners on this occasion, and five hundred lost their lives¹.

This success did not so far encourage Moreau, as to prevent a renewal of his retrograde movements. He divided his army into three columns, which retired in parallel lines, the right and left opening the passage into the Black Forest, and the centre keeping Latour in check. Desaix dislodged general Petrasch from some important posts; but the retreat was still exposed to great difficulties. Two passages presented an alternative; and each was so guarded, as to be pregnant with danger. Moreau preferred the valley of *Hell*, not deterred by the formidable name. His centre routed the defenders of the pass, and reached Freyburg, which the Austrians in vain endeavoured to preserve. The rest of his army also effected a retreat to that town, while Latour hovered on the rear.

The archduke now re-appeared on the Upper Rhine, and, finding Fort Kehl too well guarded to be taken by a *coup-de-main*, ordered it to be blockaded. He then advanced toward the Black Forest, and, with Latour and his chief associates, formed a line from the river to St. Peter's valley. The position of the Brisgaw

¹ *History of the Campaign*, chap. vi.—*Europäische Annalen*, Jahrgang, 1796, von D. E. L. Posselt.

was now bravely contested. After some partial conflicts, in one of which the duke D'Enghien signalized his courage, a general action took place. The Austrian right wing, conducted by Latour, attacked Kentzingen; but, being twice repelled, did not succeed before the archduke had made a furious charge at the head of the grenadiers. The centre, under Wartensleben, assaulted the heights near Malmertingen, and forced them by vigour and perseverance. Petrasch, with the left wing, encountered serious difficulties, which, however, did not prevent him from dislodging the well-posted enemy. The woods above Keimbach were seized by Meerfeld; prince Frederic of Orange turned the right of Moreau; and Nauendorff, at Waldkirch, baffled the personal efforts of that able commander ¹.

Retiring to the southward along the Rhine, Moreau made choice of Eckenheim, Steinstadt, and some intermediate villages, for a new position. The selection was allowed to be judicious; but the strength of the line did not effectually secure it. The Austrians ultimately forced it; and the French then retreated to Huningen, where they passed the Rhine in the face of a vigilant foe, and saved even their artillery and baggage.

After this admirable retreat, the attention of Moreau was directed to the preservation of Fort Kehl, which, under the archduke's eye, was subjected to a vigorous siege. The general having sent Desaix with a reinforcement to the garrison, that officer impetuously sallied out, and took three of the redoubts erected by the besiegers; but, after both parties had sustained considerable loss, he returned wounded to the fort. The siege was continued for seven weeks; and the Austrians, during that time, lost about ten thousand men by the fire of the garrison, fatigue, and disease.

The war was carried on with extraordinary vigour beyond the Alps. The directory earnestly wished, not only to force the king of Sardinia into a peace beneficial to France in point of territorial acquisition, but also to dispossess the Austrians of the Milanese, and abridge their power in other parts of Italy. For the accomplishment of these wishes, an officer who had great courage, but little experience, was placed at the head of a numerous army. This was Bonapartè, who, in the vicinity of Savona, reviewed his forces, and prepared them for action. As he seemed to threaten the city of Genoa, a detachment of the allied army advanced to the suburbs; and Beaulieu, who had been

¹ *History of the Campaign, chap. vii.—Posselt's Annalen.*

sent to take the chief command of the Austrian troops, made arrangements for the attack of the whole French line. The success of the plan depended chiefly on the exertions of Argenteau, who was ordered to assault three strong redoubts, raised one above another. He forced two of the number, but failed in the attack of the other. Beaulieu was not unsuccessful near Genoa, as general Cervoni fled before him; and Colli, who commanded the troops of the Sardinian prince, made some progress near the Tanaro, until the apprehension of losing his communication with the Austrians, in consequence of the dexterous movements of Bonapartè, constrained him to fall back. Being out-flanked by the French, Argenteau was routed at Montenottè; and the rest of the army also found it expedient to retreat.

Elate with this victory, Bonapartè took the earliest opportunity of acquiring fresh laurels. At Monte-lezino¹, he Apr. 14. broke the concert between the Piedmontese and the Austrians, and, having defeated the former, attacked the latter with that energy which ensured success. About six thousand men in the vanquished army were killed, wounded, or captured².

The victorious general now marched towards the Tanaro, and, during four successive days, assaulted a position which the Piedmontese had chosen. They then abandoned it in the night, and, being closely pursued, were encountered near Mondovi. Unable to withstand the superior number of the enemy, they formed a strong line behind the Stura, from Coni to Cherasco. The safety of Piedmont in general, and of its capital in particular, depended on the preservation of this line of defence.

The ill fortune of the allies, in this campaign, so depressed the spirits of the king of Sardinia, that he had not the courage to continue the war. He found his troops precluded from Austrian aid, and did not expect that they would be able long to maintain their defensive post. Even a dishonourable peace, he thought, was preferable to hostilities that might be ruinous. He therefore sent plenipotentiaries to treat with the French commissaries at Genoa; and, in the mean time, a truce was solicited and obtained from Bonapartè, who haughtily demanded, in return for his condescension, the surrender of three fortresses, and other May 15. favours. Of the treaty of peace, which soon followed the armistice, the terms were humiliating and disgraceful to the unfortunate king. He was obliged to cede to the republic

¹ Sometimes called *Millesimo*.

² *History of the Campaign of 1796 in Italy*, chap. i.

the territories of Savoy, Nice, Tende, and Beuil; to put the French in possession of Coni, Exilles, Susa, Alessandria, and other towns and fortresses, until a general peace should be concluded; and was prohibited from erecting or repairing any fortifications near the frontiers of France. Thus was Victor Amadeus punished for his hostility to a dangerous and formidable revolution ¹.

The secession of the Sardinian prince from the confederacy rendered defensive measures, on the part of the Austrians, particularly expedient, until considerable reinforcements should arrive from Germany. Retiring behind the Po, Beaulieu selected a favourable position, where his troops rested upon their arms. The armistice with Victor had allowed to the French a free passage through the Piedmontese principality; but, instead of taking immediate advantage of the indulgence, they marched into the dominions of the duke of Parma, and passed the Po near Placentia. A truce was granted to the duke by Bonapartè, who, when Beaulieu had retreated to the neighbourhood of Lodi, in the Milanese, advanced to the conquest of this flourishing territory. The bridge of Lodi was so well fortified, that an attack was deemed desperate by all the field officers whom the general consulted on the occasion; but the grenadiers, rendered fearless of danger by potations of *eau de vie*, stormed the post. When they had been repeatedly driven off with great loss, ^{May 10.} the aid of a reinforcement achieved the dangerous work. The retreat of Beaulieu being protected by a body of Neapolitan cavalry, he did not lose so many men as the French, of whom above three thousand five hundred were killed or wounded ².

This victory was followed by the acquisition of Milan, and by a series of spoliation and outrage, committed in that city and in other towns of Lombardy. Multiplied acts of tyranny and violence excited a spirit of vengeance, and the inhabitants rose in arms against the detested intruders. In the capital, the insurrection was quickly suppressed; but, at Pavia, where the French garrison had been overpowered and disarmed, the personal exertions of the general were supposed to be necessary. He forced open the gates, and diffused through the place the atrocities of massacre. He would have totally destroyed the city, if he had not found the garrison safe. In other towns and districts, many unfortunate objects of suspicion were seized, and put to death by military ruffians.

¹ *Des-Odoards*, tome i. chap. x.

² *History of the Campaign*, chap. ii.

As the effects of the battle of Lodi had driven the Austrians into the bishopric of Trent, and left the Italian states defended only by native troops, Bonapartè exercised his influence over the grand duke of Tuscany, insisting on the expulsion of the English from Leghorn, and the exclusion of their ships from that port; and the supreme pontiff of Christendom was subjected to the arrogant and rapacious tyranny of one who pretended to be a devout son of the catholic church. He was required to purchase

the favour of Gallic forbearance by the disgraceful surrender of Bologna and other towns, the grant of twenty-one millions of livres, and the donation of three hundred manuscripts and pictures. The last species of pillage was particularly injurious to the feelings of the Italians, whose disgust at such rapine was proportioned to their admiration of the works of art, and their knowledge of the attractions which those treasures held out to foreigners of taste. The French generals were better judges of the merit of paintings and statues than Mummius, the unrefined conqueror of Corinth: but their desire of enriching the capital of their republic at the expense of the unoffending nations of modern Italy, combined illiberal insult with profligate rapacity.

His Neapolitan majesty had previously obtained the gratification of a truce, without being obliged to pay for the indulgence; but the duke of Modena was robbed of pictures, and required to pay four hundred and thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds, in money and useful articles, for a cessation of hostilities: and the duke of Parma, when he solicited the same favour, also felt the rigours of republican rapacity. Speaking of these two princes, Bonapartè said to his soldiers, "They owe their political existence to your generosity alone."

The siege of Mantua now occupied the chief attention of the invaders of Italy; but even the sanguine confidence of their general did not expect its speedy reduction. While that town was under a partial investment, Leghorn was seized by a detachment; the effects of the enemies of France who resided in the place were confiscated, and Vaubois was left with a garrison to overawe the inhabitants.

Considerable reinforcements being sent to the Austrian army in Italy, Wurmsér, who was deemed better qualified than Beaulieu for the chief command, advanced to attack the French, who had seized every important post from the lake of Garda to Legnago, on the Lower Adige. He dislodged them from some of these stations; they retired from others; and the siege was

raised. But Bonapartè soon recovered from this check. D'Allemagne, one of his field-officers, assaulted an Austrian division at Lonato, and prevailed in the conflict. Massena, three days afterward, triumphed near the same spot; and, at Castiglione, the Austrians sustained another defeat. In the last of ^{Aug. 5.} these engagements, general Serrurier was directed by Bonapartè to turn the left flank of Wurmser, while Augereau attacked the centre and Massena the right wing. These combined assaults were successful; and the Austrian general retired to the Tirolese frontier, when about fifteen thousand of his men had in five days been killed, wounded, or captured. Mantua was now re-invested; and the victorious commander hoped not only to ruin Wurmser's army, but also to penetrate to the banks of the Danube, and assist the other generals of the republic in humbling the pride and curtailing the dominions of Austria¹.

After a month's respite, the opposite armies again tried their strength. The Austrians, entrenched near the Adige, defended themselves with spirit. Massena attacked their left wing in the defiles of San-Marco, while Vaubois marched against their right, encamped at Mori. Both wings were dislodged by the vigour of the assailants, who then pushed forward to Roveredo, and stormed a new post chosen by Wurmser for its supposed defensibility. The victors gained possession of Trent, and compelled all who had authority in that city to take an oath of allegiance to the French republic.

The Austrians now made such movements as drew off the French from the Trentine territory. Wurmser hastened to the Brenta, and displayed his personal courage in the battle of Bassano; but his central division was at length forced, and he found it difficult to secure a retreat. He fled toward Verona, but was excluded from that city by the manœuvres of ^{Sept. 8.} general Kilmaine. Pursuing his course to Mantua, he encouraged the garrison by his seasonable appearance, and checked the besiegers by some spirited sallies.

During the renewed siege of Mantua, the eye of Bonapartè took a general survey of Italy. Exulting in the conquest of the Milanese, he wished that it might be permanently subjected to the French dominion. In the affairs of Venice he had already interfered; and he hoped soon to revolutionize both that republic and the Genoese state. The sovereigns of Piedmont and Tuscany he did not consider as formidable adversaries; and the head of

¹ *Des-Odoards*, chap. xxi.—*Europäische Annalen*, Jahrgang, 1796, von D. Posselt.

the church was still less an object of alarm. The king of Naples and the duke of Parma courted his forbearance; and treaties of peace with those princes were now concluded at Paris. It

Oct. 10. was stipulated that the former should acknowledge the French republic, and not afford the least aid or encouragement to the enemies of that state; and that the latter should allow to the French troops a free passage through his territories, but that neither party should grant such an indulgence to the enemies of the other. The duke of Modena not having fully complied with the terms of the armistice, the agreement was annulled by the offended general, who also instigated the inhabitants of the duchy to form a new government. Thus, while one state was erected in the Milanese, under the appellation of the Trans-Padane Republic, another arose in the Modenese, including Massa and Carrara, and received the name of the Cis-Padane Republic¹.

Alvinzi having assumed the command of the Austrian army in Italy, recruited and reinforced, Bonapartè advanced from the environs of Mantua to meet him. He first attacked general Provera with success; and afterwards, near the village of Arcolè,

Nov. 14. assaulted a well-posted division, which kept him almost a whole day in check. On the following day, the rage of slaughter again prevailed, without signal advantage on either side. After a night of little rest, Augereau's division re-attacked Arcolè, which had been taken and then evacuated; but he met with a repulse. Fresh troops came up, and turned the left of the Austrians, who retired in the night toward Vicenza. In these three engagements, about eight thousand of Alvinzi's men were killed, wounded, or made prisoners: the French, with the exception of captives, probably sustained an equal loss².

Davidovich had been so zealous and alert with a separate army, that he had recovered the greater part of the episcopate of Trent. He distinguished himself in some conflicts of the fiercest nature;

Nov. 21. but, being at length repelled by the united efforts of Massena and Vaubois, he was unable to afford relief to the garrison of Mantua. The defenders of that city had still opportunities of procuring supplies by sallying from the gates; but their hopes of preserving the place now ceased to be sanguine.

Not only the emperor and some of the Italian princes were unfortunate in this year, but the British monarch also lost ground in Italy. The Corsicans were soon weary of the yoke which

¹ Beyond the Po with respect to the heart of Italy.

² Posselt's *Annales*, 1796.

³ Des-Odoards, chap. xxxviii.—*History of the Campaign of 1796, in Italy*, chap. v.

they had imposed upon themselves, although it was certainly less oppressive than that of France or of Genoa. They listened to the suggestions of French emissaries, took arms in various districts, and received military aid from their celebrated compatriot, the conqueror of the Milanese. After vain attempts to reclaim them, the English retired from Corsica ; and the authority of France was re-established in the island.

Much greater injury than Great Britain could feel from the loss of Corsica might have been inflicted by the French, if a large army had made a descent in Ireland. Hoche had pacified La Vendée by the ruin of Charette, who was condemned to death by a court-martial ; and the Jacobin general was afterwards appointed to command the force intended for the invasion. But a storm dispersed the ships, some of which were sunk or captured ; and the bold scheme was frustrated.

The turmoils of war and invasion did not disturb the tranquillity of the north. Sweden and Denmark occasionally sent out royal fleets to exercise the seamen, but continued to decline all concurrence in the crusade against France. The duke of Sudermania governed with wisdom, and baffled the intrigues and plots of the partisans and emissaries of Russia. The baron von Armfeldt had been recommended to the regent by Gustavus III. as a confidential minister : but the duke destroyed the testamentary paper which contained the request, and excluded the baron from the council, sending him into honourable exile as a diplomatist at Naples. The absent nobleman became a traitorous conspirator¹, and was outlawed ; Ehrenstrom suffered death as his accomplice, and the countess Rudenskold was confined for life. The czarina, being unable to eject the duke from the regency by seditious machinations, endeavoured to secure the attachment of the young Gustavus by a marriage between him and Alexandra Paulowna, whose charms and virtues he admired. Repairing with his uncle to Petersburg², the king expressed an inclination to espouse the grand-daughter of the empress ; but when he found that the free exercise of her religion was claimed, he refused to sign the contract, alleging that it was incompatible with the laws of Sweden. He was probably influenced on this occasion by the regent, who merely *seemed* to approve the connexion.

Catharine had engaged, after her final success in Poland, to assist Great Britain against France ; but she did not adhere to the articles of the alliance. She attacked the Persians instead

¹ In 1794.

² In August, 1796.

of the French, and meditated a new war against the Turks: but, while she was indulging her ambitious fancy with dreams of conquest and aggrandizement, she was suddenly called away from the splendours and vanities of the world. She had retired into a private apartment, seemingly in good health; her protracted absence surprised her attendants, who, entering the room, found her extended on the floor, speechless and torpid. She remained in the same state until the evening of the following day; and then expired in the sixty-eighth year of her age and the thirty-fifth of her reign.

This princess had a pleasing countenance; her person was well-proportioned, and her deportment graceful and dignified. Her conversation was lively and agreeable; she could speak pertinently on many subjects, and had a taste for literature. She was acquainted with the arts of government, both those of an honourable kind and those of a less equitable description. She not only possessed courage and firmness, but a daring spirit which did not shrink from iniquity and cruelty. Even acts of deliberate murder did not shock her, when they were subservient to the acquisition or retention of power.

Paul, her only offspring, succeeded to a sovereignty which he was not fully capable of exercising. He commenced his reign with acts of justice and clemency, released Kosciuszko and other prisoners, and relieved the Livonians from some oppressions of which they complained; but he was not steady or consistent in his government or conduct.

Great Britain and Austria requested the czar to act with vigour against the enemies of peace and social order; but, for the present, he disregarded their solicitations. The former power was now menaced with the attempts of a new foe; for the Spanish potentate was so far overawed by the French directory, Oct. 5. that he consented to declare war against the English. The navy and army of Britain were augmented, and a squadron was sent toward the Spanish coast under the command of sir John Jervis.

The parliamentary session was enlivened by very spirited debates. The conduct of the prime minister was severely censured; but, as he triumphed by large majorities, he defied all opposition.

A.D. The stoppage of pecuniary payments at the bank exposed 1797. him to the acrimony of animadversion, as it was imputed to his mismanagement. He demonstrated, however, the solvency of that useful corporation, and the clamour subsided. A greater consternation arose from a naval mutiny.

At a time when the services of our seamen were essentially necessary for the maintenance of our maritime superiority, the rise of discontent among them could not but excite general alarm. It first appeared in the fleet at Spithead. Combinations were formed in many of the ships; and the men refused to perform their ordinary duties unless their demands should be granted. Their firmness induced the government to comply with their wishes by increasing their pay, and improving as well as enlarging their allowance of provisions. But, in some ships at the Nore, the men were not content with these favours. Parker and other bold mal-contents, beside urging some reasonable demands with regard to the payment of arrears and the division of the money arising from captures, required various concessions which were deemed inconsistent with naval discipline and due subordination; and, as these points were not allowed by the board of admiralty, a dangerous mutiny subsisted for some weeks. The officers, when they had in vain endeavoured to stem the torrent of disloyalty, were suspended from their authority, and dismissed from the ships. As all the mutineers could not conveniently exercise the command, their interests were committed to representatives, who assumed the honourable appellation of *delegates*.

This mutiny called forth all the zeal of patriotism, and allayed for a time the mutual animosities of party. Those who differed on the subject of the war, on constitutional points, or general politics, concurred in the expediency of enforcing the submission of the nautic mal-contents, who endeavoured to block up the mouth of the Thames, and, beside detaining merchant ships, committed some acts of depredation. To strike terror into the licentious confederacy, bills were enacted, rendering the seduction of seamen or soldiers from their duty a capital crime, and likewise menacing with death all who should deliberately communicate with them, or give encouragement to the crew of any of the ships under the orders of the delegates. Parker still used a high tone, and exhorted the men to be firm; but, as soon as they obtained intelligence of these acts, many were inclined to submit before it might be too late to expect pardon, particularly when such preparations were made as indicated that the confederate ships would be exposed to a speedy attack. Vengeance, it was apprehended, would then supersede mercy. Opportunities were at length found by the occupants of several ships, notwithstanding the dissuasions of the delegates, to bear away from the scene of mutiny. The example was gradually followed;

and the authority of Parker was disallowed and despised. Not having a chance of escape, he was apprehended, tried, condemned, and hanged; and many of his accomplices also suffered death. These acts of severity, with a general grant of pardon, restored order to the fleet, to the great joy both of the court and the nation¹. It was a fortunate circumstance for this country, that the enemy did not profit by such a serious mutiny. While it subsisted, the hopes of Barras, La Reveillère, and Reubel, were high; and, when they were disappointed, they consoled themselves with other prospects.

The war in Italy was not discontinued during the winter, Mantua being yet under blockade, the Austrian generals made preparations for its relief. Provera attacked Casella and other posts with success, passed the Adige, and threatened the lines of the blockade. A different division assaulted the enemy near Verona, and spirited conflicts occurred in other quarters. Of these battles the most important was that which took place in

the neighbourhood of Rivoli. Here the Austrians so gallantly contended for victory, that it was on the point of

crowning their efforts; but the address and good fortune of Bonapartè prevailed over all the exertions of Alvinzi. The artillery of the republicans made great havoc; and their adversaries retired in confusion. The contest was renewed on the following day, equally to the disadvantage of the Austrians. Bonapartè now hastened to meet Provera, whose progress had already been checked by the defeat of his rear guard. That officer assailed a part of the lines; but the garrison could not effectually assist him, and the French captured his whole corps. Alvinzi now sought refuge in the Tirol; and, the defence of Mantua being hopeless, general Wurmser capitulated².

The humiliation of the pope was the next object of the victorious general. His holiness had not fully executed the stipulations imposed upon him by Gallic arrogance; and the priests stimulated his other subjects to resist the encroachments and the depredations of atheistical republicans. The saints were invoked for the support of the catholic church; holy images were carried in solemn procession; and miracles were pretended to be wrought, that the people, considering their cause as favoured by Heaven, might be animated with pious enthusiasm, and rush fearless on the foe. But the French were no more intimidated by these arts

¹ The mutiny at the Nore continued from the 20th of May to the 14th of June.

² *Des-Odeurs*, chap. xxxix. xli.

than the Romans were by the frantic gestures and ejaculations of the Druids of Anglesey, or the Saxons by the prayers and denunciations of the monks of Bangor.

Alleging that the pope had systematically encouraged the crusade against France, and had refused to listen to overtures of peace from the republic, Bonapartè declared that the armistice was at an end, and put his troops in motion for an invasion of the ecclesiastical state. Near Faenza, the troops of his holiness ventured to contend with the enemy; but they were quickly driven from their entrenchments, and the gates of the town were forced. Cesena, the pontiff's native town, was taken without resistance, and not only the province of Romagna was rapidly subdued, but the dutchy of Urbino was also overrun. Having seized the treasures which had not been removed from Loretto, the invaders proceeded to Tolentino, where their course of conquest was stopped by the renewed submission of Pius, who sent Galeppi and three other plenipotentiaries to treat of peace. General Colli, who in vain had endeavoured to organize the pope's force, was less displeased at the negotiation than at the concealment of pacific intentions from him. All objections to unreasonable terms being overruled by the menaces of ^{Feb. 19.} Bonapartè, a treaty was signed without delay¹.

The articles imported, that the provinces of Bologna, Romagna, and Ferrara, should be ceded to France; that, in addition to the money promised when the truce was granted, the amount of fifteen millions of livres should be paid by his holiness, in coin, diamonds, and other valuable property; and that various fortresses and districts should be delivered up to the French, as pledges for a strict compliance with the agreement.

A French army being left to enforce the complete execution of the treaty, the subjects of the pope assaulted, in various places, the insolent intruders, but suffered severely for their insurrective attempts. Towns and villages were given up to military rapine, and many of the inhabitants were put to death. In some parts of the country, particularly in the dutchy of Urbino, commotions arose from a wish to shake off the papal yoke, or, at least, procure a redress of grievances; for the misgovernment of Pius had lately increased, amidst the dangers of foreign hostility. His secretary, cardinal Busca, advised him, after peace was restored, to continue the seizure of plate, the property of individuals, and force depreciated paper currency upon his

¹ *Mémoires Historiques et Philosophiques sur Pie VI.* chap. xxvii.

people. This minister being now discarded, Doria was appointed to succeed him; but the government did not become less oppressive¹.

While the pope was struggling with the difficulties of his critical situation, Bonapartè, animated by his success in Italy, and inflamed with an ardent desire of triumphing over the protectors of Germany, resolved to carry the war into the hereditary states of Francis. The archduke, after the loss of Mantua, thought only of defensive hostilities. He formed a chain of posts from the mountains of the county of Bormio to the mouth of the Piavè; and, behind this line, a considerable force was posted. Massena, with the centre of the French army, advanced to Belluno, and overwhelmed the small division of general Lusignan, who, for thirteen hours, had bravely resisted a great force. The right wing then approached the Tagliamento, under the immediate direction of Bonapartè, forded that river with scarcely any loss, took Gradisca, and quickly subdued the territory of Friuli. The left, commanded by Joubert, defeated general Kerpen, and obtained possession of the greater part of the Tirol².

Massena was now ordered to secure the two passages leading from Friuli into Carinthia across the mountains; and he was to make an attempt to turn the archduke's right flank, that all the reinforcements which this prince expected from the Rhine might not be able to reach him. His van, by seizing Tarvis, in consequence of the negligence of general Ocskay, precluded the safe arrival of two columns, which were routed by a very considerable superiority of number. New arrangements being deemed necessary by the prince, he disposed his army in three divisions, by one of which Carniola was to be defended, while the second and third, it was hoped, would protect the valley of the Drave, Clagenfort, and the province of Styria. Clagenfort, however, was taken with facility. Bonapartè, so far fortunate, yet not insensible of the danger to which his progress was liable, wrote to the archduke in recommendation of peace. His employers did not expect to subdue or revolutionize the hereditary states, but hoped to overawe the emperor, and extort his assent to such terms as France might dictate.

The letter intimated the wish of the directory for a speedy peace,—a desire which, when signified to the court of Vienna, had been thwarted by the English cabinet. The miseries of war

¹ *Mémoires sur Pie VI. et son Pontificat*, chap. xxvii.

² *History of the Campaign of 1797, in Italy and Germany*, chap. i. and ii.

not being experimentally known to the people of Great Britain, the ministers of that country, said the general, had an opportunity of gratifying their interests and passions: but he trusted that the prince whom he addressed would pay greater regard to the laws of humanity; and, he added, for his own part, that, if the present overture should save the life of a single man, he should pride himself more on the civic crown to which he might thus be entitled than on the melancholy glory resulting from martial success.

Having no authority to treat, Charles imparted the overture to his brother; and, while an answer was expected, he retreated before the enemy. He defended, with great spirit, a defile near Freisach, but continued to avoid a general engagement. He could not prevent the French from overrunning Carinthia, and making conquests in Styria, Carniola, and Istria.

In the mean time the inhabitants of the Tirol rose *en masse*, for the expulsion of the invaders. Kerpen, thus reinforced, attacked Joubert with alacrity, and quickly retook various posts. Many of the French fell in skirmishes, and more were captured; and this part of the country was restored to the Austrian government.

When Bonapartè had reached Judenburg, the effect of his letter appeared in the emperor's proposal of an armistice, which was adjusted without delay. General Clarke, who had been commissioned to treat at Vienna before the opening of the campaign, but had not been indulged with a passport to that capital, now acted as a negotiator with the commander-in-chief; and, on the other side, the archduke, major-general Meerfeld, and the marquis de Gallo, treated at Leoben, where articles, preparatory to a conclusive treaty, were signed. Apr. 18.

Hoche commenced hostilities on the Lower Rhine, notwithstanding an intimation from general Kray, of the armistice of Judenburg, and of the probability of successful negotiation. He forced an entrenched camp at Neuwied, while Championnet dislodged the occupants of Uckerath and Altenkirchen; and, in these actions, about four thousand of the Austrians fell or were made prisoners. Hastening to the Lahn, Hoche took Giessen, and Le Fèvre was preparing to seize Francfort, when a courier announced the signature of the preliminaries, to the great disappointment of the French generals, who were exulting in the rapidity of their progress¹.

¹ *History of the Campaign of 1797*, chap. v.

The success of Moreau was as rapid as that of Hoche. He forced a passage over the Rhine amidst strong opposition; and, at Diersheim, a very obstinate conflict ensued; but the Austrians failed in all their attempts to drive back the enemy over the river. Moreau easily reduced Fort Kehl, and gained possession of other posts of consequence before the despatches from Leoben arrested his career.

The conduct of Bonapartè, in this campaign, calls for some reflections. Rashness was more apparent in his conduct than prudence or judgment. Trusting to the superiority of his force, and to the fortune of the French arms, he pushed forward, as if he could quickly annihilate all opposition—as if every thing would bend to his will. But, if a cessation of hostilities had not been agreed to, the predicament in which he had involved himself seemed critically dangerous. The success of the Austrians in the Tirol exposed his left wing to peril; troops posted in the archbishopric of Salzburg threatened him on the same side; and his centre and right might indeed advance, but they might proceed too far to effect a safe retreat from a hostile country. Moreau was of opinion that the adventurous Corsican had precipitately entangled himself, but the readiness of the court of Vienna to negotiate saved him from the probable effects of his indiscretion.

Ever active, ambitious, and enterprising, Bonapartè now directed his revolutionary views towards Venice. The moderation of the Venetian government was tried to its utmost extent by the arbitrary rulers of France. After the conference at Pilnitz, the king of Sardinia had urged the republic to concur with him and other Italian princes in an anti-Gallican league; but he could not procure a promise of acquiescence. When the French had taken Nice, the pope, without effect, made a similar application. The senate, not aware of the danger to which the state was exposed, or hoping to avert it by forbearance, resolved to avoid every act that might lead to war. Pesaro, in the *Consulta de' Savi*, or council of the wise, repeatedly proposed military equipments, but the majority preferred an unarmed neutrality; and the nation, enervated by a propensity to pleasure, applauded the timid vote. The temporary increase of commerce, amidst the conflicts of other powers, gratified the merchants and manufacturers; and all ranks seemed to repose in security, as if the storm of revolution would pass over their heads, without injuring their government. In the year 1794, however, the supposed approach of danger occasioned the convocation of the *Consulta*

nera, or black council, and the promulgation of a decree for augmenting the army and repairing the fortifications. The Venetian administrators were thus employed when the brother of Louis XVI., styled the Pretender, took refuge in Verona. They were desired by the French envoy to dismiss him; but they protected him for almost two years. For their kindness toward this prince they were severely reproached by Bonapartè, when he made his appearance within their territories after he had driven the Austrians from Peschiera. He accused them of being partial to the enemies of France, and menaced them with the fatal indignation of the directory. He quartered his troops in their towns, and instructed his officers to promote disaffection among the people. He levied contributions for the support of those who had no right to make even the smallest demand; and he filled the country with confusion, seemingly wishing for popular resistance, that a pretext might be alleged for open hostilities¹.

These oppressions at length aroused general indignation. Foreigners were excluded from the capital, troops were levied with diligence, and a naval armament was equipped. The French remonstrated against these preparations; but the government, being now sensible of the necessity of exertion, continued them with spirit. To supply the exigencies of the state, heavy taxes were imposed, some monastic lands were sold, and the churches were stripped of a great quantity of their plate.

A treaty being proposed to the senate for a confederacy with the French, Spaniards, and Turks, a firm rejection was the answer which the insidious application deserved, and which it accordingly received. An extraordinary proposal of alliance, from the king of Prussia, was about the same time rejected by the inquisitors of state and the *savi*, without being communicated to the senate.

The directory, considering the minds of a great part of the Venetian community as sufficiently prepared for a change of government, ordered the troops to commence the work of revolution. Baraguay d'Hilliers introduced himself and his detachment into the castle of Bergamo, strengthened it with additional works, and pointed his artillery against the governor's palace. The inhabitants of the town were compelled to sign a declaration in favour of liberty, the governor was constrained to relinquish his trust, the national troops were disarmed, the provincial treasure and corporate funds seized. A body of peasants advanced

¹ *Account of the Fall of the Republic of Venice*, chap. v. vi. &c.

to support the citizens; but, being attacked both by their mal-content countrymen and the French, they were quickly repelled¹.

A party of Milanese and Venetian conspirators, whose intrigues had accelerated the revolution at Bergamo, studiously promoted the same object at Brescia; and, while the generality of the inhabitants neither abetted nor opposed the scheme, the boldness of a few carried it into effect. At Crema the tree of liberty was likewise planted; but, at Salò, after the standard of democracy had been erected by some Brescians, the inhabitants and the neighbouring peasants tore the flag, and resolved to maintain the old government. A considerable body of Brescians, denouncing vengeance, marched against them, but, in a brisk conflict, could not prevail over the counter-revolutionists, who, in their turn, formed the blockade of Brescia. Bonapartè having demanded the liberation of the prisoners taken in the late engagement, the senate consented, and thus damped the ardour of the friends of Venice. The released democrats, and a multitude of their countrymen, aided by a French detachment, now reduced Salò and the whole Brescian territory to obedience.

The Venetian metropolis was still tranquil; but a storm impended over it. Bonapartè sent Junot with a letter to the doge, accusing the rulers of the state of having instigated the people to take arms against the French, and requiring an immediate disbandment of the troops. The senate denied the charge, and evaded the requisition.

The Austrian court, by the medium of Grimani, the Venetian ambassador at Vienna, exhorted the republic to support the counter-revolutionists with energy; but the despatches of that minister were suppressed by the inquisitors of state. At this crisis nothing ought to have been concealed from the senate.

To accelerate the revolution, the directory had sent a squadron into the Adriatic, without any national flag. One of the ships, in defiance of a general law for the exclusion of armed vessels, endeavoured to force a passage into the port of Lido: but Laugier, who commanded it, lost his life in the attempt. When the French minister at Venice demanded reparation, to which the senate agreed, he introduced Villetard as secretary of legation; and this artful intriguer promoted with indefatigable zeal the revolutionary views of his employers.

Verona had for some time been garrisoned by French troops, whose commander, Balland, affected to be the friend of Venice,

¹ *Account of the Fall of the Republic of Venice*, chap. xiv.

while he was a determined enemy of the state. After having in vain endeavoured to irritate the inhabitants into hostilities against the French, that a plausible ground for war might arise, he suddenly fired upon the town from the castle of St. Felix, on April 17. pretence of a tumult which did not afford the least justification of such an attack. The citizens, being aided by the peasants, and by troops that had been employed against insurgents, engaged the dispersed French in the town, and considerably thinned their numbers. A parley ensued, and a convention was drawn up, but not carried into effect. The French recommenced the cannonade, and the people furiously strove to dislodge them from all the fortresses. A fresh carnage was followed by another conference. Hostilities were then renewed; and general Stratico led a small army toward the town to assist his harassed countrymen: but as numerous bodies of French approached from different points, vain was the hope of success, while the Venetian troops were comparatively undisciplined ¹.

The magistrates now sued for peace. The French insisted upon an immediate and unconditional surrender, to which the deputies from the town agreed; but the representatives of the sovereign power refused to sign a capitulation which contained no promise for the protection of persons or the security of property. The deputies were detained as hostages for the execution of the inglorious terms; an affront which wounded the feelings of all who remembered the former dignity of the Venetian state.

Considering the French now as masters of Verona, the representatives fled to Venice, and left the people to their fate. Unwilling to surrender at discretion, the Veronese again sent deputies to negotiate; and the French promised, in writing, that religion should be respected, and due regard be paid to life and property. The victors, however, soon commenced a course of depredation, and evinced their inhumanity by the deliberate sacrifice of three respectable men, for having acted with spirit in defence of their country ².

The reduction of Verona appalled the senate. Vicenza and other towns were left to the intrusion of the enemy; and the despairing senators, having given instructions for the last time to the officers of state, discontinued their meetings. Envoys had been commissioned to treat with Bonapartè in the Austrian territories; and, when they sent an account of the high demands and menaces of the general, the senate ceased to exist. In lieu of

¹ *Account of the Fall of Venice*, chap. xxiii. xxiv.

² *Ibid.* chap. xxvii. xxviii.

that body, a new council began to act, with the doge Manini at its head.

The declared intentions of Bonapartè to democratize the Venetian government would have formed an interesting subject
May 1. of debate, in the grand aristocratic council which the doge and his associates now convoked, if the necessity of compliance had not appeared to the assembly to be so urgent as to preclude discussion. It was decreed, with only seven dissentient votes out of six hundred and nineteen, that the envoys should be empowered to adjust with Bonapartè such political regulations as might seem expedient. On the same day, the general issued, at Palma Nova, a violent manifesto, in which he accused the senate of having perfidiously encouraged the people to murder the French in the most dastardly manner, and declared that a government guilty of so many outrages ought to be treated as the determined enemy of France, and, in the first place, to be deprived of all its possessions on Terra Firma.

Prosecuting their encroachments even during an armistice, the French troops approached within a few miles of Venice, and excited such a panic, that the counsellors of state were ready to surrender even the capital without defence, after they had been assured by the military and marine superintendents, that the existing force was insufficient to quell an insurrection which there was reason to apprehend, and that the fortifications and the flotilla could not sustain a general attack.

The treachery of Villetard had been for some time organizing an insurrection not only of the citizens, but also of the Slavonian soldiers in the service of the republic, whom his emissaries had endeavoured to persuade that the government intended to deliver them up to the French. Inflamed by this suggestion, and discontented at the nonpayment of their arrears, those mercenaries became clamorous and disorderly; and sanguinary mischief was dreaded from their fury. Some of the counsellors recommended an immediate dismissal of the licentious soldiery; a proposal to which the majority agreed.

Morosini, the director of the armed force of Venice, hastened the ruin of the constitution by opening a negotiation with Villetard. The Frenchman advised the speedy introduction of a democratic government, as such a measure would allay the wrath of Bonapartè, and stop the present hostilities. Conditions dictated by him were presented to the counsellors, who had not the spirit to reject them. The formation of a provisional municipality, an invitation to the people to elect representatives, an amnesty for

all political offences, the admission of four thousand French soldiers into the city as a guard to the arsenal, and the subjection of the fleet to the joint authority of the French and the native municipality, were the most important of these articles.

May 12.

A great council being called for the ratification of these degrading terms, the doge exhorted the nobles to resign their power, rather than expose their country to the combined evils of external attack and internal insurrection. Little opposition was made to the proposal; and, when it was put to the vote, the calculators of the suffrages called out, that five hundred and twelve favoured it, and only twenty dissented from it. A party of Venetian officers, hearing that the decrees of abdication had passed, cried out, *Viva la Libertà!* but the indignant populace exclaimed in reply, *Viva San Marco* ¹!

Enraged at the overthrow of the constitution by foreign artifice and violence, the multitude carried the sacred images of the tutelar saint of Venice in triumph to St. Mark's Place, and placed them on the pedestals of the three great standards of the republic. Villetard and his countrymen were bitterly reviled, and wishes were eagerly expressed, that some courageous and patriotic nobleman would put himself at the head of the friends of Venetian independence. Every person of distinction declined the dangerous pre-eminence. Thus unsupported, the populace gained nothing by riot and tumult. Some houses were destroyed, and depredations committed: but, when the expiring administration had interfered for the restoration of order, even the spoils collected amidst the temporary prevalence of disorder were for the most part delivered up.

Venice, insulted and oppressed, bowed her head to the doom that awaited her. She quietly received her pretended protectors, suffered her treasures to be seized, her institutions to be suppressed, and her religion to be profaned. Her constitution certainly required reform: but the remedy offered by French quackery was worse than the disease. An able and patriotic statesman might have gradually alleviated the disorders of the state; but the rashness and violence of revolutionary politicians of the French school introduced greater evils than those which were removed, and, for every abuse that was corrected, substituted a multiplicity of grievances. They had not sufficient judgment for genuine reform, or sufficient humanity to provide for the welfare of the people.

¹ *Account of the Fall of Venice*, chap. xxxii. xxxiii. &c.

After the fall of Venice, Genoa could not expect to retain its independence. Its senate, from timidity, had long favoured the French amidst a nominal neutrality: but its meanness did not conciliate the directory. Jacobin clubs, organized by Gallic emissaries, paved the way for a revolutionary change. It was affirmed (as Paine said of Great Britain) that Genoa had no constitution: and hence it was concluded that French interference was necessary for the welfare of the state. Instigated by Faypoult, the French envoy, a party of the Genoese rabble, with the aid of incendiaries from France and the Cis-Alpine republic, May 21. excited a tumult, took possession of the city gates and the

arsenal, elected new magistrates, and demanded a democratic constitution. The terrified senate, having in vain made proposals of compromise and accommodation, seemed ready to abdicate its power, when the tradesmen and respectable inhabitants requested to be armed and led against the insurgents. Having taken a great quantity of arms from the arsenal, in defiance of the opposition of the mal-contents, they swore upon their cannon that they would rescue their country from the rude grasp of revolutionists. They fought with such spirit, that the banditti were put to flight: but this dispersion of the populace did not secure the existing government. Morando, a self-proclaimed president of the people, made application, in concert with Faypoult, to the French troops in the neighbourhood; and general Rusca marched with one division to the gates of the city, while Sahuguet encamped with another at an inconsiderable distance. The senate authorized three of its members to frame new political regulations with the concurrence of Bonapartè; and the appellation of the Ligurian republic was substituted for that of Genoa¹.

To the democratized republics of Venice and Genoa, Bonapartè was not more attentive than to the Milanese state, to which he had given the appellation of the Cis-Alpine republic, and in which the newly-formed Trans-Padane and Cis-Padane governments were absorbed. This he considered as his own offspring; and he was particularly pleased with the opportunity of augmenting it by the incorporation of the Mantuan territories.

Spain was soon punished for having entered into a connection with France, at the instigation of the duke of Alcudia, styled the *prince of the peace*. She lost eight of her largest ships, and an important colony. Four of those vessels were captured by admiral Jervis, near cape St. Vincent. Having observed a large fleet at

¹ *History of the Campaign of 1797*

a distance, he quickened sail that he might reach and encounter it. So great was the disparity of force, that very serious danger attended a conflict: but skill and judgment, on the part of the English, compensated the inequality of number. By an artful *manœuvre*, nine ships, forming a third part of the Spanish fleet, were precluded, by a separation of the line, from co-operating with the rest; and fifteen sail then engaged the remaining eighteen. Captain Nelson established his fame by the courage and conduct which he displayed on this occasion. He ably assisted in debarring the secluded ships from action, and in promoting the defeat of the main body of the fleet; and he boarded two vessels with undaunted alacrity.—The other loss which I mentioned was sustained at Trinidad. Not only the island was surrendered by the Spaniards, but they set fire to three of their own ships of the line, and one was captured by the English¹.

Porto Rico, in the West Indies, and Teneriffe, one of the Canary Islands, were attacked, but not reduced. The port of Cadiz was insulted by a blockade, and the town was injured by bombs; but the strength of the place precluded the hope of conquest.

The Dutch had, in the preceding year, been disappointed in their aims for the recovery of the Cape, and had been deprived of three ships of the line, beside four frigates. A much greater loss now befel them on their own coast. An English squadron, of superior force, made way between their fleet and a lee-shore, and, for three hours and a half, fought with great fury. Out of fifteen ships of the line eleven struck; but, from the irregularity of the engagement, and the necessity of devoting particular attention to the means of avoiding the dangers of the shore, all could not be brought off by the victors, who took, however, nine of the number. In seven of the British vessels seven hundred and seven men were killed or wounded; in the rest only forty-four. The Dutch victims, and the disabled or maimed, more than doubled that number².

The progress of the war, while it enriched individuals, and extended the boundaries of the republic, had involved the French finances in extreme disorder, and impoverished the nation. The directors did not take proper measures for remedying the evil; and, indeed, their general administration was neither honourable

¹ *Gazettes* of March 3 and 27, 1797.—The 14th of February was the day of victory.

² *Gazette* of October 17.—The engagement was on the 11th.

to themselves nor beneficial to the community. Their efforts, however, secured internal peace; and, though another conspiracy (if credit may be given to their own statement) was formed against them, they soon discovered and baffled it. They intimated to the two councils¹, that a plan had been devised for the subversion of the government; that Dunan, Brotier, Poly, and La Ville Heurnois, had been arrested for their concern in it; and that the papers which had been seized would demonstrate the extent and the dangerous nature of the conspiracy. Ramel and Malo, two officers who were supposed by the mal-contents to be friendly to the scheme, had obtained a communication of the particulars, and had imparted their discoveries to Cochon, the minister of police. It appeared that the exiled claimant of the French throne had many agents who took every opportunity of promoting his cause; but the pretended plot was rather a tissue of factious suggestions and intrigues than a deliberate conspiracy. The public ridiculed the affair as a chimera, and called for lenity in the treatment of the prisoners. A council of war pronounced them guilty; but, alleging that the frankness of their confessions, and other extenuating circumstances, rendered capital severity impolitic, the government commuted the pain of death into the confinement of the two first for ten years, the third for five, and the fourth for one year².

As the annual renewal of a third of each council was ordained by the constitution, the directors were apprehensive that the elections might be unfavourable to the inordinate influence which they wished to obtain. The result justified their fears; and they were involved in frequent disputes with the two assemblies. Barthelemi, who was recalled from Switzerland to a seat in the directory, on the ejection of Le Tourneur by lot, was disposed to join Carnot against Reubel, Barras, and Lepaux; and the majority of each council, thus encouraged by a division among the members of the executive department, continued their opposition to the misgovernment of Reubel and his bold associates, who had formed various schemes of tyranny and violence.

When the intentions of the executive leaders were sufficiently known to justify the adduction of a formal charge against them, some members of the anti-directorial party proposed, at a meeting of a committee of inspection, that a vote of arrest should be demanded from the council of five hundred: but the majority had not the courage to make the attack, and blamed Willot and

¹ On the 3d of February.

² *Dés-Ouverts*, chap. li. lii.

De la Rue for wishing to be the aggressors. Carnot was solicited to take an active part with the mal-contents; but he excused himself, pretending that their intrigues were too obviously influenced by royalists. Bourdon de l'Oise proposed vigorous measures, as the only means of averting the storm which would otherwise overwhelm the most respectable representatives: but his advice was ridiculed and disregarded.

Merlin of Douay proposed that the directors Carnot and Barthelemi, and many members of the two councils, should be accused of conspiring against the government, and arrested. Sotin, the minister of police, hinted, that they ought to be shot without hesitation: but La Reveillere dissented from this Sept. 4. violent proposal. Barthelemi was seized in his bed, and conveyed to the Temple. A body of soldiers, marching to the place where the delegated inspectors and some other deputies were assembled, seemed unwilling to execute the arbitrary orders which they had received: but general Augereau and his chief officers rushed into the apartment, wounded Rouvere, Pichegru, and De la Rue, and arrested the whole committee except Dumas, who escaped by pretending to be an officer upon duty. Notwithstanding the blockade of the Tuilleries, about thirty members of the council of five hundred took their seats in the hall, Simeon acting as president. An order for their departure arrived from the general. They declared that they would not submit to it; but, when they were threatened with military execution, Simeon, protesting against the outrage, dissolved the assembly. As the deputies were retiring, Aubry was seized and carried off. Eighty members met in a private house, and began to prepare an address to the nation; but, hearing that an armed force had invested the house of Lafond Ladebat, president of the other council, and had seized seven deputies, they thought it prudent to adjourn ¹.

Meeting under the influence of terror, in places appointed by the directory, a considerable part of each council adopted the views of the tyrants. Sieyes and other members, being commissioned to inquire into the schemes of the mal-contents, reported that an anti-republican conspiracy was fully proved, and that the state was seriously endangered by the intrigues of royalists, who wished to re-establish the old *régime* with all its abuses; and they recommended exile as a mild punishment for men whose

¹ *Anecdotes Secrètes sur la Révolution du dix-huit Fructidor, et Nouveaux Mémoires des Députés à la Guiane.*

guilt deserved all the rigours of law. The individuals marked out for this punishment were sixty-four in number, chiefly deputies, among whom were Pichegru, Des Molières, Boissi d'Anglas, La Rivière, Bourdon, Pastoret, Villaret Joyeuse, Simeon, Rovère, and Rafond. Pichegru and some others were inclined to restore royalty; but the majority of the proscribed members do not appear to have aimed at any unconstitutional object. They wished to give to the councils their proper sway, and repress the tyranny of the directory: but this was a great crime in the eyes of the triumvirate. Both assemblies joined in the vote of exile, and the directory ordered that the colonial province of Guiana should receive the supposed enemies of the mother country. "Guiana," said Bailleul, one of the abettors of the triumphant party, with a smile of derision, "is a fine country, and there is nothing very alarming in the proposed transportation¹."

The prisoners were harshly treated before their embarkation; in their voyage they had little accommodation; and, when they reached the colony, they were subjected to various deprivations and rigorous usage. They found the inhuman Billaud de Varrennes in good health; but there were few of the strangers who could long boast of that blessing. Many fell victims to the insalubrity of the climate. Barthelemi, Pichegru, Ramel, Willot, and four others, at length escaped in a boat to the colony of Surinam; and some of these fugitives even found their way to England, where they received protection from British humanity. The injustice of the directory requires no comment. The triumvirs boasted of their clemency in only banishing men who (they falsely said) "would not have spared the lives of any republicans:" but they were sufficiently aware that a removal to the swamps of Sinamari and Cayenne would in many instances be a death-warrant. They were, perhaps, as willing as Robespierre himself to shed blood; but they were apprehensive of the effects of that general odium which would follow a revival of sanguinary proscription.

In lieu of the displaced directors, Merlin and François de Neufchâteau were chosen by the legislature; and, for the plenipotentiaries employéd at Lisle before the explosion of Jacobinical vengeance, Treillard and Bonnier were substituted by Reubel and his associates. The new diplomatists received such instructions as soon put an end to the negotiation. Lord Malmesbury

¹ *Anecdotes Secrètes.*—Des-Odoards, chap. lxi. —Many of the obnoxious deputies escaped the search of the officers of government; and some were saved by an erasure of their names from the list.

was contemptuously dismissed, because he was not empowered to agree to a complete restitution of conquests.

The failure of this negotiation did not obstruct the conclusion of a definitive treaty with Austria. The emperor was earnestly desirous of recovering Mantua; but the directory would not resign so important an acquisition. He ceased to be very importunate for it, when Venice was offered to him. By the terms of the treaty, now signed at Campo Formio, he was allowed to become master of the Venetian capital, and the greater Oct. 7. part of the Terra Firma of the late republic; but Bergamo and other provinces near the Milanese were to be annexed to the Cis-Alpine state: and the French were to possess Corfu with the neighbouring islands, and the Albanian establishments below the gulf of Lodrino. The Netherlands were ceded to the French; the Brisgaw was transferred to the duke of Modena; and the limits of France were extended to the Rhine.

The treachery of the French toward Venice cannot be mentioned without the warmth of censure by any historian who aims at an honourable character. They complained, indeed, of the aggression of the people, and chastised them for alleged acts of outrage: but, in promoting a pretended reform of the government, they professed themselves the friends and protectors of the Venetian community, and the substitutors of freedom and happiness for slavery and misery. Yet, after these professions, they transferred the nation to the yoke of a prince whom they had constantly branded as a despot and a tyrant. Was this an act of friendship and protection? assuredly not: it was such conduct as could only have been expected from men who were destitute of fixed principles of policy, and uninfluenced by a sense of honour, justice, or equity.

As the emperor was more intent on the acquisition of territory than on the proper government of his dominions, he was far from being satisfied with the treaty. He particularly lamented the loss of the Milanese and Mantuan provinces, without which, he thought, his share of the spoils of the Venetian republic would be insecure. He consoled, himself, however, with the hope of a change in the fortune of the French, against whom the tide might suddenly turn.

This treaty had not long been concluded, when the king of Prussia, who neither promoted nor checked it, and who seemed for some years to have withdrawn himself from the general politics of Europe, died in the fifty-fourth year of his age. Nov. 16. *The conduct of this monarch was not, in general, honour-*

able and exemplary. Self-interest was too frequently his guide, and a regard to good faith formed no part of his political creed. His propensity to despotism induced him to counteract the early efforts of the French revolutionists; and his versatility of disposition prompted him to conclude peace with them, even when their views became more openly dangerous and alarming. His treatment of the Poles indicated shameless rapacity and perfidy; and his desertion of different princes and nations deprived him of all title to respect. His private life was degraded by dissipation and debauchery: the dignity of the sovereign was lost in voluptuous excesses.

LETTER XIV.

History of Europe, to the Usurpation of the chief Power in France by Bonapartè, in 1799.

THE continental war in Europe being closed, after six sanguinary campaigns, Great Britain and her dependencies alone remained to employ the arms of the enterprising republic. If the French had been seriously impressed with ideas of the moral and Christian duty of abstaining from human slaughter, they would have gladly embraced the opportunity of reverting to the arts of peace, and have exulted in the hope of consolidating their government, improving their means of prosperity, and perfecting, as far as the limited wisdom of their species would allow, their revolution and their reform. But such views did not suit their feelings or their passions. They were inflamed with animosity against anti-republican Britain: and the confident hope of crushing her invigorated their resentment. If our nation had inhabited the continent, incessant attacks from numerous hordes of ferocious revolutionists might have overwhelmed all resistance; but an insular kingdom, defended by a predominant navy, may support itself amidst the wreck of continental states. Providence, I may add, waves over us its protecting arm, and enables us to maintain our independence and our power.

Menaces of speedy invasion were now thrown out by the directory. Troops were assembled on the coasts of Flanders and Normandy, under the insulting denomination of "the army of

England ;” and Bonapartè was ordered to take the command, that the haughty islanders might be severely chastised and effectually humbled. But that bold and fortunate general was destined for other scenes of action. He wished to be previously employed in extending the fame of the French arms along the banks of the Nile, and in organizing a republican government among the Copts and the Mamelouks, not without an eye to the invasion of British India by troops sent through the Persian territories. The latter prospect was indeed distant, but not too remote for the eventual grasp of ambition.

The boasts and the threats of the French did not intimidate either the ministry or the people of Great Britain. Measures of precaution and defence, however, were not neglected ; and the enemy prudently declined all invasive attempts upon this island.

For the settlement of all disputes between France and the Germanic body, and the assignment of indemnities to such princes as might otherwise suffer from Gallic encroachment and usurpation, a congress now took place at Rastadt ; but, like other meetings of the same kind, it was not productive of the desired effect.

In the mean time the British parliament, amidst varied deliberations, marked a new session with financial novelties. The magnitude of the annual loans had swelled the national debt to such an enormous amount, that even the prodigal minister began to apprehend danger from the continuance of the practice of funding, unless future loans should be reduced within moderate bounds. He therefore proposed, that a considerable part of the supplies should be raised by an immediate tax, and that only twelve millions should be borrowed. The new demand was adjusted by the proportion of the assessed taxes. Some were required to pay, beside the assessment of the current year, a three-fold rate ; others a quadruple, and some even a quintuple rate ; but, from the proportion paid by the greater number, the tax was usually denominated the triple assessment. This extraordinary requisition was a severe burthen to the public ; but those who complained of it were stigmatized as Jacobins. I ought to add, that an exemption from the new impost was allowed to every one who had not sixty pounds of annual income ; that only a small proportional addition was extracted from persons who had less than two hundred pounds a year, and that no one was required to pay more than a tenth part of his income.

To soothe and flatter the people amidst these burthens, the

king ordered a public thanksgiving; and the whole royal family, with the lords and commons, attended divine service at St. Paul's church. The naval colours taken from the French, Spaniards, and Dutch, were carried along the streets by seamen who had contributed to the splendid victories obtained by Howe, Jervis, and Duncan. Appropriate sermons were preached on the occasion in the numerous churches of the realm; and the day was closed with general festivity.

As the French, in the infancy of their republic, had promoted A.D. the public cause by voluntary contributions, the subjects 1798. of Great Britain now followed the example of patriotic liberality. Not only the nobles and the gentry, but the lower orders of the community, gave different sums for the service of the state. Even many of those who disapproved the war, and considered the public money as wantonly mis-spent, sent to the treasury a portion of their savings. From an opulent nation, it might have been expected that the contributions would have been more ample than they were; but, if the enormity of concomitant taxation be considered, the donations will not appear trifling.

The redemption of the land-tax was another new scheme of Mr. Pitt. A more correct and honourable financier would have endeavoured to equalize that impost; but, because the parliament had suffered it to remain unequal for so long a period, he seemed to think that it ought to continue so for ever. Although it was at first intended only for a temporary tax, he proposed that it should be rendered perpetual, and redeemed by the payment of stock. If the proprietor was unwilling to redeem it, any person was at liberty to purchase it. This plan, said the minister, would tend to maintain the credit of stock, by taking eighty millions from the capital, and would afford landed security in exchange for that of the funds¹. The supplies which were deemed requisite for the year were about twenty-five millions and a half. As I have not usually mentioned the amount of the annual exactions, I merely state this *en passant*, to show the similarity of estimate between Great Britain and France for the year 1798. Cretet, in enumerating the various exigencies of the republic, represented about twenty-five millions six hundred and sixty-six thousand pounds sterling as necessary for the purposes of government and the prosecution of the war. Mr. Pitt, however, before the end of the session, demanded an additional sum of three millions.

¹ The scheme has been merely in progress from that time to the present day, as there are many landholders who are not convinced of its advantages.

The French had occasional recourse to Holland for pecuniary accommodation ; but the Dutch were found less subservient than Gallic arrogance desired. It was therefore resolved, that the ties of fraternity should be so closely drawn as to include full dependence on the part of the Batavian republic. Military force was preferred, on this occasion, to the mildness of exhortation. Miderich, president of the Dutch convention, held a consultation with some other partisans of the French directory ; and orders were given for the arrest of six individuals belonging to the committee of foreign affairs. Twenty-one members of ^{Jan. 22.} the national assembly were then expelled by a plurality of suffrages, and considerable changes were made among the administrative bodies. These violent proceedings were defended in an address to the public, as necessary for the frustration of the schemes of the Orange party. The *purified* assembly now commanded a new constitutional code to be prepared, resembling that which had been last framed for the French ; and the people were constrained to acquiesce in these arrangements. In the following summer, some other changes took place. New directors of the government were appointed by the influence of the army ; and the assembly underwent a new purification.

The attention of the Gallic directory was not confined to the territories bordering upon France : the pope's dominions were now subjected to equal or greater tyranny. The treaty imposed upon the pontiff in the preceding year by a revolutionary general was an act of flagitious violence and shameless rapacity. Neither he nor his employers had any shadow of right thus to treat a sovereign pontiff or an independent prince. The seizure of the whole ecclesiastical state was such a sequel as might have been expected from French marauders ; but no advocate of sound political morality can presume or pretend to justify it. A sense of gratitude would have prompted them, after they had seized three provinces, to secure the compliant pontiff in the possession of the remainder, and defend him against all attacks. But unprincipled ambition disdains to be guided by that vulgar quality. The overthrow of a long-established government was more suited to the revolutionary spirit, and a course of spoliation was more consistent with the ordinary practice of the directory.

After the peace of Tolentino, revolutionary opinions were propagated at Rome by disaffected citizens, some of whom were committed to prison. These offenders were released at the intercession of Joseph Bonapartè, who, being sent to that city as ambassador from the French republic, encouraged all mal-content

to prosecute their seditious schemes. Within the precinct allotted to him as a public minister (and therefore exempt from the control of the government), the populace began to assemble, and, after receiving French cockades and money, seized the arms that were kept in the guard-houses, and endeavoured to secure a bridge: but a patrol of horse, attacking the rioters, soon drove them back toward the ambassador's palace. He and his friends rushed out; and, as the cavalry fired on the mob, a general officer named Duphot was killed. The pope and his suite now retired from the ecclesiastical state; and the pope foresaw that this accident, notwithstanding every apology and offer of satisfaction on his part, would be made use of for hostility¹. Instead of calling out the male adults in defence of the country, his holiness seemed disposed to trust to spiritual arms. He ordered three of the most sacred reliques in the catholic establishment to be carried in pompous procession to St. Peter's church, and exhibited on the altar for eight days, that the people might venerate them with devout zeal, and implore the divine assistance amidst the solemnities of the Romish ritual and the effusions of contrite hearts. "These are our arms," said the pontiff, "holy and pacific arms, because they inflict not death, but tend to procure eternal life for every one who will make a proper use of them, and not infrequently, even in this world, enable pious Christians to withstand violence and oppression."

Willing to try the effect of negotiation, the pope requested prince Belmontè, the Neapolitan minister at Rome, to treat with Berthier, whose approach was dreaded. The general promised due respect to the papal government, and declared that he only intended to chastise the authors and abettors of the murder of Duphot. Deputies were soon after sent for the same purpose, but were not honoured with an audience. A proclamation was now issued from the Vatican, desiring the people not to give the least cause of offence to the French, who had disclaimed all hostile intentions. The republican host, advancing to Rome, procured an immediate surrender of the castle of St. Angelo, took possession of all the gates of the city, and detained some cardinals and nobles, as hostages for the peaceable behaviour of the inhabitants, and for the grant of pecuniary aid and general relief to the foreign troops.

Berthier, disregarding his promise, prepared to abolish the papal government. An invitation being sent to him from his par-

¹ Duppa's *Brief Account of the Subversion of the Papal Government*, section I.

tisans in the city, he proceeded to the Capitoline hill, and thus apostrophised some of those personages whose merits had ennobled the ancient republic. “Shades of Pompey, of Feb. 15. Cato, of Brutus, of Cicero, of Hortensius! who so often on this spot defended the rights of the people, deign to receive the homage of Gallic freemen, who are come to re-establish the altars of liberty, erected by the first Brutus.” He then, by a proclamation, restored the republic; declared it to be an independent state, under the especial protection of the French army; and sanctioned the provisional government which had been previously concerted between him and the chief mal-contents. The tree of liberty was planted before the statue of Marcus Aurelius, not amidst general acclamations, but only with the shouts of a small party of the natives¹.

The unfortunate Pius was celebrating the anniversary of his election to the pontifical dignity, when two officers entered the chapel in which he was enthroned, and announced the termination of his power. His Swiss guards were dismissed; and he was placed under the protection of republican soldiers. The cardinals were deprived of their authority and possessions, and were obliged to sing *Te Deum laudamus* for the change by which they were degraded and ruined.

The new government was exercised by seven native consuls, by whom six ministers of state and of justice were appointed. For the correction of the ancient code, and the formation of new laws, which, however, were not to be carried into effect without the concurrence of the French general, deputies were chosen by the inhabitants of the different provinces, in the proportion of one to every aggregate of thirty thousand persons. Rapine now became the order of the day. The Vatican was stripped of its valuable contents; the churches were pillaged; and not only the effects of foreigners whose sovereigns were at war with France were confiscated, but frequent and large contributions were exacted from the natives. The pope did not long remain in the seat of his power, to witness the tyranny of the invaders of his country. The French pretended that it was his wish to retire from the Roman territories; but, if he could have enjoyed peace and comfort at home, he would not have emigrated. He was escorted to Sienna, whence he was removed to a monastery near Florence. In the mean time, many of the French officers and soldiers, not profiting as they expected by the spoils of Rome, disavowed all

¹ Duppa's *Account*, section 3.

participation in the rapine which had dishonoured the French name, and, affirming that the military chest was full of treasure, demanded from the general an immediate discharge of all arrears of pay. They also protested against the nomination of Massena to the chief command, on the departure of Berthier. Encouraged by this discontent in the army, a body of the inhabitants, disgusted at the conduct of the French, attacked them near the Tiber, but without effect. Other desultory assaults were made, not only in the city, but also in the Campagna di Roma. Many of the French were killed; but the slaughter was more considerable among the insurgents; and, to deter the people from a repetition of such attacks, twenty-nine of those who were taken were put to death for rebelling against the constituted authorities¹. The troops being pacified by the payment of a part of their arrears, and by the appointment of general St. Cyr to supersede Massena, the ceremony of confederation took place. On a temporary altar, in the piazza of St. Peter, the consuls swore eternal hatred to monarchy, and fidelity to the republic. The soldiers, raising their hats in the air, on the points of their bayonets, unanimously vowed attachment to the new government; and the day was closed with festivity. Some alterations were then made in the constitution. Two assemblies were formed, one consisting of thirty-two senators, the other of seventy-two tribunes; but the French general still exercised the supreme power.

The rulers of France also interfered in the government of Switzerland. At the commencement of the French revolution, the cantons were in a tranquil state; but it could not be expected that the doctrines of liberty and equality, propagated among the inhabitants by French emissaries, would be wholly unimpressive. In the cantons of Zurich and Basle, the peasants, not having any share in the government, or in the elections to the councils, listened with pleasure to revolutionary tenets, and claimed an equality of privilege with the burghers; and, in the Pays de Vaud, the gentry and citizens, not thinking themselves sufficiently favoured by the rulers of Bern and Fribourg, began to be clamorous for a change. The different governments rather fostered the rising spirit by mildness, than checked it by severity. It did not, however, for some years, produce any serious disturbances. When a war had arisen between the French and the Austrians, the Swiss resolved to observe a strict neutrality; and, after the great extension of the war, they adhered to their resolution, at a

¹ Duppa, sections 6 and 7.

time when the allies were of opinion that the aid of the cantons might be particularly useful to the common cause,—that is, when Lyons and Toulon were in a state of insurrection. Complaints were made, both by the French and Austrians, of infractions of neutrality on the part of the Swiss : but these charges were ill-founded. The French loudly repeated the accusation, when, having concluded peace with the emperor, they had an opportunity of executing a scheme which they had formed against the independence of the Helvetic state. Mengaud was then sent into Switzerland as representative of the powerful republic ; and he gave open encouragement to all who wished for a change of government.

The discontent in the Pays de Vaud furnished an additional pretence for the interference of the directory. The people claimed the right of having an annual assembly of the states, by virtue of the treaty of cession between the duke of Savoy and the cantons of Bern and Fribourg, which had been guaranteed by Charles IX. of France. The directory promised to support this claim, and desired the two cantons to respect the rights of the Vaudois. The sovereign council of Bern sent commissaries to ascertain the causes and the extent of disaffection, and devise the means of checking its progress ; and, when these delegates had made a favourable report, a general oath of allegiance was ordered to be taken. A great number of the Vaudois refused to give this testimony of obedience ; and, at Vevay, a commotion arose, which produced the release of some malcontents who had been imprisoned for sedition.

At Basle, where the incendiary Mengaud chiefly exerted himself, the tribune Ochs, Wernard Huber, a democratic apothecary, and other intriguers, formed a club of Friends of Liberty, and instigated the peasants of the canton to claim the “inalienable rights of men,” and demand a new constitution. Some of the castles belonging to officers of the administration were destroyed or damaged by the insurgents, who imposed upon the state a provisional government, until the new system should be matured. “Thus (says a native historian of Switzerland) was Basle the first branch that dropped off from the venerable tree of the Helvetic confederacy, and gave an example which others soon followed with as much levity as infatuation¹.”

In the territory of Zurich, Bodmer and other malcontents

¹ Planta's *History of the Helvetic Confederacy*, book ii. chap. x.

insisting upon a redress of grievances, the supreme council consented to the convocation of an assembly of one hundred persons, for the purposes of reform ; and articles of government were soon drawn up, which, after various alterations, served for a time to amuse the people. In the cantons of Lucerne and Schaffhausen, new modes of administration also took place ; and, at Soleure, approaches were made to the French system, after strong opposition from the privileged orders.

To Bern, the most powerful of the cantons, the eyes of all were now directed. Its administrators, sensible of the general danger, issued a decree for arming the whole Helvetic nation, as the French threatened the country with a formidable invasion. In the mean time, colonel Weiss was sent to tranquillize and reclaim the Pays de Vaud ; but his exertions had no effect in allaying the revolutionary spirit. The disaffected, increasing in number, seized the public funds, and requested Menard, who commanded a French army on the frontiers, to assist them in the expulsion of the Bernese troops. An adjutant being despatched to desire the retreat of Weiss, two hussars who accompanied the messenger were killed in a fray, in which they were the aggressors. Menard, however, accusing the Swiss of aggression, invaded the Pays, from which the Bernese retired.

Vainly hoping to divert the French from their scheme, the chief council of Bern, among other concessions, promised to assimilate the government of the canton to that of the great republic. Mengaud, not satisfied with this promise, required the immediate appointment of a provisional council, from which the present rulers should be excluded, and proposed for all the cantons a new constitution, purely democratic. To enforce this change, general Brune assumed the command of the army in the Pays de Vaud ; and, while he waited for an accession of force, he amused with idle promises the deputies sent to him from Bern.

As no confidence could be reposed in the specious professions of the French, D'Erlach, the Bernese general, concurred with other leading men in the expediency of anticipating, by a speedy attack, the obvious intentions of Brune. A plan of nocturnal assault was formed ; but the council, intimidated by the preparations of the enemy, and apprehending a want of support from the generality of the cantons, revoked the full powers which had been granted to the military commander, and even acquiesced in Brune's requisition of a surrender of its authority. That general demanding also a dismissal of the troops, the council receded

from its late votes, and adopted the plan of attack : but, when Brune had prolonged a truce which he had granted, the council revoked the orders of hostility.

Gallic arts had already been employed with success in weakening the attachment of the troops at Bern to the government, exciting unfavourable opinions of their officers, and undermining the spirit of loyalty and patriotism. D'Erlach endeavoured, with little effect, to restore confidence and subordination. While he was thus employed, he was informed that his wings, which were far apart, had been attacked by the faithless enemy, and that the castle of Dronach had also been invested. At Lengnau, about nine hundred Swiss bravely defended themselves against more than seven thousand five hundred French, who, having at length overpowered the gallant party, advanced to Soleure, and compelled the commandant to surrender the place, not without a favourable capitulation, which, however, was not strictly observed. By another French corps, the outposts of Fribourg were surprised, and a breach was made in the wall. The Bernese part of the garrison, perceiving the weakness of the fortifications, and finding the magistrates indisposed to a vigorous resistance, marched out of the town ; and a new government was framed by those citizens who wished for a reform, while the French seized the arms and public stores.

The insubordination of the Bernese army now rose to the height of mutiny. Some battalions retired from the service ; others refused to oppose the invaders ; and a retrograde march ensued. The council renewed the order for a general assumption of arms : but, as the decree was not productive of an efficient force, the members abdicated their stations ; and a provisional regency, formed by a hasty popular election, began to act. Two divisions of the retiring army murdered their chief officers ; and then, at one of the disputed posts, fought with distinguished courage.

At Newenach, the Swiss repelled the enemy, and slew many more than they lost. They also acted with spirit Mar. 5. at St. Gines and Laupen : but, at the pass of Grauholtz, the conflict was more particularly obstinate. Resistance, however, proved fruitless. The French pressed forward with an overwhelming majority of number, and, in the vicinity of Bern, massacred women and children in their fury ¹.

Bern was now surrendered by the terrified inhabitants ; the

¹ D'Erlach escaped from the field, but was assassinated by some of his countrymen, who suspected him (apparently without cause) of treachery.

tree of liberty was planted; and new magistrates were nominated. Brune seized the treasures of the state, and found ample spoils of every description. He disarmed the people, that they might not again resist his countrymen, and domineered over the humbled state.

The small canton of Uri, and four others, considering their governments as sufficiently democratic, entered into a league against all innovation. That of Appenzel acceded, but not cordially, to the association. The confederates sent a declaration of their sentiments to general Brune, who replied that the French had no intention of molesting them, but merely expected that they would acquiesce in the new form of government, intended for the Helvetic nation. Although the latter part of the answer was not strictly consonant with the former, the meaning of the whole was evident.

The new constitution was prepared at Paris, not framed, as it ought to have been, by the wisdom and patriotism of the Swiss. By this plan, twenty-two departments were formed: four senators and eight counsellors were to be deputed, by each of those divisions, to act in a legislative capacity; and five executive directors were to be periodically chosen by the legislature. Only ten departments sent representatives to Aarau; and these
Apr. 12. were induced to confirm the French organization of the Helvetic government.

Geneva, long the independent ally of the cantons, had obtained the advantages of a reform, early in the year 1789, by the spirit of the people. Amidst the effervescence excited by the incipient spirit of freedom in France, many of the citizens wished for an entire repeal of the system ordained in 1782; but others only desired a modification of it. Each party agreed to a sacrifice of some claims; and the constitution was so far altered as to form a reasonable medium between the systems of 1768 and 1782. The influence of the French directory, however, now procured from the Genevans a dereliction of their independence, and the state was incorporated with France.

The declared intentions of the French directory to form all the cantons into *one indivisible republic*, with an uniform constitution, became a signal of war to the people of Schwitz, Uri, Unterwalden, Zug, and Glarus. The representatives of these cantons having in vain (in an appeal to the directory) denied the necessity of a reform of their governments, which had already a strong tincture of democracy, recourse was had to arms. The French commissioner Le-Carlier, in a formal address, vindicated

the new constitution, and Schauenbourg denounced vengeance against its opposers. The people declared that it should not be forced upon them. "We will not submit (they said) to a foreign yoke : we acknowledge no other master than God." A council of war was formed at Schwitz, to which the four other cantons sent deputies ; but those of Uri were soon recalled. Military preparations were made with diligence ; yet the number of combatants did not exceed 10,000. With this small force the confederate leaders resolved to act offensively against the French : but the troops of Unterwalden were previously desirous of reducing the upper part of their canton, which had submitted to the dictates of France. The inhabitants of this territory, however, to avoid civil war, now agreed to join in the patriotic league.

The allies advanced in three divisions with alacrity. The central body, under Aloys Reding, approaching the borders of the canton of Lucerne, received promises of assistance from the people ; and, thus encouraged, demanded a surrender of the chief town. The inhabitants having complied with the requisition, the tree of liberty was thrown down, and the ^{Apr. 29.} arsenal pillaged. This success was transitory ; for, as soon as intelligence arrived of the operations of the French, who had reduced the canton of Zug, the confederates hastened from Lucerne to the defence of Schwitz ; of the inhabitants of which canton, the centre was principally composed. By this attention to the safety of a particular canton, the general cause was injured.

The right wing having reached the vicinity of the lake of Zurich, an engagement occurred, in which the Swiss fought with spirit, but were put to flight. The majority of the troops of this division, soon after the action, avoided farther hostilities by dispersion.

Advancing to Lachen, the French threatened to reduce Schwitz to speedy obedience. Aloys Reding exhorted the people not to despair, but to trust to their swords for safety. At Schindellegi, they bravely defended themselves : but, when the imbecility or the treachery of Herzog, the rector of Einsiedlen, to whose guidance the inhabitants and their neighbours weakly trusted, had laid open that town and the defiles of Mount Ezel to the enemy, they were obliged to fall back to Rothenthurm, where Reding waited for an opportunity of action. Near Morgarten, where Swiss valour had formerly been displayed with decisive effect, two engagements took place, to the advantage of the confederates, notwithstanding the inferiority of their

internal government of the cantons, or alter the system of the confederacy. The Swiss had, indeed, less experience than the French in the art of framing constitutions; but they could not easily have less judgment. The different governments were not so hostile to reform as to afford even a pretext for the interference of any foreign nation; and the *charlatanerie* of the French promised less real improvement than the advice of any other people.

The attack of Malta and the expedition of Egypt were equally unjustifiable with the invasion of Switzerland. Hompesch was then sovereign of the Maltese territories, being the first grand-master ever chosen from the German class. His first care, after his elevation, was to improve the favourable opinion conceived of the fraternity by the Russian emperor, who had considerably augmented the revenues of the grand priory and commanderies in that part of Poland which his mother had seized. Having ratified the convention signed for this and other purposes, the grand-master sent an ambassador to Petersburg, to confer the ensigns of the order on Paul and his family, and declare him its protector. This prince engaged to support the establishment with all his influence at foreign courts, and sent orders for that purpose to his envoys. But the hostile malignity of the French baffled the views of the friends of Malta. The seizure of the revenues of the Maltese order, in France and its dependencies, did not satisfy Gallic rapacity, or allay that disgust with which the votaries of democracy viewed an association of nobles. The conquest of the island had for some time been meditated; and for this act of violence an opportunity was afforded, when an armament was prepared for a descent on the coast of Egypt.

In returning from the Levant to take the command of the grand fleet, Brueys stopped at Malta, and, with treacherous views, assumed an appearance of neutrality. He sent a ship of the line into the port of Valetta to be repaired; a service in which the natives readily assisted. In the mean time, the seamen in chaloupes were sounding the coasts, and Caruson, the French consul, was employed in propagating disaffection to the government. After these preparatives, the French admiral sailed away, intimating his satisfaction and professing amity. He found the island apparently in a good state of defence; but he trusted to the efficacy of artifice and corruption. When the first division of the French armament appeared before Malta, declarations of friendship were renewed; and surprise was expressed at the grand-master's preparations for resistance. On the

approach of the remainder, Bonapartè requested the free entry of the harbour and full liberty of landing. Caruson was sent by the council of state to intimate that these requests could not be granted with a due regard to the laws of the country; and he took this opportunity of informing the Corsican, that he might depend on the assistance of four thousand Maltese, who would rise against the knights as soon as the French should give the signal by throwing a bomb into the town¹.

Having received permission for only four vessels to enter at a time for the purpose of procuring water, Bonapartè complained of the inattention of the grand-master to those principles of hospitality which formed the basis of the order, and, referring also to a proclamation by the Maltese government, which prohibited any alliance with the French republic, he declared that he would not be the first to break it. He had intended to proceed to a descent at seven o'clock, but he was informed that the grand-master had ordered his troops to make Fort St. George was in-
stantly surren-
dered and the other fortifications were

June 10. quickly seized by the invaders, who ranged over the country, with the disaffected inhabitants, committing depredations and outrages. Many of the knights had been seduced from their allegiance; the soldiery and the people were in a state of insubordination; the grand-master, even if he had been perfectly well disposed, could not enforce obedience; and uproar and confusion prevailed. Some attempts were made, however, to harass the enemy both by sea and land. The French smiled at these efforts, and continued with alacrity to seize one post after another. In the meantime the populace in the city attacked the knights; and murdered four of them; and the weakness of the government appeared in the difficulty with which this insurrection was quelled. On the following day the riots were renewed, and dissensions arose to such a height that the armed natives even shot each other².

The malcontents had not yet admitted the French into the city: but, in the evening, they rushed toward the palace, disclaimed all submission to the grand-master or the assembly of the states, and declared that they would immediately submit to the French. The council now sent deputies to propose an armistice; and the next day a capitulation was signed, importing that

¹ *History of Malta*, by Louis de Boisgelin, book iii. chap. v.

² Boisgelin's *History of Malta*, book iii. chap. v. vi.

Malta, with the isles of Goza and Cumino, should be subject to the French republic ; that the privileges and property of the inhabitants should be secured ; that the plenipotentiaries at Rastadt should endeavour to procure, for the grand-master, a principality equivalent to that which he now lost ; that the interest of the knights, in point of honourable maintenance, should also be promoted by the French, as far as their influence with different powers might extend ; and that all civil acts or ordinances promulgated under the late government should still remain in force ¹.

These terms were soon violated by the French. The laws of the directory were substituted for those which had lately prevailed ; and acts of tyranny and rapine were daily committed. The chief administrators of public affairs were Ransijat, a traitorous knight, and St. Jean d'Angeli, a French commissary. The people were enslaved by their pretended protectors ; many were compelled to join the French army or serve in the fleet ; the knights were driven from the island ; and the political scene assumed a new aspect.

When the French resumed their voyage, general Vaubois was left with four thousand men to garrison the Maltese forts. A tax imposed for the support of the foreign troops increased the discontent which had been produced by the rigours of the new government ; and, when the treasures of one of the churches in the old city were on the point of being sold by auction, a tumult arose, which proved fatal to Nasson, the commandant, and about sixty of the soldiers. The insurrection spread over the country ; and, except the capital, the whole island was in a state of hostility to its late conquerors.

Bonapartè, not being discovered by the English on his way, arrived safely on the African coast with the spoils of Malta. The sight of Egypt animated the hopes of the aspiring general. Having given orders respecting the disembarkation, he sprang into a boat, and boldly led the way. No opposition was made to the landing of the French ; but, in their march from the isle of Marabout to Alexandria, they were harassed by desultory attacks. When they were within cannon-shot of the walls, the proposal of a friendly conference was answered, on ^{July 2.} the part of the garrison and the inhabitants, by shouts of war and by acts of hostility. They knew that the European general would offer them his *protection* ; but they were not disposed to

¹ Boisgelin, book iii. chap. vi.

accept an offer which would involve their subjection to an odious yoke. The invaders soon scaled the walls, and, having overpowered the resistance of the troops and the people, took inhuman vengeance for the justifiable opposition which they had sustained. They perpetrated an indiscriminate massacre, in a place which they had no right to enter. Even the mosques did not repress their fury; those temples were not suffered to afford protection to the infirmity of age, the weakness of sex, or the engaging tenderness of childhood¹.

Having provided for the retention of Alexandria, and sent instructions to the admiral to moor the fleet in the bay of Aboukir, the general prepared for more important conquests. Desaix led one division across the desert, and in this march the soldiers suffered severely from heat, thirst, and fatigue. When the Mamelouks pressed forward to support them, the main body opportunely arrived to support them, and the Mamelouks were now beaten off, and were afterwards routed.

Morad, an enterprising chief, who had the chief command of a considerable force, Bonapartè, having a

July 21. cline the command and alacrity,

by the effects of a storm, more disciplined ranks, continued to advance. The bayonet at length checked their impetuosity, and pierced the most forward of their number. Another part of the French army attacked the village, and forced the entrenchments. The Mamelouks were thus defeated, with small loss on the part of the victors, who found rich spoils in the camp. Morad now became a fugitive; Ibrahim and the pasha of grand Cairo also fled from immediate danger; and the inhabitants of that capital relinquished all thoughts of defence².

As Ibrahim was known to be employed in augmenting his army, Bonapartè, after a hasty organization of Cairo, marched against him. His advanced guard skirmished with the rear; but he could not prevent the escape of the bey to the confines of Syria. While he was engaged in this expedition, he was alarmed with intelligence of the maritime success of the English.

Keeping a vigilant eye over the preparations and movements

¹ *Intercepted Letters from the army of Bonapartè in Egypt, part i.*

² *Précis des Evénemens Militaires.*

of the French, the British monarch hoped to chastise their presumption, if they should venture to contend with the masters of the sea. Not wishing to meet a foe in the voyage, they had taken a course by which they expected to elude an attack. They had passed by the way of Candia, and reached Egypt after Nelson had in vain searched for them on that coast. A subsequent search was more fortunate to the English, who, gladdened with a sight of the republican fleet, eagerly hastened to an engagement, without the least doubt of triumphing over all the difficulties presented by the situation and arrangements of the enemy. Nelson was bold, active, and enterprising; and his courage was accompanied with skill and judgment. He was warmly attached to the maritime service, zealous for the honour of Great Britain, and ever ready to attack her enemies, particularly the French revolutionists. Rodney, Howe, and Duncan could not always command the cordial co-operation of their officers: but Nelson seemed to infuse his own spirit into the hearts of all the captains who served under him. His name and example seemed to rouse and to animate every individual in his fleet.

There was no striking disparity between the naval force commanded by Brueys and that of Nelson: but the French admiral had the advantage in other respects, being apparently well stationed and secured on the land side. The English, if they had been in similar circumstances, would in all probability have repelled, without difficulty, a very vigorous attack. The assailants broke the French line: three ships were soon ^{Aug. 1.} taken, and, after an engagement of four hours, L'Orient, a ship of uncommon magnitude, blew up, with the loss of the major part of the crew. The result of farther conflict was the capture or destruction of all the hostile fleet, except four ships, two of which were only frigates. Beside the flag-ship of the unfortunate Brueys, who fell in the heat of the action, the Timoleon blew up, being set on fire by her own captain; and a frigate was also destroyed, even after a surrender, by the orders of its commander. In addition to the three former prizes, six sail of the line were captured. This memorable triumph established, beyond all competition, the fame of the British navy¹.

It is at the same time necessary to state, that several instances of misfortune, on the part of Great Britain, occurred in this year. In the Belgic territory, after the destruction of some canal sluices and small craft, eleven hundred and fifty British

¹ Charnock's *Life of Lord Nelson*.

soldiers were reduced to a situation similar to that of the troops at St. Cas (forty years before), and, after a spirited action, were constrained to surrender. In the West Indies our countrymen were also unsuccessful; for, at the end of a fifth campaign in Hispaniola, they left the island to the divided domination of the negro Toussaint, the mulatto Rigaud, and the French. Some compensation for this loss accrued to the English in the Mediterranean. Minorca was invaded, and a bloodless conquest was achieved: such was the pusillanimity of the enemy.

While the British nation exulted in the victory obtained by Nelson, the alarm which had arisen from a rebellion in Ireland also yielded to emotions of joy. Although the catholics of that realm had been indulged with the removal of various incapacities ordained by former laws, they were not content while they thought themselves entitled by their loyalty to farther concessions. Some bold malcontents, who had imbibed Jacobinical principles, inflamed the disgust of those sectaries, and entered into associations of general reform. Aware of their machinations, the vice-regal cabinet had recourse to strong measures, which, however, did not extinguish the growing evil. After the arrest of Dr. Mac Nevin and other revolutionists, the flame of rebellion broke out¹. Naas was attacked, but was effectually defended. The garrison of Prosperous did not so well resist the rebels; but, near Dunlavin and in other parts, they were routed with loss. Carlow was a scene of horror; for four hundred of their party were there encompassed and massacred. In the province of Ulster the insurrection was soon quelled, chiefly by a victory at Ballinahinch: but, in the south-eastern parts of Leinster, rebellious efforts were not quelled without difficulty. The loyal troops were on some occasions repelled: yet, in general, they prevailed by superiority of arms and discipline. At New Ross the malcontents suffered severely; for, in a fruitless assault upon that town, fifteen hundred of their companions (some accounts greatly increase the number) lost their lives. A body of the fugitives wreaked their vengeance on the royalists who had previously been captured, of whom about two hundred were murdered. A still greater number of captives were massacred at other times. At length the head-quarters of the rebel host, near Enniscorthy, were forced; and the army then dwindled into small parties, whose outrages gradually subsided. Some of the leaders and most of the active rebels were tried and put to

¹ On the 24th of May.

death; and not a few were suffered to emigrate. Above one thousand French, landing in the north-west of Ireland, routed an opposing force in two engagements: but they were constrained to surrender on the approach of a formidable army. The Irish who had joined them were defeated; and the vigilance of sir John Warren, by the capture of the greater part of a French fleet, prevented the farther attempts of the enemy to inflame the spirit of rebellion.

Still intent upon war, Mr. Pitt took advantage of the animating effects of Nelson's triumph, and promoted a new league against the French. The Russians now took arms, and quickly reduced Cephalaria and other islands which the French had wrested from the Venetians. They were aided in this expedition even by the Turks. The grand signor had hitherto observed, with little emotion, the progress of the revolutionary *mania* in France. He did not think that it would have any effect in shaking the fidelity of his people; and, therefore, he quietly suffered the thunder to roar at a distance. But when the French, with a wanton spirit of conquest and rapine, had presumed to revolutionize a country over which the Porte claimed dominion, Selim admitted the propriety of the advice offered by the British court, and resolved to oppose the violators of the rights of nations.

A British subsidy was granted to the czar in the next session; and, to increase the means of hostility, the late assessment was so altered as to be rendered equivalent, in every instance, to a tithe of income. Depending before on the style of living, it was in many cases, much less than that proportion. The new king of Prussia, Frederick William II., was so studious of neutrality, that he turned a deaf ear to the earnest solicitations of the British cabinet: but the emperor Francis was easily persuaded to prepare for a new war. The French directory did not shrink from the danger, but rather courted it.

His Neapolitan majesty had been stimulated by his queen and ministers to re-enter into the war; and their immediate object was the subversion of the new Roman government, the principles of which, they assured him, were incompatible with the security of his monarchy. He invaded, with a numerous army, the territories lately belonging to the church, but met with only a temporary success; for Championet, soon afterward, defeated several divisions of the Neapolitan host, and recovered Rome, which Ferdinand and general Mack had seized. The French now advanced to Gaeta, which, though defensible, did not withstand

A.D. them. Capua was besieged for ten days, and was then 1799. surrendered by prince Pignatelli, who, when the terrified king had fled to Palermo, acted as regent. The loyal populace of Naples, and the rustics, attacked the enemy between Capua and that city, but were defeated with severe loss; and the metropolis submitted to the French yoke.

In the extended plan of hostility formed by the directory, the first object was to obtain possession of the Grison territory, that a communication might be preserved with Germany. Massena advanced for that purpose, and, crossing the Rhine near Baltozers, obstructed all communication with Feldkirch, which he had ordered Oudinot to attack, while Demont took measures for the expulsion of general Offenbergl from Coire. Unassisted by Hotze, who was fully employed at Feldkirch, or by the Grisons themselves, who forbore to take arms on the occasion, Offenbergl was surrounded in his post, and, after a gallant defence, was obliged to surrender. Repeated assaults were made upon the entrenchments of Hotze, as preludes to the operations of Jourdan; but the French were repulsed in each attempt with considerable loss. Jourdan, weary of fruitless expectation, attacked the advanced guard of the archduke's army, and posted himself on the heights of Ostrach. A part of his force, being assailed by Charles, made a resolute defence, but could not maintain its station. At other posts, warm conflicts also arose, to the disadvantage of the French, of whom twenty-five hundred were killed or wounded. The Austrians were still more successful in the battle of Stockach. Mar. 25. Jourdan says, that he had only thirty-four thousand men, on this occasion, to cope with about eighty thousand; but, though the archduke had certainly a superiority of number, the difference was far from being so considerable as the French general represents it to have been. The efforts of Soult and St. Cyr were so well directed, that the French made great progress, and nearly drove the Austrians from the shelter of the woods between Liebingen and Stockach. Charles advanced, with a numerous body, to support his retiring troops, and gave a new turn to the battle. Jourdan claimed the victory without sufficient grounds; for it was obviously gained by the archduke, but not without the death, wounds, or captivity, of about five thousand men.

The army, sent by the emperor Paul beyond the Alps to act against the French, reached the Veronese in the spring, under the command of count Souvoroff. On the approach of this distinguished general, Moreau, who expected reinforcements from various quarters, entrenched his army on the right bank of the

Adda. The count, having reduced Bergamo, advanced toward the river, with a combined army of Russians and Austrians, to force a passage. The post of Lecco was stormed: that of Brivio proved only a trifling obstacle. At Trezzo, a bridge was hastily formed, and the allies dislodged general Serrurier's division: but the retiring republicans, being supported by fresh bat-
 talions, rallied, and nearly turned the right flank of their ^{Apr. 27.} adversaries. Another column, having opportunely crossed the river, charged with the bayonet, and relieved the endangered corps. Driven successively from Pozzo and Veprio, Serrurier and the remains of his force were constrained to become prisoners of war. General Melas forced the entrenchments of a canal near Cassano, attacked a fortified bridge, and triumphantly conducted his whole division over the Adda to Gorgonzelo. The routed enemy, of whose number about ten thousand were killed or wounded, fled toward Milan, whence the major part retreated into the Genoese territories, while Moreau hastened into Piedmont to quell commotions which had arisen at Turin, and improve the defensibility of the citadel ¹.

On the death of Victor Amadeus III.² his son Charles Emanuel IV. had ascended the tottering throne, at a time when the Piedmontese had recovered, but in an imperfect degree, the blessing of peace. He was soon compelled, by the domineering enemies of his father, to enter into an alliance with them, and resign himself in a great measure to their control. Sanguinary disturbances were excited in his dominions by the partisans of France; and the encroachments of the Ligurian republic also involved him in hostilities. On pretence of friendship and protection, the directory desired him to admit a French garrison into the citadel of Turin. He complied with the requisition; but his acquiescence only served to encourage farther insults; and he was at length obliged to relinquish the sovereignty of Piedmont, and retire into Sardinia³. The grand duke of Tuscany was still less fortunate; for the French deprived him of all his territories.

The Austrians continued to act with courage and zeal. The archduke having ordered a general attack upon the French line, with a view of penetrating into the Grison country, the posts in the Lower Engadin were so fiercely assaulted by Bellegarde, that the success of the Austrians seemed to be almost certain;

¹ *Précis des Evénemens Militaires*, 1799.—*Vienna Gazette* of May 6.

² *In the year 1796.*

³ *In December, 1798.*

but Lecourbe and his brave associates at length compelled them to retreat. Hotze attacked the fort of Lucien-Steig, while numerous bodies of Swiss and Grisons surprised Dissentis and Hantz. He failed in the attempt, and lost nearly the whole regiment of Orange by slaughter or captivity. Menard advanced against the Swiss, and dispersed their army, after killing about two thousand of them. Soult was likewise successful against the armed peasants near Schwitz and at Altdorff.

While Massena was providing for his defence in Switzerland, after he had received intelligence of the progress of the allies in Italy, Hotze renewed his attack upon Lucien-Steig, and gained possession of that key of the Valley of the Grisons. Bel-
 May 14. legarde then from Richenau and Coire;
 and the grand line α by Massena was pierced in
 all parts. The shot in the lake of Constance to
 mount St. Gothard.

No important con tween Souvoroff and any of
 the French generals i subsequent to the battle of
 Cassano: but Kray, er that engagement, distin-
 guished himself by a victo i verona. He was attacked by
 Scherer, who hoped to meet with better success than had at-
 tended his exertions at Porto Legnago, where he had been
 repelled with no small loss. The French passed the Adige in
 force, and gained some advantages: but they received a serious
 check from the cool valour of the Austrians, who slew or cap-
 tured about three thousand men. In the following week, Kray
 was again victorious; for, in the well-contested battle of Mag-
 nano, the French were totally routed, and their number suffered
 a great diminution.

While Souvoroff remained in the Milanese, superintending
 divided operations and detached sieges, Moreau occupied a strong
 camp between Valenza and Alessandria, and was supported by
 the strength of Casal and of Verna. The field-marshal repeat-
 edly endeavoured to draw him into an engagement. He sent a
 Russian detachment to break the French line; but Grenier and
 Victor repelled the assailants. He detached some able officers to
 attack the chief posts; and, the camp being thus opened, Moreau
 retired to Coni, not without recovering that communication with
 Genoa which had been interrupted by insurrections of the pea-
 sants. The citadels of Alessandria and Turin were now
 May 24. invested; and that of Milan was taken after nineteen days
 of regular siege.

Mantua, which had been for some time besieged, was left by

general Kray under a blockade ; and he proceeded to take measures for obstructing the retreat of Macdonald's army, then in the Tuscan territories. Victor was detached by Moreau to meet this officer, and to assist him in opening a passage ; and the commander-in-chief advanced toward Savona, intending, as soon as he could enter into a close concert with Macdonald, to risk a general engagement with Souvoroff. Taking the route of Modena from Tuscany, the French met the division of general Hohenzollern, and a fierce conflict ensued, in which Macdonald was wounded ; but his troops repelled the foe, and nearly destroyed the rear-guard in the pursuit. He then advanced to Parma, and, hastening to the Po, attacked the citadel of Placentia.

The progress of Macdonald alarmed Souvoroff, who became sensible of the danger of a junction between that active commander and Moreau. He ordered his whole disposable force to assemble between Tortona and Placentia ; and both armies were soon so near each other, that an engagement occurred, in which the divisions of Ott and Frolich maintained their ground until the field-marshal arrived with a strong body of Russians, and compelled the French to retire. On the two following days the battle was renewed, and the whole plain, from the fort of San-Giovanni to Placentia, was covered with the bodies of unfortunate men, who had not sufficient interest in the war to urge them to risk their lives, if they had been left to the operations of their own free will. In these conflicts, about six thousand were killed or wounded on each side ; and, of the French, above nine thousand were made prisoners¹. June 17.

The republicans, who retreated in good order, were pursued for three days by Souvoroff ; but, hearing that Moreau had obtained an advantage over Bellegarde, he then returned to the south-westward, to check the career of his vigilant antagonist. The citadel of the Piedmontese capital being now reduced, he had an opportunity of strengthening his army with a considerable part of the besieging corps ; and, being reinforced from other quarters, he marched with fifty thousand men toward Tortona, while Moreau hastened from Novi to secure himself in the Genoese territories.

Some spirited engagements had in the mean time taken place in Switzerland. The Austrians, in their way to Zurich, were exposed to frequent attacks ; but they boldly advanced, and, out-

¹ *London Gazette.*—*Précis*, &c.

flanking Massena, constrained him to take a new station behind the Glatt, from which, however, he soon removed to an entrenched camp in front of Zurich. The archduke approached that
 June 4. strong position, and assaulted the outworks. He then attacked the whole line, which was defended from the dawn to the close of day. About six thousand men were killed or wounded on both sides. Massena, slowly retiring, entrenched himself near the lake of Zug; and Zurich became the headquarters of the Austrian prince, who, after this success, sent his whole left wing to strengthen the army of Souvoroff¹.

The reduction of fortresses now employed the attention of the field-marshal. *Alessandria* was at length surrendered to him, when the besieging force prepared for a general assault. He ordered Kray to join the siege of Mantua with additional vigour. Some outposts were taken by storm; Fort St. George was abandoned; the garrison; and the body of the place was in danger, when general Latour
 July 28. consented to a truce. Souvoroff earnestly wished to add Tortona to his conquests, but he should risk another general action; but Joubert, who, in consequence of a political change at Paris, had been ordered to supersede Moreau, made such movements and dispositions as brought on an early engagement.

If Souvoroff had not suddenly marched back to the westward, Macdonald might have been precluded from an escape: but he effected his retreat into Tuscany, and returned to France, while his troops, passing by the way of Genoa, formed a junction with those of Moreau, and were stationed on the right by the new commander. St.-Cyr conducted that division against Souvoroff; and to Perignon the charge of the left wing was given. Near
 Aug. 15. Novi, the battle commenced: and it had not long raged, when Joubert, animating the men by laconic speeches to vigorous exertions, received a ball in his heart. Moreau, who had taken the field as a volunteer, now resumed the command, and displayed his usual activity and courage. The right of the allies, commanded by Kray, recoiled twice from the rude shock of the foe, and made little impression upon the mountainous post which they assailed. The centre likewise found great difficulty in maintaining its ground; and the superiority of the confederates in number did not seem likely to secure the victory. But the efforts of the left wing, under Melas, at length opened the

¹ London Gazette of June 21.—*Précis*, &c.

way to a more flattering prospect. He ordered Frolich to turn the right flank of the French, and so opportunely and skilfully supported the movements of this officer, that the scheme was attended with complete success¹. The endangered division fled; and the rest of the army soon joined in the retreat. About eight thousand of the republicans were killed or wounded, and four thousand captured; and, of the Austrians and Russians, six thousand lost their lives or were injured by wounds.

From this victory the confederates scarcely derived any other benefit than the acceleration of the surrender of Tortona. The vanquished army took a strong position in the Genoese territory, while the field marshal hastened to the Tanaro, to observe the movements of Championet, who was endeavouring to unite the forces which he commanded near the Alps, with those of Moreau. Kray was detached with a considerable corps to co-operate with the archduke, whose left wing had been outflanked by the address and perseverance of Lecourbe.

The success of the allies had been so dearly purchased, that the directors of the campaign resolved to try the effect of a new plan of operations. Switzerland was to be the grand scene of action, not for a combined army, but for the Russians under Souvoroff: Kray and Melas were to act in Italy with Austrian and Piedmontese troops; and, in Germany, the archduke was to be at the head of his brother's forces and those of the empire. In executing the new arrangements, the allies were exposed to partial attacks, which they repelled with spirit. The Russians, defended by their own valour, and aided by the movements of Kray, reached the mountain of St. Gothard, and arrived safely in Switzerland. Korsakoff, who was not a very able general, had already appeared in that country with a fresh army of Moscovites, and stationed himself near the middle of a line extending from the Rhine to the lake of Wallenstadt. Massena resolved to attack this line before the arrival of Souvoroff; and the scheme was executed with courage and success. Hotze, whom the archduke had entrusted with the defence of Switzerland, was surprised near the Linth, and lost his life in the conflict. Petrasch, who succeeded to the command, could not prevent the troops from retreating in disorder. Korsakoff withstood the assailants for a time; but he was at length defeated with great loss, and Zurich was taken by storm. Souvoroff was now ad-

¹ *Cette manœuvre* (says the author of the *Précis*) *décide la victoire*; and Souvoroff bore honourable testimony, on this occasion, to the merit of the Austrian general.

vancing with his usual confidence, but met with spirited opposition in his progress. He was attacked by Lecourbe in the valley of Mitten; and, though he prevailed so far as to repel the enemy in some obstinate engagements, he found his progress obstructed by Massena's judgment and superior knowledge of the country.

Korsakoff, in the mean time, retired toward Schaffhausen, and Petrasch to Feldkirch, while the corps of Condé and the Bavarian troops posted themselves near Constance. The possession of that city was warmly contested: but, notwithstanding all the efforts of the duke d'Enghien and general Bauer, it was seized and retained by the French. The field-marshal effected his retreat to Coire, and then proceeded to the borders of the lake of Constance, where his harassed troops found repose. His character was still high in the opinion of military men: but his ill success in Switzerland disgraced him in the eyes of the northern emperor¹.

In Germany, the operations, for some months after the battle of Stockach, were not very important. General Muller acted in the Palatinate for the French republic, and kept in check the numerous levies of militia. The prince of Schwartzburg supported the cause of Austria and the empire, and general Meerfeld acted on the same side without the distinction of extraordinary merit. The French seized Heidelberg, and bombarded Philipsburg, which, however, they could not reduce. About the close of the summer, the archduke marched into the Palatinate, stormed Neckerau and other posts, and dispossessed the French of Mannheim: but they retook that city after his return toward Switzerland, and formed the blockade of Philipsburg. Prince Hohenlohe, by spirited attacks, obstructed their operations, and drove them from their works; but they prevailed in an assault upon the greater part of the hostile line, and resumed the blockade. General Sztarray, however, assaulted with success their line of investment, and the fortress was relieved.

In Italy, after the battle of Novi, the Austrians more particularly aimed at the reduction of Coni and Genoa. Melas assembled a considerable force between the Stura and the Tanaro, and formed a strong line of investment. The French endeavoured to cut off his communication with Bra and Turin, whence he drew supplies; but he baffled their aim by strengthening his right wing, and altering his position. Each army being ordered to

¹ *Précis des Evénemens Militaires.*

risk a general attack upon the opposite posts, the French were less successful than their adversaries, and retreated in all points, when eight thousand of their number had been killed, wounded, or made prisoners. Coni was now subjected to a close siege; and nineteen batteries played with such efficacy, that the commandant, being pressed by the inhabitants to save the town from destruction, consented to capitulate, in the second week from the opening of the trenches. The generals Kray and Klenau had promoted the success of the besiegers, by preventing Championet and St.-Cyr from relieving the garrison. To check the activity of Klenau, St.-Cyr, after the loss of Coni, attacked him in a strong post, and entirely dislodged him: but he was not disabled from taking up his winter quarters at a short distance from Genoa. That city was now subjected to a siege, and it had little chance of effectual relief¹.

The exploits of the French and their adversaries, in other parts of the world, must now be recorded. Bonaparté, after a long continuance in Egypt, where he superintended numerous reforms, reverted to military pursuits. The conquest of Syria was a part of the scheme of operations which he now formed. Ahmed, surnamed (for his cruelty) *Al-Gezzar* or the Cut-throat, had risen into notice under the patronage of the bey Ali, the temporary sovereign of Egypt, had succeeded the sheik Daher as pasha of Acre, and at length acquired the government of Damascus. When the Porte had declared war against the French, the troops were sent to co-operate with him in Syria, and to expel the intruders from Egypt; and sir Sydney Smith, whose name was a tower of strength, was ordered to act in the same cause.

About twelve thousand men were selected for the Syrian expedition. General Regnier, reaching the vicinity of Al Arish, attacked a Mamelouk corps sent to the town with provisions, killed two beys, and routed the detachment. Bonapartè, soon after, joined the army, and prosecuted the siege with a spirit which enforced a speedy surrender. He granted favourable terms to the garrison; and, proceeding to Gaza, took possession also of that town, in which valuable supplies were found. Jaffa was taken by storm, and many of its defenders were slaughtered².

¹ *Précis des Evénemens Militaires.*

² When the French had desisted from the massacre, even those who knew the unfeeling spirit of their commander did not expect that the prisoners would be put to death. But, according to sir Robert Thomas Wilson, and other writers who had good opportunities of information, a scene at which humanity shudders eternally disgraced the general who gave the fatal mandate, and the soldiers who obeyed him. When the invaders had been for three days in quiet possession of the town,

Near Zeta, the French were attacked : and, when they had repelled the foe, they were bewildered among the mountains, and suffered some loss before they could extricate themselves. They passed a river near Acre in the face of Al-Gezzar's troops, and opened trenches on the east side of the town : but their battering cannon (sent from Alexandria) being captured by English cruisers, the siege could only be carried on with ordinary field-pieces.

The Syrian pasha, despairing of the preservation of Acre, was on the point of retiring from it with his treasures ; but he was exhorted by sir Sydney Smith to defend it with vigour. It was little better than an open town, and therefore required all the skill of engineers to fortify it with expedition, and all the courage of warriors to man its works. The British marines and sailors assisted the garrison ; and sir Sydney, contending against the disturbers of the peace of the world, displayed the zeal and valour of a Christian hero. He co-operated, indeed, on this occasion with the enemies of Christianity ; but he considered even the votaries of the Koran as more respectable than irreligious marauders and atheistical anarchists.

During the siege Bonapartè left the camp when he was informed of the operations of a considerable army of Syrians, Arabs, and Mamelouks. Junot being in danger of an attack which he might not be able to withstand, Kleber was sent to support him ; and this officer soon put to flight a detachment that opposed him near Cana. Hearing that the enemy approached mount Tabor in great force, the commander-in-chief hastened to the scene of peril. Kleber, who was surrounded by a numerous host, consisting chiefly of cavalry, formed his division into a square, and resisted frequent attacks : but, in all probability, he would have been ultimately overwhelmed, if Rampon had not arrived with a reinforcement, and if a body of horse, opportunely sent by the general, had not rushed upon the Mamelouks. He boldly renewed his efforts ; and the baffled enemy fled in confusion.

Bonapartè now returned to the camp before Acre ; and the siege was prosecuted with spirit. A breach being effected in one of the towers, an attempt was made to force a passage into the town : but the opening was found insufficient for that purpose. To prevent the tower from being undermined, the British sea-

three thousand eight hundred captives, whom Bonapartè considered as useless encumbrances, were conducted to an eminence, disposed in ranks, and shot under the eye of Berthier.

men and marines sallied out under the conduct of lieutenant Wright, while the Turks attacked the besiegers in their trenches. The mine was rendered unserviceable; but the Turks, finding the French on their guard, made little impression. Bonapartè, prodigal of the lives of his men, hazarded frequent assaults upon the place. Baffled in every attempt, he was enraged at his ill success, and inflamed with malignant animosity against the gallant knight to whose prowess it was chiefly imputable. He even ordered an assault while a letter which he had sent to the pasha, proposing a truce, was under consideration; but the garrison, being prepared for it, punished with death the most forward of the violators of military honour¹. Even the obstinacy of Bonapartè gave way to the valour and perseverance of the defenders of Acre. He desisted from the siege on the sixty-first day from its commencement, and took the opportunity of night to retire from the walls. He sent off the wounded soldiers, and his heavy artillery, by sea; but they fell into the hands of the English. Many of his men perished in the precipitate retreat—some by fatigue, others by the desultory attacks of the natives². When he reached Cairo he claimed the praise of victory, and boasted of having ruined the army of Al-Gezzar. He appeased the discontent of his troops, and coolly prosecuted both civil and military arrangements.

As the exertions of the French troops under general Desaix require transient notice, it may be observed that they reached Menekiah after a difficult progress, and advanced to attack the bey Morad upon the heights near that town. They were harassed by the van-guard; but they intimidated the main body into a retreat. A more regular engagement soon followed. The bey's troops endeavoured to surround the French near Sediman, but could not break the compact phalanx which they furiously assaulted. They were afterwards dislodged from various posts, and routed near Fayoun; and at length they retired beyond the Cataracts. The French, in this expedition, treated the inhabitants of Upper Egypt with rigour and cruelty, instead of conciliating them by mildness and moderation. Another bey now took the field as an opposer of the French. Hassan attacked them in their various marches; but, in a battle near Syene, he was wounded and defeated by Renaud. Morad, having re-appeared

¹ Letter of sir Sydney Smith, in the *Gazette* of Sept. 10.

² The author of the *Précis* affirms, that the retreat was effected in good order; but sir Sydney, with greater probability, represents it as very disorderly. Both agree in stating, that the French committed horrible ravages in their retrograde march.

to the northward of the Cataracts, was pursued by Desaix, yet not overtaken. To check the hostilities of the Arabs, the general sent a part of his army toward the Red Sea, to seize Cossair, and repair the fort. At the same time Kena, on the eastern bank of the Nile, was fortified by his direction.

Ibrahim and Morad, returning into Middle Egypt, menaced the French with an attack of their posts near Cairo; but the advance of a detachment under Le Grange terrified the former into a retreat, and the march of Bonapartè to Gizeh had a similar effect upon the latter. The commander-in-chief was now informed of the arrival of a Turkish armament on the Egyptian coast. He directed his course to the north-west to meet his new enemies, and learned, on his march, that they had taken the fort of Aboukir, and were entrenching themselves on the peninsula, in expectation of a Mamelouk reinforcement. A speedy attack being therefore advisable, both wings of the Ottoman army were

at once assailed by Lanusse and Lasnes, while Murat July 26. rushed upon the central division. The pasha Mustapha commanded the Turks; but he was not qualified to contend with the able generals who encountered him. About four thousand of his men were killed or wounded; and the garrison which he had placed in the fort surrendered it to the French after a siege of eight days¹.

The ambition of Bonapartè, being satisfied as far as Egypt was concerned, or regardless of the fate of that country, now looked forward to aggrandisement in Europe; and he found an opportunity of returning to France. Kleber then conducted the war, and the French defeated a division of the Turkish army; but the general soon negotiated with the vizir for a safe retreat, as the troops laboured under the want of almost every comfort. A convention was signed for that purpose; but, when lord Keith declared that he would not suffer it to be executed, Kleber re-attacked the enemy, and proved victorious.

A prince whom the French wished to assist, and whose interest would have been promoted by their success in Egypt, had already been punished, for his inauspicious connexions, with ruin and death. This was Tippoo, the sultan of Mysore, who, cherishing a keen animosity against the English, meditated hostilities in concert with the French. But, before he was fully prepared for action, a discovery of his intrigues exposed him to an attack

¹ It is stated in the *Précis*, that three hundred wounded men, and the bodies of eighteen hundred victims, were found in the fort by the captors.

from the India company. The earl of Mornington, who was then governor-general, was not of the military profession; but his bold and ardent spirit infused itself into the operations of the army. He hoped to finish the war in one campaign, and his orders were executed with decisive effect. Supplies were raised with unusual dispatch, and a zealous desire of promoting the public service seemed universally to prevail. In the first battle which this war produced, two thousand Europeans^{Mar. 6.} and Sepoys defeated ten thousand of Tippoo's men at Sidasir. At Malavelli the sultan's adversaries again had the advantage, and also at Suttanpotta; and the siege of his capital was quickly formed. He was confounded at the sanguine confidence and daring spirit of the besiegers; and, amidst the uneasiness which he felt, he was less provident, vigilant, and cautious, than the danger required. The strength of the place however, baffled all attempts during the greater part of a month; and farther supplies were required to enable the investing army to maintain its station. At length such an opening appeared in the wall, as seemed sufficient to facilitate an assault. About four thousand four hundred men were selected for the occasion by general Harris; and, forming two columns, they advanced under the conduct of Baird, and forced their way into the town, of which they obtained full possession with small loss. Tip-^{May 4.}poo was thrice wounded, and was found lifeless under an arch at the entrance of a fort. The slaughter of his men ceased as soon as they ceased to resist; for the captors of Seringapatam had not the ferocity of Tartars or Moscovites. The French who were in his service were apprehensive of British resentment; but they were not injured or molested. His favourite minister Sadduck, the encourager of his tyranny and cruelty, was found dead, being supposed to have been murdered by some of the Mysorean soldiers. The victorious English and their allies (the *nizam* or ruler of the Decan, and the Mahrattas) did not seize the whole territory of Tippoo, but bestowed a considerable part on a young Hindoo prince, from one of whose ancestors Hyder Ali had, forty years before, usurped the principality. A treaty of partition was then adjusted for the benefit of the confederates, the India company taking the greatest share, and the Mahrattas receiving the smallest portion.

Thus did Great Britain apparently so far augment her power in India, as to think herself entitled to defy the attempts of the native princes. But the fabric of her Indian greatness is not, perhaps, of the most substantial kind. The civil and military

establishments of the company are on so large a scale, as to obstruct its financial prosperity; and its occasional wars are productive of an enormous debt. Its influence and sway are not permanently promoted by conquest; for an extension of dominion, if not followed by prudence and moderation, may only serve to increase odium and inflame resentment.

The directors of the affairs of France lamented the ruin of Tippoo; but they more poignantly deplored the extinction of their own power. Before I inform you, however, of that political change which resulted from their misgovernment and unpopularity, it may be proper to observe, that, near the close of their odious sway, they lost that republic in Italy which had been formed on the ruin of the papal power, and, on the other hand, secured Holland by a seasonable display of vigour.

Rome and its dependencies were recovered by the co-operation of the English and Austrians with the troops of his Neapolitan majesty. General Garnier, negotiating with commodore Troubridge, agreed to retire from the Roman territories. Pius VI. had already been precipitated into the grave by the ill treatment which he received from the French, whose prisoner he was when he died. The cardinal di Chiaramonte was chosen at Venice to succeed him, and assumed the pontifical name of his unfortunate predecessor.

The other event to which I alluded may be introduced by a remark, stating the confident opinion of the English premier, and of Mr. Dundas, secretary for the war department, that the Dutch, insulted by the arrogance and injured by the rapacity of the French, would be pleased with such an opportunity of shaking off the yoke, as might be afforded by a strong fleet and army, sent by princes who either were, or supposed themselves to be, deeply interested in opposing the aggrandizement of France. Great Britain was fully sensible of the expediency of taking vigorous measures for that purpose; and the Russian court expressed an inclination to promote the same object. Sir Ralph Abercrombie sailed with an army at the close of the summer, and effected a landing at the Helder Point. As the troops advanced, they were attacked with spirit; but they killed a great number of the assailants, and seized the fort. Two large ships, and many frigates and sloops, were also captured. When the invaders had struggled for some time with want of accommodation, they pushed forward to a place where they were better lodged and supplied. A combined army of French and Dutch then endeavoured to check their progress; and a battle ensued, which

terminated to the advantage of the English. The Russian host soon after arrived; and the collision became still more violent. The expectation of being joined in the field by the Dutch proved fallacious. They were not willing to come forward in the aid of their former allies; and, if they had been so disposed, the increasing numbers of French soldiers, sent to animate them against the English, would have overawed and deterred them. The British and Russian troops now attacked the whole line; and the latter bore down all opposition, until, having pene-^{Sept. 19.}trated too far to be assisted by the less furious English, they were flanked by general Vandamme. They resisted with great courage, but could not effect their retreat before two thousand five hundred of their number had been killed, wounded, or taken. The British columns displayed intrepidity, and at the same time preserved order; but their commander, the duke of York, was induced to give directions for a retreat, although (by his own account) sixty officers and above three thousand common men were captured by his battalions¹.

A fleet of eight sail of the line in the Texel, commanded by Story, had already been transferred from the authority of the republic to that of the fugitive stadtholder. The admiral pretended that he was a zealous republican, but that the traitors whom he commanded were unwilling to obey him and to fight. In a conflict near Bergen and Egmont, the English and their fellow combatants were victorious; but, of the for-^{Oct. 6.}mer, above thirteen hundred were killed or wounded. In a subsequent engagement, likewise, the enemy lost the honour of the day; but the troops of the two nations purchased with great loss their unimportant advantage.

The impracticability of expelling the French from Holland, notwithstanding these victories, at length became evident; and, as the season precluded offensive operations against those who were better sheltered and protected than the invaders, a retreat was proposed in a council of war, and readily voted. But, to secure the retreat, it was necessary either to negotiate, or to inundate the country. The former measure being adopted, general Brune demanded a restitution of the fleet lately given up by Story, and a surrender of fifteen thousand prisoners, out of the number taken before this campaign. The duke of York objected to both these demands as unreasonable; and, after farther dis-

¹ London Gazette of Sept. 24, 1799.—*Précis des Evénemens Militaires.*

Oct. 18. cussion, it was agreed that only eight thousand captives should be restored without exchange.

The joy of the directors, at the expulsion of the English and Russians from Holland, did not long subsist undiminished. The re-appearance and popularity of Bonapartè threatened them with a change of government. That ambitious general, that artful politician, resolved to direct to his own advantage the discontent which prevailed. Sieyes, who was then a member of the directory, held meetings with Roederer, Talleyrand, Volney, and Regnault de St. Jean d'Angeli; and, after various discussions, it was agreed that a consulate should be formed, with a man of great military talents at its head. Berthier, Moreau, and other generals who were then in Paris, were not acquainted with the particular schemes of the Corsican, though they well knew his earnest desire of political power. When it was proposed that he should be invested with the command of the militia or guard of the capital, the greater part of the assembly of elders concurred in the vote; and, at St. Cloud, an extraordinary (but not unprecedented) scene occurred¹.

Nov. 10. Bonapartè, insisting upon an immediate change for the benefit of the republic, supported his demand by a display of military force. Resolute soldiers rushed into the hall where the council of five hundred had opened its deliberations, and met with little opposition when they ventured to expel the members. By both councils three chief magistrates were appointed; and two committees were instructed to prepare a new constitution. Eighty individuals were to compose a senate; one hundred were to form a tribunate; and three hundred a legislative body. The bold general and Cambacères were to act as consuls for ten years, and Le Brun for five. Such were the important fruits of Bonapartè's sudden return from Egypt!

LETTER XV.

Continuation of the History to the Treaty of Amiens, in 1802.

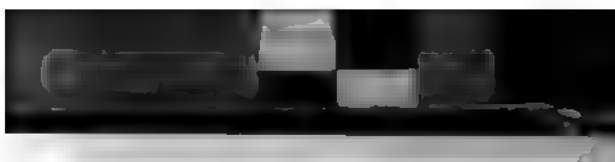
It may at first excite your surprise, my dear son, that the French, after wading through streams of blood to a republic, should so

¹ *Memoirs of Talleyrand*, vol. ii.

soon revert to monarchical government; for the first consul, to whom they now submitted, had the power, though not the name, of a king. The Romans retained for many centuries their hatred to royalty and their republican zeal; but the French, after the lapse of only seven years, resigned their commonwealth to the ambition of a Corsican adventurer. Your surprise on this occasion will be diminished, by reflecting on the volatile character of the people, and on the conduct of the successive rulers of the republic. Under the name of a free government every kind of oppression was exercised: life, liberty, and property, became the sport of inhuman and unprincipled men. Wars were studiously protracted and wantonly multiplied; and repeated conscriptions were carried into effect with arbitrary violence. Weary of such despotism, the nation wished for a change, and seemed to acquiesce as readily in Bonapartè's assumption of power, as if he had claimed the sovereignty by a regular descent from Clovis or from Hugh Capet. The change, however, was merely that of several tyrants for one.

A general promise of good government on the part of the first consul, was accompanied with a particular profession of pacific inclinations: but those who were acquainted with his character did not give credit to his assurances in either case. After various internal arrangements, he intimated to our court a desire of an accommodation of all disputes, in an epistle, not written (according to *etiquette*) by one of his ministers to the secretary of state for foreign affairs, but addressed by him to the king himself, whose patriotic virtues he condescended to applaud. He mentioned the necessity of peace, and the true glory derivable from it; and trusted that two nations so enlightened as France and Great Britain would no longer be actuated by false ideas of glory and greatness. Lord Grenville affirmed, in the answer A.D. 1800. which he was ordered to write, that "the king had given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe;" and denied, that he either was or had been engaged in any "contest for a vain and false glory," as he had only endeavoured "to maintain, against all aggression, the rights and happiness of his subjects." He added, that it would be useless to negotiate while the French seemed still to cherish those principles which had involved Europe in a long and destructive warfare.

The minister exposed himself to censure by not accepting the offer of negotiation. It was argued, that the interest of Bonapartè urged him to make peace, as he would naturally wish to



consolidate his power at leisure, and gratify with a return of tranquillity the people who had raised him to the dignified station of their first magistrate; that terms less unfavourable or dishonourable might therefore be obtained from him than the directory would have granted; that, with regard to the observance of a treaty, good faith might at least as confidently be expected from him as from the house of Bourbon, whose honour had rarely been a theme of encomium; and that an experiment might be made without injury, as even a short respite from war would afford a seasonable relief, without paralysing the future efforts of our countrymen; and that, even if no treaty should result from negotiation, our court might claim some merit for having evinced a readiness to put an end to the war.

An address in favour of vigorous hostilities being voted by each house, ample supplies were granted, and the heavy tax upon income was rendered still more oppressive. Whatever the premier desired, in point of policy, finance, and legislation, he easily obtained; so blind and so general was the confidence that was reposed in him!

This session was rendered unusually interesting by the agitation and adoption of a grand scheme of legislative union. The existing connexion between Great Britain and Ireland not being deemed sufficiently close for mutual safety, it was proposed in the cabinet, soon after the suppression of the Irish rebellion, that the two parliaments should be united.

There was reason to expect, that the subversion of a resident and independent parliament would wound the feelings of a high-spirited nation, and that the loss of some advantages derivable from such a legislature would be more considered by the popular members and by a numerous part of the community, than the probable acquisition of general benefit from an imperial parliament. Even the rumour of the scheme, therefore, excited in Ireland strong sensations of disgust; and, when the lord-lieutenant¹ mentioned the king's hope of a speedy improvement of the connexion between the realms, some of the most eloquent members of the house of commons so forcibly roused the assembly, that all the efforts of the ministry could only procure, in one division, a majority of one, and, in another, a preponderance of two votes. In two subsequent discussions, each party alternately prevailed.

Addressing the commons of Great Britain, Mr. Pitt insisted

¹ In January, 1799

on the expediency of applying, to the case of Ireland, that principle of union which had been so advantageously brought into practice at a time when alarming discord prevailed between the English and Scottish parliaments. He did not say that any serious disagreement existed between the Irish legislature and that of Britain; but, from the independence of the former, and the risk of its being occasionally influenced by local prejudices, or by the arts of factious demagogues, he apprehended that a material variance might sometimes arise on points essential to the welfare of the British empire. This danger was the more alarming, as the French (he said) were still meditating, in concert with Jacobinical traitors, an absolute disjunction of Ireland from the empire with which it had been so long connected.

The outlines of the plan were repeatedly discussed in both houses. A scheme of such magnitude and importance could not be expected to pass without multifarious strictures and spirited animadversion. It was assailed by the sarcastic wit and nervous oratory of Sheridan, the more chastised and dignified eloquence of Grey, the acuteness of Tierney, and the casuistry of Laurence. The earl of Moira opposed it chiefly on the ground of its being repugnant to the wishes of the people of Ireland; earl Fitzwilliam and lord Holland resisted it, because they conceived it was unnecessary, and might be highly injurious to the connexion which it was intended to cement.

The minister was stigmatized as an Arch-Jacobin, who, on pretence of improvement, wished to encroach on the freedom and invade the rights of an independent nation;—as an advocate of tyranny, who aimed not only at the subjugation of Ireland, but also (by the transfer of subservient members from the enslaved country) at the annihilation of the liberties of Britain;—and as a systematic deserter of those constitutional and patriotic principles with which he had commenced his parliamentary career. It was affirmed, that every purpose of connexion was answered by the identity of the executive power of the two realms, and by other ties of established efficacy; that, even in the event of the proposed union, there could not be that incorporation, either physical or political, which had been adjusted in the case of Scotland; that the removal of all religious restrictions would more effectually promote concord and unity than the subversion of the parliament of Ireland; that mischievous discord might be apprehended from an enforcement of the execrated project; and that nothing but the declared sense of the

people, freely given in new elections, could justify such an extraordinary measure.

None of the arguments or remonstrances adduced or urged could prevail on the cabinet to abandon the scheme; it was merely postponed for a year. This delay tended to strengthen the ministerial interest in the Irish house of commons: and a majority of forty-two voted against the popular cause. This

Jan. 16. commanding superiority continued until all the articles

framed according to the outlines which had been sketched and voted in England, were included by the two houses in an address to his majesty. The different provisions were successively examined and adopted by the British lords and commons; and the bill at length received the royal assent. It contained

July 2. eight articles. By the first three, an union of the two realms, a confirmation of the protestant succession, and a consolidation of the parliaments, were ordered. The next stipulation adjusted the mode of securing the interests of Ireland in the combined legislative body. For this purpose, four prelates were ordered to sit alternately in each session, and twenty-eight laic peers were to be chosen for life, while two members for each of the thirty-two counties, and thirty-six citizens and burgesses, were to represent the Hibernian commons. The fifth article united the churches of England and Ireland, leaving that of Scotland still distinct. By the sixth it was provided, that the people of Great Britain and Ireland should "be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as to encouragements and bounties on articles of commerce, being the growth, produce, or manufacture, of either country." The seventh left the public debt of each kingdom on a separate basis, with regard to interest and final liquidation; and required that the expenditure of the united kingdom should be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Britain and two parts for Ireland; but, after the lapse of twenty years, it was to be at the option of the parliament to continue this arrangement or fix a new rate. The eighth article provided for the maintenance of the laws which were then in force, and the preservation of the regular courts of judicature; subject, however, to such alterations as might appear to the legislature to be occasionally expedient.

These stipulations and arrangements were well calculated for the purpose at which the court aimed: but the measure would have been more worthy of praise, if it had not been forced upon the Irish nation. The exercise of every kind of influence upon

the house of commons, and the omission of that constitutional appeal to the electors which so important a change required, (an appeal which the minister would readily have recommended in a case connected with his personal interests,) precluded the freedom of assent, and prevented the act of union from being a fair compact between independent nations.

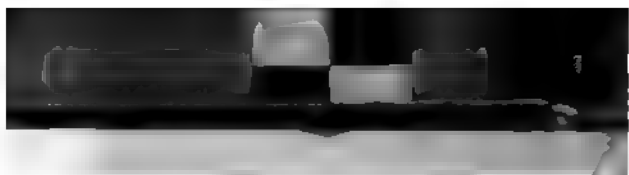
The first consul thought less of an invasion of Great Britain or of Ireland than of the personal prosecution of the war against the emperor of Germany. The difficulties of an Alpine passage served only to stimulate his ardour. He joined the army which had been ordered to rendezvous near the lake of Geneva, and proceeded to Martigni, in the Valais. At the village of St. Peter, it was necessary to hollow the trunks of trees into the form of troughs, that the cannon might slide along in them. The gun-carriages were conveyed on sledges, except the wheels, which were carried upon poles; and the men could only ascend the mountain of St. Bernard one by one, moving with the utmost caution. The descent was still more dangerous: but scarcely any lives were lost, either by precipitous falls or by the overwhelming force of masses of hardened snow. Aosta, though occupied by an Hungarian battalion, was quickly reduced: the fort of Bard might have been long defended; but it made a very weak resistance. A detachment under general Boudet scaled the walls of Ivrea: Lasnes stormed Romagno, and Murat seized Vercelli. The Tesino was crossed in the face of the enemy; and the city of Milan quietly received the invaders. At Pavia valuable magazines were found: Placentia was not sufficiently protected: nor was the passage of the Po effectually obstructed¹.

While the first consul was at Milan, the fate of Genoa was determined. The siege had been converted into a blockade, after several fierce conflicts, in which both parties lost a multitude of men. General Massena, with a small French and Cis-Alpine garrison, found considerable difficulty in preserving order among the inhabitants; of whom, during the blockade, fifteen thousand are said to have perished, many by famine, others by epidemic diseases. When he agreed to a surrender of the place, he would not suffer it to be called a *capitulation*; he and the brave garrison merely consented to retire².

An engagement at Montebello preceded the decisive battle of Marengo. The Austrians had the advantage for some hours;

¹ *Marengo, ou la Campagne d'Italie*, par Joseph Petit.

² *Journal des Opérations Militaires du Siège et du Blocus de Gènes*, par un des Officiers Généraux de l'Armée d'Italie.



but, when the division of general Watrin had warmly supported the French van, the republicans prevailed, and drove their adversaries towards Voghera, capturing above four thousand men. The victors waited at San-Juliano for the arrival of the rest of the army, and then proceeded to the plain of Marengo, between Tortona and Alessandria. The Austrians now attacked them with such energy, that general Victor and the left wing June 14. were thrown into great disorder. Both the cavalry and infantry retired into the rear; and the anxious consul was alarmed with the dread of danger. The centre, and the right wing under Lasnes, continued to resist: yet these divisions were at length repelled. Murat, with a body of dragoons, protected the right flank of Victor; and Bonapartè sent succours to the other divisions: but the tide of success still flowed in favour of the Austrians, who had outstretched the French, and threatened to turn their army. The grenadiers of the consular guard now strove to support the honour of the republic, and sustained three charges without shrinking. Another attack compelled them to retreat, yet without wild haste or confusion. The greater part of the French troops that had not wholly ceased to fight, occupied a defile, which was fenced on one side by a wood, and on the other by thick vineyards. The village of Marengo flanked this position to the left. The Austrian general, bringing up a formidable line of artillery, posted his infantry in the wood and the vineyards, and kept his cavalry in readiness to seize every advantage,—indeed, to complete the expected discomfiture of the enemy.

Now appeared, very opportunely for the credit and power of Bonapartè, the divisions of Monnier and Desaix; and their arrival encouraged the re-advance of a great number of fugitives. The consul and Berthier ran among the ranks, and inspired confidence by their exhortations, while the hostile artillery thundered upon the defile. Boldly rushing forward, the French soon checked the manœuvres and the efforts which threatened to surround their army; and Melas, who, before he perceived the approach of the fresh divisions, had incautiously extended his wings, found himself unable to secure the advantage which he had apparently gained. His men fell back from the borders of the defile; but they fought in the plain with some remains of spirit. The cavalry, attacked by the bayonet, were so disconcerted that they could not protect the infantry; and a host so near the point of triumph, did not escape defeat. The impetuosity of Murat completed the efficacy of the impression made by Desaix, to

whose memory (for he fell in the action) due honours were paid by his victorious countrymen ¹.

According to a French statement, six thousand of the Austrians were killed or wounded, and seven thousand, beside seven generals, were made prisoners; while, in the opposite army, only eight hundred men lost their lives, two thousand were wounded, and one thousand one hundred captured. But this account is not so well supported as to ensure belief. The former calculation must be diminished, and the latter augmented. The shock of signal defeat, following the sanguine hope of an important victory, had such an effect on the baron de Melas, that he requested the favour of a truce, and even agreed to the surrender of Genoa (so lately and so dearly purchased), and of the principal fortresses of Piedmont and the Milanese. Compared with the campaign of Italy, that of Germany was not highly important in the eye of a soldier, but was by no means of slight import in the view of a philanthropist, as it proved fatal to a great number of human beings. In the battles of Engen and Moskirch, the exertions of general Kray on one hand, and of Moreau on the other, did not secure to either of those commanders the undoubted honours of victory. Subsequent engagements opened to the French a passage into the heart of Bavaria, and the usual course of plunder ensued.

A renewed negotiation between the king of Great Britain and the republic had no other effect than that of inducing the emperor to refuse his assent to the preliminaries of peace which had been signed in his name by the count de St. Julien; and the war recommenced in the autumn; but the battle of Hohenlinden checked his rising hopes. The Austrian centre, on that occasion, was pierced by the continued efforts of the French, and the wings were broken with less difficulty. Pushing ^{Dec. 3.} into Upper Austria, the victors reached the banks of the Ens. The terror of their arms led to a truce, as their countrymen were at the same time prosecuting a career of success in Italy.

The treaty of Luneville was now concluded. Francis consented to make some additions in Germany to the territories ceded at the former pacification, and acquiesced in the ^{Feb. 9,} transfer of the Tuscan duchy (which, as well as the kingdom of Naples, had been recovered in 1799,) to the duke of Parma. ^{1801.}

¹ *La Campagne d'Italie*, par Petit.—*Voyage en Suisse et en Italie, fait avec l'Armée de Réserve.*

Great Britain thus lost an ally, at a time when another prince also seceded from the coalition. The English had been unsuccessful in an attempt upon Ferrol: but they took Curaçoa, and reduced Malta by blockade. By not surrendering the latter island, however, to the chivalrous potentate who had been declared patron of the order, they inflamed the resentment of one whom the intrigues of the French had already alienated from the British court. The czar ordered a detention of their ships and a confinement of the seamen, and prevailed upon the Danish and Swedish courts to concur in an armed neutrality.

This league did not intimidate the English minister. He resolved to face the storm rather than give way to it; but, when actual hostilities arose in the Baltic, he was no longer a member of the cabinet. A change of administration, for which many had long wished, now took place. Mr. Pitt was, apparently, so established, that no hope of his expulsion from the helm arose to cheer the ranks of opposition. It seemed as if he could accomplish any measure, however unconstitutional, and carry any scheme into effect, however absurd or impolitic. There was, however, one project to which he could not prevail upon his royal master to agree. When he was employed in promoting the union with Ireland, he persuaded the catholics to favour the scheme, by holding out the prospect of a repeal of those restrictions to which they were still subjected. He did not solemnly pledge himself to that effect, but assured them that he was a well-wisher to their emancipation, and added that they might reasonably expect to be gratified, as it would no longer be unsafe to indulge them. But, when he mentioned the affair in the cabinet, the king opposed it from conscientious motives, alleging that it was inconsistent with the oath which he had taken at his coronation for the maintenance of the religion established by law. Piqued at this resistance on the part of a prince who had so long followed the advice of his ministers, and wishing for a temporary release from the fatigues and the anxieties of office, the first lord of the treasury resigned his employment; and lord Grenville, earl Spencer, and other members of the cabinet, also retired from their stations.

Bred under the eye of an able orator and an admired statesman, Mr. Pitt had received early instructions in the art of public speaking and in politics: but he did not possess equal merit in both departments. He had a greater fluency of speech than extent of capacity, more eloquence than judgment, more splendour of oratory than profundity of wisdom. Elate with the admira-

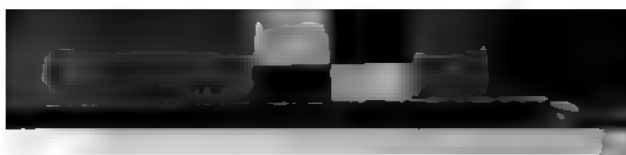
tion which had attended his first parliamentary efforts, he fancied himself capable of conducting the machine of government with a masterly hand and with pre-eminent skill; but, in this respect, he arrogated higher praise than he deserved.

His successor was Mr. Henry Addington, who, for above eleven years, had enjoyed the honourable post of speaker of the house of commons. Lord Hawkesbury, known in that assembly by his suggestion of the probable facility of a march to Paris, was elevated to the important station of secretary for foreign affairs: the direction of the admiralty was committed to sir John Jervis, who, for his victory over the Spaniards, had been ennobled as earl of St. Vincent: lord Hobart became minister of the war department in lieu of Mr. Dundas; who subsequently obtained for his services the honours of the peerage; and lord Eldon was commissioned to preside in the court of chancery, as lord Loughborough had joined his friends in the act of resignation.

Mr. Pitt hoped to direct the new premier in his general operations, without the responsibility of actual office; but Mr. Addington, trusting to the favour of his sovereign, to whom his conciliatory manners rendered him more acceptable as a confidential member of the cabinet than the ex-minister, was less compliant than his patron wished or expected. From inclination, however, he pursued the general line of policy which had marked the administration of Mr. Pitt.

Favourable intelligence from the north quickly followed the new appointments: but all the merit which might be claimed by the cabinet for the success in the Baltic was due to Mr. Pitt and his official co-adjutors, by whom a considerable fleet had been sent out under the command of sir Hyde Parker. Denmark was the first object of attack, being the nearest and also the weakest of the three northern states. Resistance was expected from both sides of the Sound: but only the garrison of Cronenburg fired upon the intruders. The Danes still retain some portion of the courage of their ancestors. Trusting to the spirit of the people, the court resolved to maintain its pretensions, by resisting the naval force of Great Britain. Preparations were made with an alacrity that could scarcely have been expected from a nation which had been so long at peace; and, as it was supposed that admiral Parker, neglecting inferior objects, would attack the metropolis, new fortifications were erected, and all the modes of defence which the situation would allow were eagerly adopted.

The British fleet, having passed the Sound with little injury,



presented itself before the Danish capital; and lord Nelson, in the *Elephant*, with eleven other ships of the line, four frigates, April 2. four sloops, seven bomb-vessels, and two fire-ships, attacked the line of defence, composed of seven sail of the line and ten large floating batteries, beside gun-boats. The engagement was very spirited on both sides. The result was favourable to British valour, and graced the brow of Nelson with a new wreath. All the Danish ships that bore a share in the action were sunk, burned, or taken, after two thousand of the defenders, and above nine hundred and forty of the assailants, had been killed or wounded¹. The Danes were humbled by this defeat, being convinced of the firm determination of Great Britain to support her maritime superiority by a violence which strict justice could not authorize, and which only the customary latitude of selfish policy could palliate, or in any degree excuse. They would not, however, have so soon relinquished or waved their pretensions, if their powerful ally had remained in the enjoyment of life and of power.

The Russian prince did not govern with wisdom or moderation. He had no sound principles; he followed no regular system. He had not the benevolence of a philanthropist, the magnanimity of a hero, the judgment of a legislator, or the sagacity of a politician. Mr. Pitt could speak in high terms of his great qualities, when he entered into the crusade against France; but, in such a cause, that minister would have panegyricized the good sense of an idiot, and have applauded the humanity of a tyrant. Paul was not so estimable or so great a man as he was represented in the animated but delusive declamations of a Pitt, or in the vapid effusions and unprophetic strains of a Pybus. He was a weak and narrow-minded prince, unqualified for the due discharge of the functions of imperial sway. Having entailed upon himself the hatred both of the nobility and the people, he was murdered Mar. 24. by a party of bold conspirators, who placed upon the throne his eldest son Alexander, then in the twenty-fourth year of his age.

The new czar, in the *ukase* in which he announced his accession, declared his determination of governing the empire by the laws of "his august grandmother, Catharine the Great," and in conformity with her general system. He commenced his political career with some judicious and patriotic regulations. He gratified every class of his subjects with marks of his regard.

¹ London Gazette of April 15.

He abolished the degrading servility of homage which had been exacted, not only from the lowest of the people, but from the highest class, when the sovereign or any part of his family appeared in public. He released many individuals whose liberty had been sacrificed to the vengeance, not the justice, of an arbitrary and secret tribunal: he rendered the nobles less liable to the caprice of despotism, restored the privileges of citizens and burghers, granted to the peasants the right of cutting timber in the forests, and increased the facilities both of internal traffic and foreign commerce.

As Alexander had spoken of Catharine's system in terms of praise, some politicians supposed that he would adhere to the late convention: but, as he wished to be on friendly terms with Great Britain rather than with France, he listened with patience to the expostulations of the former court; released the British vessels from the embargo, and the seamen from confinement; and consented to a temperate discussion of the claim of search.

When a truce for fourteen weeks had been adjusted by lord Nelson with major-general Waltersdorff, sir Hyde Parker sailed to Carlsrone, and demanded an explicit answer to the question, whether the Swedish monarch would relinquish, or prosecute, the hostile schemes which he had formed in concert with Russia. Gustavus replied, that he was determined to execute his engagements with his allies, but that he was ready to listen to equitable proposals of accommodation, regularly offered to the united northern powers by British plenipotentiaries. Mr. Fitzherbert was now sent to Petersburg to supersede the armed neutrality by a convention less unfavourable to the maritime interests of this country. While he was thus employed, the subjects of the three northern states were suffered to enjoy a general freedom of navigation; and a confident hope of peace succeeded the late alarms.

The king of Prussia, in concert with the northern confederates, had taken possession of Hanover on frivolous pretences: but, influenced by the altered politics of the court of Petersburg, he now announced his readiness to re-establish his suspended amity with Great Britain, alleging, that the measures which he had been induced to pursue, as an ally of the northern powers, were no longer "applicable or expedient." Yet, if they were applicable or expedient before, they had not ceased to be so, as Britain had not relinquished the pretensions which gave rise to the confederacy. The rivers whose entrances had been obstructed by

his order against British vessels, were now re-opened; and the German territories of our sovereign were restored.

The negotiation soon produced an agreement between Great Britain and Russia, importing that even a convoy should not protect neutral trading vessels from being subjected to a visitation or search, when ordered by the captain of a ship belonging to the public navy of a belligerent state; and that the alleged maxim, "free ships make free goods," should not secure the whole or any part of a cargo from being seized, if the effects or goods should be the property of an enemy to the visiting nation; but that neutrals might carry away the produce, either raw or manufactured, of a country engaged in war (yet not of its colonies) after having obtained it by regular purchase. By one of these articles, the British court promised to restore the captured colonies¹ and ships of the Swedes and Danes, on their acceding to this convention.

Soon after the elevation of Mr. Addington to the chief ministerial post, a negotiation had been opened with France, in compliance with the general wish of the united nation. While it was secretly prosecuted, the war in Egypt was continued. Menou, who had succeeded to the command of the French army, when Kleber lost his life by the dagger of a Moslem assassin, prepared to defend the country against a British force which arrived under sir Ralph Abercrombie. The debarkation of the latter was a dangerous service; and it was not effected, even by the bold alertness of the troops, without a loss which the officers lamented. A more serious loss was sustained when the army had advanced a few miles from the place of landing: and, in the engagement which proved fatal to sir Ralph Abercrombie, the havoc was still greater. A false attack upon the British left preceded a resolute attempt to turn the right, against which the French infantry, supported by a strong body of cavalry, advanced with great impetuosity. Twice were these assailants repulsed; but they did not retire before they had suffered severely. Those who assaulted the centre were also compelled to retreat. The commander-in-chief was wounded in the thigh; but he treated the wound as a trifling hurt rather than a serious injury, and coolly continued to direct the movements of the army. When the victory was ascertained, the energy of his mind could not prevent his frame from yielding to pain and fatigue. He

¹ The islands of St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, and Santa-Cruz had been seized by the English.

fainted, and was conveyed into a ship, where the effects of the wound put an end to the life of an excellent officer and meritorious subject¹. The subsequent operations were less sanguinary. General Hutchinson, when Rosetta and other towns had been taken by the English and the Turks, made dispositions for the siege of Grand-Cairo, which the French soon surrendered. Alexandria was afterwards reduced by the vigour of Hutchinson, who consented to the safe conveyance of the French troops to their native country. Sept. 2.

Some naval occurrences in Europe had preceded this fortunate result of the Egyptian campaign. An attack upon some French ships, in the bay of Algeziras, occasioned the loss of a British ship of the line. In another action, sir James Saumarez captured one Spanish vessel, and two others blew up. An attempt to destroy, in the harbour of Boulogne, the flotilla which had been constructed for an invasion of England, failed even under the direction of lord Nelson.

Peace was at length restored. Preliminaries were adjusted in London; and after an interval nearly of six months from that agreement, a more regular treaty was signed at Amiens, Mar. 27, importing that only Ceylon in the east, and Trinidad in 1802. the west, should be retained by his Britannic majesty, out of all his conquests during the war; that his ally, the queen of Portugal, should only lose Olivenza (which had been lately taken by the Spaniards) and a part of Guiana; that Corfu and the six other Venetian islands should constitute a republic; and that Malta should be restored to its former possessors.

When the eventful war which arose from the French revolution was thus terminated, the power of the republic was enormously great. With the territories which had been governed by Louis the Sixteenth, the Netherlands, and a flourishing portion of Germany were incorporated, as well as Geneva, the dutchy of Savoy, and the principality of Piedmont. The Dutch bowed their necks to Gallic tyranny. The Swiss, enslaved by the directory, had not been able to recover their independence. Spain, forgetful of her ancient dignity, was a subservient and degraded ally. The Cis-Alpine state was completely under the yoke of the first consul, who had been constituted its president for ten years. It not only comprehended the Milanese, but included a considerable part of the Venetian territories, the dutchies of

¹ *Gazette* of May 15.—*Baldwin's Political Recollections relative to Egypt*. In these three engagements, above five hundred and fifty men were killed on the part of the English, and almost three thousand were wounded.

Mantua, Modena, and Parma, beside some of the provinces which had belonged to the sea of Rome. Tuscany, governed by a vassal king, was in effect a province of France; and the Ligurian republic did not presume to dispute the will of the predominant nation.

LETTER XVI.

A View of the Progress of Navigation, Commerce, and Colonization, from the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the Treaty of Amiens.

THE subject of this letter, my dear son, is comprehensive and important, and particularly interesting to the native of a country distinguished by maritime power and commercial greatness. The three topics in question were brought down in a former epistle to the time of the war between Great Britain and Spain, which was occasioned by the insults and depredations committed on the coasts of Spanish America. Of the voyage of commodore Anson you have already been informed. It served to harass the enemy while it extended the knowledge of seas and coasts.

While Anson was diffusing terror along the coasts of Peru, the Spanish mathematicians Juan and Ulloa were employed in a survey of that interesting country. They had been sent by Philip V., with Condamine and other members of the French academy of sciences, to measure a degree of the meridian near the equator, and, by comparing their observations with the measurements taken near the North Pole, to ascertain the form of the earth. The result of this inquiry was a confirmation of the opinion of sir Isaac Newton, who maintained that the earth was an oblate spheroid, flattened at the poles, and projecting near the equator. The settlement of this problem was important in geography and navigation; and the remarks made during a long residence in South America tended, by a correction of errors and prejudices, to a melioration of the state of the Spanish colonies¹.

For many years after the voyage of Ulloa, and the scientific expedition of Maupertuis and Clairault toward the polar circle, the French and Spaniards undertook no important voyage; but

¹ *Voyage Historique de l'Amérique Méridionale, fait par Don George Juan et Don Antoine de Ulloa.*

the Russians were particularly active in exploration. The seas between the northern parts of Asia and America were visited by successive navigators, and many islands were discovered, constituting what is denominated the Northern Archipelago. On some of these, colonies were planted.

After a long intermission of discovery on the part of Great Britain, George III. resolved to fit out some ships for that purpose. As Byron appeared to be qualified for such a service, he was appointed to conduct the exploratory expedition. Of the strait of Magellan (or Magalhaens) he had particular orders to make as correct a survey as the weather would allow. He was employed for seven weeks, with an allowance for occasional anchorage, in passing through the strait: but during this slow progress, all his men remained in a good state of health. In traversing the Pacific, the scurvy made its appearance among them; and, when they were within sight of some fine islands, they could not sufficiently approach them to procure seasonable supplies. In the fifteenth degree of southern latitude, and the hundred-and-fiftieth of western longitude, two isles (named by Byron King George's Islands) were discovered. Another, which afterwards presented itself, was denominated from the prince of Wales; one from the duke of York; and several other well-inhabited spots in the ocean were seen by the voyagers, before they reached Tinian. Hence they proceeded to the isle of Java, and to the Cape of Good Hope. In May, 1766, the two ships reappeared in the Downs, above twenty-two months after they had sailed from that part of the channel.

During this voyage, the discovery of the longitude at sea, in a more accurate mode than by the log, was so far promoted by the time-piece of Mr. Harrison, when he had improved it by long investigation and repeated practice, that the government rewarded him with a present of seven thousand five hundred pounds (in addition to a former grant of two thousand five hundred pounds), in consequence of a report signed by Dr. Maskelyne and other good judges of mechanic contrivance and workmanship¹. His method, however, of allowing for the effects of heat and cold, by making thin plates of brass and steel act on the spiral spring, did not give general satisfaction. Le Roy, clock-maker to the king of France, constructed for his chronometers a thermometrical balance, which proved more efficacious than Harrison's contriv-

¹ He at length received the whole of the recompense promised by parliament—namely, *twenty thousand pounds*.

ance. The English time-pieces were afterwards improved by Arnold and Kendal, and the French ones by Berthoud.

The next voyage of moment was that of Captain Wallis, who, in August, 1766, sailed from Plymouth with two armed ships and a store vessel. When he had almost cleared the strait of Magellan, he lost sight of the ship commanded by his colleague Carteret. Proceeding to the Pacific, he sailed on that ocean for eight weeks before he dignified his voyage with discoveries. He then gave the names of Queen Charlotte, Gloucester, Cumberland, and Osnaburg, to four islands which he supposed himself to have first seen. An extensive spot afterwards appeared, called by the natives Otaheiti or Taheiti, and, by the captain, King George's Island. A brisk traffic commenced for hogs and fowls, for which knives and nails were gladly accepted by the natives. In a bay the strangers were attacked with stones; but, by the use of fire-arms, they soon overawed the assailants. When peace was restored, the island was surveyed, and found to be well-peopled, and not ill-cultivated. The charms of the female inhabitants proved irresistible; and the captain found a friend in queen Oberesa. He discovered other islands occupied by a race similar to the Otaheiteans, and then sailed to the Ladrões and to Java¹.

Carteret, after his separation, visited Juan Fernandez, which the Spaniards had fortified; searched in vain for Davis' Land; gave names to the islands which Quiros probably had seen long before; examined the coasts of New Britain and New Ireland; and made such discoveries and observations as proved that his voyage was not useless.

In the hope of rivalling British navigators, a voyage was undertaken under the auspices of the court of Versailles, by a military officer, who had some maritime experience. In 1764, when the duke de Choiseul swayed the cabinet, the French had colonised one of the Falkland Islands, that vessels bound to the Pacific Ocean might meet with temporary shelter and supplies: but, when the Spaniards insisted on their prior claim to those islands, Louis XV. promised to recall his subjects from them, and sent out M. De Bougainville to regulate the cession of the groupe. That gentleman sailed from Nantes, in November, 1766, with the prince De Nassau-Siegen, and, being joined at Monte-Video by two Spanish vessels, proceeded to the settlement, which he surrendered, as well as all claim to any one of the islands, to

¹ Dr. Hawkesworth's *Account of the Voyages of Byron, Wallis, and Carteret*.

Puente, who had been appointed governor by his catholic majesty. He then returned to the northward, to meet a store-ship which was to accompany his frigate in a voyage of discovery. Finding it on the coast of Brazil, he resailed to the southward, and contended with tempests at the entrance of the strait of Magellan, but passed in safety through that long and dangerous channel. Arriving at Otaheité after the English had visited the island¹, he was received in a friendly manner, and was charmed with the attractions of the country. In the prosecution of his voyage, he approached, in May, 1768, a number of fine islands, to which he gave the appellation of the Archipelago of the Navigators; but he had little intercourse with the natives. He admired the construction of their boats; but their cloth, he thought, was inferior to that of the Otaheiteans. To an insular group of which a part had been examined or seen by former voyagers, he assigned the denomination of the Great Cyclades. When he descried the Molucca isles, not one half of his men could perform their duties, as the scurvy had spread its ravages among the crew. The air and the produce of Boero, however, quickly allayed the violence of the disease. The pestilential air of Batavia was severely felt: but the expediency of procuring refreshments induced the captain to pass some time at that settlement. He then sailed to the isle of France, and left a part of his crew to augment the colonial population. After a voyage of two years and four months, he arrived in his native country with the honour of being the director of the first French voyage round the world².

Captain Cook commenced the first of his three celebrated voyages while Bougainville was employed in a similar task. In the armed ship Endeavour (a name modestly suited to the object), he sailed from Plymouth in August, 1768, accompanied by Mr. Green, Mr. Banks (afterwards president of the Royal Society), and Dr. Solander, a Swedish naturalist. He met with no difficulty in doubling Cape Horn; and he accurately settled the latitude and longitude of various places in that part of his voyage. At Matavai, in Otaheité, the transit of Venus over the sun was observed (in June, 1769) in due form and with great advantage. With the assistance of the high-priest Tupia, who had been prime minister to queen Oberea, the captain discovered Huaheine and other islands, and gave them the general name of

¹ It is supposed that the Spaniards had discovered Otaheité long before.

² *Voyage autour du Monde, par la Frégate du Roi, la Boudeuse, et la Flûte l'Etoile.*

Society; the inhabitants nearly resembled those of Otaheitè. In New Zealand (of which he made the circuit, and which, he found, was neither a single island, nor a part of a continent, as different navigators had supposed, but consisted of two islands), he was involved in a contest by the untamed spirit of the cannibal natives, some of whom were killed and others wounded by his indignant crew. Hence he sailed to New Holland, the eastern coast of which, unexamined before, he explored with attentive diligence for the space of one thousand eight hundred miles. Affixing to this part of the country the appellation of New South Wales, he took possession of it in the name of his sovereign. As doubts existed with regard to New Guinea, whether it was a distinct island, or a continuation of New Holland, he resolved to ascertain that point; and it proved to be of the former description. He then repaired to the isle of Timor, lost many of his men by the foul air of Batavia, and returned to Britain in June, 1771, by the way of the Cape and St. Helena¹.

A desire of determining the dispute relative to the existence of a great southern continent, prompted the king to give orders for a new voyage, the direction of which was properly given to captain Cook. He sailed with Furneaux in the summer of 1772, and soon arrived at the Cape. The search was prosecuted with zeal; but no continent was found, although the two ships proceeded to the latitude of sixty-seven degrees ten minutes south, and the longitude of thirty-eight degrees east. Leaving that icy region, the voyagers steered to the north-east, and reached New Zealand in safety. The Society and Friendly Islands afterwards received them. The latter group did not appear to them to have been visited by any Europeans since Tasman's discovery of it in 1643; and the new appellation was given by Cook to record the obliging behaviour of the inhabitants, though a quarrel arose at New Amsterdam (or Tongataboo), in which two of the natives were shot by the Europeans. When the search had been resumed, the vessels were parted by a gale. Cook's ship, the *Resolution*, sailed as far as the latitude of seventy-one degrees south, and the longitude of one hundred and six west, without discovering any thing but heaps of ice. The *Adventure* anchoring off the coast of New Zealand, the invalids, who were numerous, were sent on shore. A tent being robbed by the savages, one of them received a wound; and this chastisement generated a spirit of revenge, of which the strangers felt the severe effects. Two officers

¹ Hawkesworth's *Account of Cook's first Voyage round the World*.

and eight of the crew being sent up Charlotte Sound, captain Furneaux was alarmed at their long absence, and despatched an armed party in quest of them. An engagement ensued with a body of natives, some of whom fell; and, in the pursuit, the fate of the former party was ascertained. The unfortunate men had been massacred, and various parts of their bodies had been actually eaten by the savages. Furneaux, with the survivors, crossed the Pacific in an easterly course, passed Cape Horn, and returned to Plymouth after a two-years' voyage¹.

Ignorant of the fate of his countrymen, Cook turned to the northward when he thought he had made sufficient attempts for the desired discovery. He stopped at Easter Island, of which Gonzalez, a Spanish navigator, had taken possession in 1770; and the gigantic statues or idols excited the astonishment of his officers. He surveyed the Marquesas, saw four islands, to which he assigned the name of Palliser, and again examined the Society Islands. He afterwards discovered New Caledonia, and then sailed to the latitude of Cape Horn. The southern Thulè, the nearest known land to the south pole, was viewed and named by him in the sequel, with Sandwich Land and other territories. The voyage was thus extended to three years.

At the termination of this voyage, the Spaniards were engaged in a survey of the north-west coast of America. This task was executed by don Juan De Ayala, whose chief pilot was Maurelle. These associates proceeded as far as the fifty-eighth degree of latitude, but did not mark their voyage with any striking discoveries. Some years afterwards, Ignacio Arteaga sailed to Prince William's Sound, and examined various parts of the coast without any remarkable result. The Spaniards now paid more than their usual attention to California, colonised districts which were before unoccupied, and improved former settlements.

Captain Cook was destined to make further discoveries. He and Clerke commenced, in July, 1776, a voyage in search of a northern passage. They sailed to the southward from the Cape, and reached a desolate spot which had been recently surveyed by M. De Kerguelen, who erroneously supposed it to be the projecting point of a southern continent; but it was merely a small island. Mangeea, Wateoo, and Otakootaia, were discovered in their way to the Friendly Isles; and, in January, 1778, during their northern progress, they found eleven islands, extending from the nineteenth to the twenty-third degree of latitude.

¹ *Journals of the Voyages of the Resolution and the Adventure.*



They were named from the earl of Sandwich, and were surveyed with pleasure by our voyagers, to whom the natives were in general kind and hospitable. Manufacturing skill, and some knowledge of agriculture, were observed among these tribes, and their lands were in many parts fertile; but the country was not so delightful as that of Otaheiti or Tongataboo. Proceeding to North America, Cook and his associate discovered Nootka (or King George's) Sound, in the latitude of forty-nine degrees, and were there gratified with an opportunity of trading for valuable furs. The people were a dull, indolent, and squalid race. At Prince William's Sound, the inhabitants seemed to have two mouths: the cause of this strange appearance was a longitudinal incision in the under lip, ornamented with studs of shell or bone. In the latitude of sixty-one degrees, a river or inlet excited hopes; but, when examined, it did not gratify by its length the wishes of the party. About five degrees beyond that parallel, the coast of Asia was seen, and it was afterwards ascertained that the two continents were separated, in one part, by a channel of the width of only thirteen leagues. The ships sailed above three hundred miles beyond that spot, and were then stopped by a great body of ice, beyond which no unfrozen sea was visible. Thus baffled, the voyagers altered their course to the southward. A severe misfortune, soon after, excited general sorrow. Captain Cook was preparing to check the practice of depredation, at Owhyhee, one of the newly-discovered islands, when a contest arose, in which he lost his life. He had a bold undaunted spirit, and was, at the same time, humane and benevolent. His judgment and ability, in the profession which he had embraced, few will be inclined to dispute¹.

Clerke now became commodore, and Gore succeeded Clerke, who died after a renewed but ineffectual northern search. The voyagers then sailed to the coast of China, and returned to England in October, 1780. In one of the ships, not a man died during the voyage: in the other, five persons died, three of whom were not in a good state of health at the time of their departure from the British coast.

The recommendation of the fur trade by Cook, occasioned a number of voyages. Two of these were undertaken by captain Hanna, who sailed from China to Nootka, and, safely returning, disposed of his cargo to advantage. Several ships sailed from India for the same purpose: a Portuguese merchant sent out

¹ *Life of Captain James Cook*, by Dr. Kippis.

two vessels from Macao; one went under the Austrian flag from Ostend, and another from Trieste. The lucrative attractions of this trade also led to the formation of a partnership in London, with the name of the King George's Sound Company; and two vessels were fitted out by the commercial associates, in the year 1785, for a voyage to North America. Portlock and Dixon, who had accompanied Cook in his last voyage, were the captains now employed. They stopped for supplies at the Cape-Verd islands, and the Falkland group, and proceeded to Cape-Horn, whence they hastened to the Sandwich Isles. Their appearance excited an alarm among the natives of Owhyhee, many of whom imagined that they had come to revenge the death of captain Cook. A traffic, however, was carried on in Karakakooa bay for hogs and vegetables; and the ships then sailed to Whahoa, or Woahoo, which Portlock considered as a more desirable spot for a colony than any other island of the group. On the coast of North America, near Cook's River, the voyagers found a party of Russians, who had taken their abode among the savages for the summer. As only a few skins could be there procured, the two captains bore away for King George's Sound, but were prevented by the winds from entering it. They therefore re-visited Owhyhee, and, having obtained an abundant supply of the means of subsistence, returned to Whahoa, where Taheeterre, the king, under the guise of friendship, seemed to meditate hostilities. They now repaired to Atooi, where a house was built for them by order of the sovereign of the island. Again directing their course to America, they safely arrived on the coast. Dixon then separated from Portlock, and discovered Queen Charlotte's Islands, which, however, the French affirm were first seen by La Pérouse. Each ship procured a good cargo of furs, which were sold to advantage at Canton; and both returned in safety to Great Britain¹.

About the time when the voyage of Portlock commenced, a French navigator was sent out by Louis XVI., who was fond of geography and attentive to navigation. The Boussole and the Astrolabe were put under the command of M. De la Pérouse, who, like Cook, was brave, experienced, and skilful. The commodore, having received judicious instructions from his royal master, passed through the strait of Le Maire, and sailed to the coast of Chili, where he saw many descendants of the original natives, an

¹ *A Voyage round the World, performed in the years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788; the Narrative by Captain George Dixon.*

uncivilized race, not fully subdued by the Spaniards. At Easter Island he was well received; and he gave the inhabitants a stock of European seeds for cultivation. They appeared to him to be superior, in the useful arts, but inferior in the institutions of civil polity, to the people of Mowee¹, whom he visited in his way to North America. On that coast, in the fifty-ninth degree of northern latitude, he entered a bay which he named the Port of the French, almost surrounded by lofty mountains covered with snow. He hoped to find, in this part of the coast, a passage which might lead across the continent; but the appearance of some *glaciers* stopped his course, and, in another part, he met with a similar check to his progress. In one of these searches, six of his officers and fifteen of his crew were drowned. Returning to the southward, he visited California; and then sailed to the westward, to the Marianne islands and to China. After a reparation of the ships and a procurement of considerable supplies at Cavite, the port belonging to Manilla, he steered to the Japanese coasts, and to Eastern Tartary².

He examined the island of Segalien, and found it inhabited by people of a short stature, who subsisted by hunting and fishing, but who were not rough or uncivilized in their manners. He wished to pass through the channel which separates that island from the continent; but, finding it too shallow near the extremity, he anchored in a Tartarian bay, to which he gave the name of the naval minister Castries. The inhabitants of this part of the coast were civil and hospitable, and seemed to live under a patriarchal kind of government. On a farther exploration he was convinced that Chicha, separated by a strait from Segalien, was the land of Jeso, of which the existence had been denied; that Segalien was the Oku-Jeso; and that the islands of the States and the Company were not imaginary spots.

Having surveyed the Kurile Isles, he repaired to Kamtchatka; and then, turning toward the south, wandered over the Pacific until he reached the Isles of the Navigators, visited and described by M. De Bougainville. The ferocity of the natives of Maoua did not immediately show itself: but, when a party had disembarked for the purpose of procuring fresh water, eleven of the voyagers, among whom were the captain of the *Astrolabe* and an intelligent cultivator of science (Langle and Lamanon), were murdered by the treachery of the barbarians. The ships after-

¹ The largest of the Sandwich islands, except Owhyhee.

² *Voyage de La Pérouse autour du Monde*, rédigé par Milet-Mureau, Général de Brigade.

wards proceeded to the coast of New Holland, and were seen in Botany Bay at the time when the English were steering from that bay to Port Jackson for colonial purposes. Mutual civilities passed between the commanders; and M. De la Pérouse resumed his voyage with hopes of ulterior discovery: but no intelligence has been obtained of his subsequent proceedings, or the fate of himself and his associates. They either perished at sea, or lost their lives by the violence of savages.

M. D'Entrecasteaux was sent out in search of La Pérouse, by the constituent assembly of France; but all hopes were extinguished by the result of his voyage, in which, however, he added some discoveries, particularly near New Caledonia, to those of his unfortunate countryman.

The colonial scheme to which I alluded was adopted during the administration of Mr. Pitt. To clear the prisons, with an eye to eventual benefits derivable from new possessions, the king ordered a considerable embarkation for Botany Bay, in New South Wales. The number of convicts amounted to five hundred and eighty-four men and two hundred and forty-two women, who were guarded by two hundred and twelve marines. Captain Arthur Philip, who had served with reputation both in the English and Portuguese navy, was invested with the chief command of the squadron, and destined to be the first governor of the eventual colony. The voyage to Rio de Janeiro occupied twelve weeks: and, when seeds and plants, and different stores, had been procured at that port, the ships proceeded without any remarkable incident to the African Cape. Although the inhabitants had recently laboured under a dearth, about five hundred animals of various denominations, chiefly poultry, were purchased at the Cape, and carried off by the commodore, who arrived in Botany Bay in January, 1788, when above eight months had elapsed from the commencement of the voyage. On the shore appeared a body of savages, armed with spears, which, however, they threw down as soon as they found that the strangers had no hostile intentions. They had not the least particle of clothing; yet did not seem surprised at the sight of well-clad persons, or impressed with a sense of shame¹.

Finding that the bay did not afford sufficient shelter from the easterly winds, that the land about it was swampy, and that fresh water was scarce, the commodore resolved to seek another station. Port Jackson, situated three leagues to the northward

¹ *Voyage of Governor Philip to Botany Bay*, chap. ii. to vi.

was found to be, in every respect, a more desirable spot; and, at one of the coves of this harbour, named from lord Sydney, an orderly disembarkation took place¹. While the majority of the men were clearing the ground of the trees and underwood with which it was encumbered, a hasty encampment afforded temporary shelter; and, at a meeting of the whole colony, formal

Feb. 7. possession was taken of that part of New Holland which extends from York Cape to the south-eastern cape, and from the coast to the one hundred and thirty-fifth degree of east longitude; a country to which was given the denomination of New South Wales, much more extensive than all the British dominions in Europe. The governor, in various excursions, endeavoured to conciliate the natives, but they long continued to be shy and jealous. They appeared to belong to the numerous race dispersed over the South Sea islands. They had made little progress in the arts; their canoes were wretchedly formed; their huts were very alight and incommodious; and they could not secure themselves against frequent visitations of famine.

A settlement was soon after formed on Norfolk Island, to the north-west of New Zealand, under the direction of lieutenant King, who found it nearly covered with trees and plants, and was astonished at the fertility of the soil. A cluster of islands to which lieutenant Shortland gave the appellation of New Georgia, and other isles in the Pacific Ocean, were discovered, but not colonized, in the homeward voyage of two of the transports.

The progress of the colony to a regular establishment was slow. Supplies of delinquents were occasionally sent: but such articles of subsistence as the colonists could not obtain in sufficient quantities from the land which they inhabited, did not always arrive from other countries so soon as they were required; and the scarcity sometimes bordered on famine. The greater part of the convicts avoided farther guilt; but some were so incorrigible as to call forth the extreme rigours of law.

The British discoveries induced the Spanish court to order an exploration of seas and regions. Malaspina, an intelligent Italian, commenced, in 1790, a voyage round the world, and found a group of islands in the Pacific, which he did not suppose to have been before seen by any Europeans. Spanish jealousy

¹ Mr. White, the surgeon who attended the governor, speaks of this harbour as the "finest and most extensive in the universe, and at the same time the most secure."

postponed the publication of his narrative: and I do not find that it has yet appeared.

A voyage of which we have more accurate (because specific) information, was undertaken about the same time by captain Vancouver at the expense of the British government, for the determination of the dispute respecting a passage from the North Pacific to the Atlantic. From the Cape he steered to New Holland, and found, on the south-western coast of that very extensive island, a secure and commodious harbour. The inhabitants of the adjacent territory appeared to be a miserable race, scarcely superior in instinct or intelligence to the wretched occupants of the inhospitable country called by the Spaniards *Tierra del Fuego*. Considerably to the southward of the Society Islands the captain discovered one which the natives called Oparo. It had an uncultivated appearance; but he supposed its population to amount to fifteen hundred persons, who seemed to be “exceedingly well fed, and extremely well made.” At some of the Sandwich Islands a cold civility was observed in the behaviour of the natives, instead of the friendly generosity of the Otaheiteans. It is remarkable that an Englishman, a Welshman, and an Hibernian, were found at Atooi: they had been left by an American vessel, for the purpose of collecting pearls and sandalwood¹.

From the accounts published by the Hudson's Bay Company, it was concluded by many geographers, notwithstanding the hopes of those who considered the strait of Juan de Fuca as leading to the North Atlantic, that no such communication existed. The strait was found, but its length is bounded by a mountainous barrier. Various other openings were seen by Vancouver; but, when they were examined, they only disappointed, by their sudden termination, the rising hopes of the voyagers.

Repairing to Nootka Sound, the captain received that district which the Spaniards consented to restore; and he then took possession of the country to the east, denominating it New Georgia. He visited various parts of California, and found the inhabitants obliging and friendly. In a subsequent season, he renewed his exploration of the North American coast; and, from Fitzhugh's Sound, he passed up a cove with boats, but without meeting with any prospect of a continued passage. A

¹ *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and round the World, performed in the years 1790-5, by captain George Vancouver, vol. i.*

group of isles, near that sound, he named from the Princess Royal. He passed to the east of the Archipelago of the Princes of Wales, and up different channels with which the continent is indented, as far as fifty-six degrees fifteen minutes north: but no passage to the Atlantic presented itself. After his return to California, he more particularly noticed the defenceless state of that province, and reflected on the facility with which New Albion, at least, might be withdrawn from the Spanish yoke, to which the natives were far from being reconciled. Re-visiting the Sandwich Islands, he procured a formal surrender of Owhyhee to his sovereign. The native king, in a council holden on board of Vancouver's ship, stated the expediency of obtaining protection from one great power against the rest of the nations that visited his people, and recommended for that purpose a submission to the king of *Britanes*. The chieftains agreed to the proposal, and the surrounding crowd in the canoes voted it by acclamation. In return for this nominal favour, they received some cattle and sheep; and the man who was supposed to have given captain Cook the first wound was gratified with an implied pardon¹.

An ulterior survey of the American coast was not neglected. Cook's River and Prince William's Sound were examined in boats, but without success. A Russian colony was found in these parts; and the settlers claimed the country as belonging to their sovereign. Having discovered King George's Archipelago, and fruitlessly pursued different openings, the captain desisted from the search, and returned to Nootka. He afterwards sailed near the Maria Islands, crossed the equator, and stopped at Valparaiso in Chili, where the scurvy, which had broken out among the crew, was prevented, by a seasonable change of air and of food, from becoming fatal to any one of the number. He passed round Cape Horn, proceeded to St. Helena, and re-appeared in the British channel, when he had been above five years absent from this country.

A voyage less important than that of Vancouver, but not trivial or useless, was undertaken for the purpose of extending and securing the whale fishery in the Pacific, by a discovery of the best harbours for refreshment or naval reparation, as the Spaniards were not disposed to adhere to their stipulations for the admission of the British fishermen to the privilege even of a short continuance on the coast. The captain examined many

¹ Vancouver's *Voyage*, vol. ii. and iii.

islands, some of which he recommended as useful stations; namely, Mocha near the coast of Chili, Lobos, the Gallipago isles, Cocos, and Soccore near the gulf of California ¹.

Reverting to French navigation, I am required to take notice of the voyage of Captain Marchand, who, in an armed ship constructed for the occasion, commenced, in December, 1790, the second voyage which the French ever completed round the world. Paying extraordinary attention to the currents, he found that, from the latitude of the northern parts of Brazil to that of Paraguay, they had constantly set to the south-west, their daily effect upon an average being ten or eleven miles; and that, in approaching the Rio de la Plata, the vessel had been drifted to the east-north-east, about twenty-one miles in a day; an influence which he ascribed to the action of that great river. When he reached the latitude of sixty degrees south, the weather was squally, and hail and snow fell; but the thermometer did not, as he expected, fall below the freezing point. He doubled Cape Horn with great ease, during our season of spring; and, within six months from leaving-Marseilles, he arrived at the Marquesas de Mendoza, five lofty islands discovered in 1595 by the Spaniards. He examined Santa Christina with peculiar attention, and found the soil apparently fertile, the valleys covered with cocoa-palms, plantains, bread-fruit-trees, firs, &c. The men were naked, with the exception of a small piece of drapery, manufactured from the bark of the mulberry-tree. They were tall, stout, and well-formed; very active, and ingenious in some branches of art; mild, humane, and hospitable. The females were better clothed, and less *tattooed* than the males; lively, volatile, and fond of pleasure ².

Observing, from his anchorage in a bay of the island of Santa Christina, a fixed spot on the horizon to the north-west, the captain was animated with the hopes of discovery; and in June, 1791, he met with an island to which the officers by acclamation gave his name. Four others were afterwards seen, which he also claimed the merit of discovering. But, as they may be deemed a part of the Mendoza group, and were known to the Otaheiteans, beside being seen in the preceding month by a North American captain, the merit is not very considerable. He marked them in his chart as the Revolution Islands; one seemed to be about forty-five miles in circumference, another thirty.

¹ Colnett's *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*.

² *Voyage autour du Monde, pendant les Années 1790, 1791, et 1792, par Etienne Marchand, tome i.*



In sailing from those islands to the north-west coast of America, the currents were found to set to the north and the west at the rate of about six miles in twenty-four hours. Intent on the procurement of furs or skins, Marchand now repaired to Chinkitanay or Norfolk Sound, where he was met by a flotilla of canoes, full of wild Americans, who began and concluded their traffic with singing. The country appeared like a vast forest; and the people subsisted chiefly by hunting and fishing.

Proceeding to Queen Charlotte's Isles, the French were surprised at the sight of some curious specimens of the progress of a rude nation in sculpture—figures of chieftains, and other representations over the doors of houses. The buildings also were of better construction than the strangers expected to find. On the western coasts of those islands, Marchand discovered three good harbours.

In his course from America to the Sandwich islands, he met with no circumstances of interest or variety. On his arrival at Owhyhee, he procured not only the usual supplies, but some fruits which had grown from seeds left by Europeans. In all the canoes, the natives brought out women mingled with the hogs; the former objects of attraction were modestly and prudently refused, while the latter were readily accepted. He was of opinion that the Spaniards had discovered a part of the group long before the time of Captain Cook; and the difference of stated position is not so great as in some islands which are indisputably the same with each other. On leaving the group, he endeavoured to ascertain the height of different mountains; and Mouna-Koa, in Owhyhee, appeared to him to be the highest in the world, next to that of Chimborazo in Peru. Proceeding to the west-north-west, he found that a violent current, occasioned by the channels which separate the two divisions of the Sandwich group, had in one day carried his ship above nine leagues toward the north. In twenty-six days from that time, he reached Tinian, which he found uninhabited, and inattractive in its aspect. When he arrived at Macao, he was disappointed in his commercial views by finding that the court of Peking, having recently concluded a treaty with Russia, had prohibited the introduction of otter-skins and other furs into the southern parts of China. He sailed out of the Chinese sea by a strait, then little known (between the isles of Banca and Billiton), which he found far preferable to the dangerous strait of Banca. After a continuance of eleven weeks at the isle of France, he sailed toward the African coast, and found that in twenty days and a half the cur-

rents had driven the vessels about one hundred and twelve leagues more to the westward than appeared from the daily observations ; in the latitude, also, apparent errors arose from the same source. At St. Helena he could only partially supply the wants of his crew, as two years of drought had greatly injured the resources of that rocky island, notwithstanding the extraordinary industry of the inhabitants. Within twenty months from the commencement of the voyage, he anchored in the port of 'Toulon, having sailed in that time fourteen thousand three hundred and twenty-eight leagues, (a space nearly equivalent to twice the circumference of the globe), and lost only one man during the whole voyage ; and this death was not occasioned by the scurvy, which, when it appeared on one of the sailors, a surgeon cured by a sand-bath¹.

Soon after the termination of M. Marchand's voyage, the English commenced one which excited extraordinary attention. It was not a circumnavigation of the globe, but a voyage to China, undertaken upon a grand scale, in the hope of concluding a treaty of amity and commerce with the court of Peking. Lord Macartney was the ambassador to whom the task of conciliation was entrusted. His secretary was sir George Staunton ; and in his train were two Chinese interpreters, and many votaries of art and science, beside the nautic complement of the two ships fitted out for the occasion. He proceeded to Brazil for supplies, and then sailed to the south-east, to Tristan d'Acunha. By a physician who attended him, the isle of Amsterdam was examined ; and on its west and south-west sides four small cones were observed, " with craters in their centres, in which the lava and other volcanic substances had every appearance of recent formation." In another part of the island he viewed a crater, then full of water, considerably exceeding that of *Ætna* in diameter. Without touching at the Cape, the ships traversed the Indian ocean to the island of Java, where many of the voyagers felt the effects of the insalubrious climate. A civil war existed in Cochin China when the strangers arrived on that coast. They were urged to join in the contest ; but they properly refused. The ambassador at length reached Tacoo, a Chinese port ; and he and his retinue then embarked in yachts, and were conveyed up the *Pei-Ho* (or White River) to Tien-sing, a large and flourishing town, whence they proceeded to Tong-choo-foo, where they were lodged in a spacious temple. To Peking they were now conducted

¹ *Voyage par Marchand, tome ii.*

by land in pompous procession, attended by mandarins and a body of soldiers¹.

When the splendour of a remote and rarely-visited city has been a frequent topic of high praise, it usually sinks beneath the expectations of those who are admitted to a sight of it. This was the case with Peking, which did not excite, in any extraordinary degree, the admiration of its British visitants. Its extent was indeed very great, and the streets were very wide ; but the public buildings in general were not magnificent, and the private houses were mean, seldom exceeding one story in height.

The emperor having invited the ambassador to his palace beyond the great wall, the construction of that boasted work was examined. Its body was found to be an elevation of earth, eleven feet in thickness, flanked by a wall of masonry, upon which was a terrace of brick-work, not exceeding twenty-five feet in height. The form of the small holes in the parapets, apparently cœval with the wall, induced the observers to believe, that the Chinese had (as is generally supposed) a very early knowledge of the effects of gunpowder.

Seated on his throne, Kien-Long (or Chen-Lung) gave audience to lord Macartney, and graciously received the globes, mathematical instruments, watches, and other works of art, which were presented to him. A banquet followed ; and seeming good-will, but no cordiality or real friendship, prevailed. The hopes of a treaty were soon perceived to be ill founded. Reflecting probably on British encroachments in the East Indies, and influenced by the suspicious temper for which the Chinese are remarkable, the emperor did not suffer the intruders to remain long in his dominions. He dismissed them with exterior respect ; but those who had a keen sense of honour could not avoid perceiving marks of contempt.

In passing through the provinces of Shanton, Kiangnan, and Chekiang, the English had a cursory survey of the agriculture and rural arts of the Chinese. They scarcely observed a single spot uncultivated. Even morasses were rendered productive ; for hurdles were placed over them, covered with earth, in which various seeds were sown. Water-wheels were used for the irrigation of the neighbouring grounds. Canals were numerous, and one of them extended to the length of about five hundred miles, furnished with locks of a simple but applicable construc-

¹ *Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China, by sir George Staunton, vol. i. and ii.*

tion. The view of these and other objects of curiosity, however, did not compensate the ambassador's disappointment, in the grand purpose of the voyage.

The Chinese sovereign soon after received the honour of a visit from an ambassador of the United Provinces ; but his imperial majesty considered it as the result of commercial avarice, rather than of a disinterested wish for his friendship. The strangers were entertained with festivities, while they were watched as spies and guarded as prisoners.

The voyagers who discovered the islands of the Pacific Ocean thought more of the improvement of navigation and commerce than of religion, and attended more to the temporal than to the spiritual wants of the rude inhabitants. Divines of the Methodist persuasion lamented this deficiency of pious zeal ; and it was resolved, at some consultations of these sectaries, that a voyage should be undertaken for the express purpose of imparting a knowledge of Christianity to the natives of the South Sea Islands. Subscriptions for that purpose were solicited and obtained ; and a ship, named the *Duff*, was at length equipped, in which four ministers, and many laymen who were capable of acting in various branches of useful employment, consented to embark. Prayers were offered up in the meetings for the success of the voyage, and hopes of an ample Christian harvest were eagerly entertained. Wilson, who was attached to the sect, had the command of the vessel, which sailed with the missionary flag in August, 1796, and, in the following March, anchored off the coast of Otaheitè. The natives seemed to be pleased at the thought of having a British colony in their country ; and a fertile district was ceded to the eighteen Methodists, who made choice of that island for their residence. The *Duff* then sailed to the Friendly Isles, and ten missionaries were left at Tongataboo. Two were afterwards conveyed to the Marquesas, and put on shore at Santa Christina ; but the minister Harris, disgusted at his situation, and dreading famine, refused to stay. His friend long remained there, but was unable to convert the inhabitants. The sectaries who resided at Tongataboo found the people less dissolute than those of Otaheitè, yet not disposed to imbibe a new religion. Three of the number were murdered in a civil war, which was absurdly imputed to their arts. The others at length found an opportunity of escaping ¹.

For some months after the arrival of the missionaries at Ota-

¹ *Transactions of the Missionary Society in the South Sea Islands.*

heitè, they were rather employed in the management of their own concerns, and in determining how they should act, than in forwarding the great work of conversion; and, when they began to preach and persuade, they found the natives firmly attached to their idolatrous practices and profane customs. Despairing of success, harassed and plundered by the islanders, eleven took advantage of the approach of a mercantile ship, and procured a conveyance to New South Wales. Other religious adventurers afterwards landed on the island; but they met with little success.

No regular trade has yet been established with the islands in the Pacific; nor have any intentions of colonising them been formed by our ministers. The trade of Great Britain, indeed, does not very urgently demand extension; and settlements in those islands are not objects of imperious necessity.

At the time of the pacification of Aix-la-Chapelle, the commerce of Britain was far from being inconsiderable. It received progressive encouragement from the king and the parliament; and its branches were occasionally extended by the active spirit of adventure. From the beginning of the reign of George II., the number of mercantile ships had greatly increased; and many of the arts and manufactures, connected both with foreign and internal trade, had in that interval been improved. For the regular promotion of these objects, a society was formed in 1753, and rewards were offered by its members for proficiency in various arts.

Inland trade was greatly promoted by that eagerness for the multiplication of canals, which arose from the success of the duke of Bridgewater. That nobleman, having a quantity of coal, which he could not vend to advantage on account of the great expense of land-carriage, caused a canal to be cut from Worsley to Manchester, under the direction of Brindley, an ingenious mechanic, who had been bred a wheelwright. No locks were introduced in its progress; and it was carried through irregular grounds within vast mounds of earth, under hills by means of tunnels, and by an aqueduct, which had been deemed an impracticable work, over the navigable river Irwell. This canal was opened in 1761; and its benefits were soon felt by the proprietor and the public. It was afterwards extended to Liverpool; and the example was followed by a body of subscribers, who wished for a similar navigation from the Mersey to the Trent. In other parts of the country, canals were constructed with public spirit, animated by a thirst of lucre; and at the present day, new ones

are in progress, even where they do not appear to be requisite. To facilitate the conveyance of coal and other heavy articles from the pits or mines to the barges, iron rail-ways were formed in preference to those of wood, which had long been in use ¹.

The additions made to the American dependencies of Great Britain, at the peace of Paris, greatly increased the demand for our manufactures; and, at the same time, the extraordinary change in the affairs of the India company had a similar effect. Colonial accessions were also requisite for both hemispheres; and, although many emigrations consequently took place, the departure of the adventurers did not visibly injure the agriculture and arts of the mother-country.

In the year of the pacification before mentioned, the imports of Great Britain amounted in value to twelve millions five hundred and sixty-eight thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven pounds, and the exports exceeded fifteen millions five hundred and seventy-eight thousand nine hundred pounds. The burthen of the shipping reached to five hundred and fifty-five thousand nine hundred and fifty-five tons; and the customs produced two millions two hundred and forty-nine thousand six hundred pounds. In 1774, the year which preceded the commencement of the American war, the imports were fourteen millions four hundred and seventy-seven thousand eight hundred and seventy-six pounds; and the exports seventeen millions two hundred and eighty-eight thousand four hundred and eighty-six pounds. They declined considerably during the war, but soon rose after the restoration of peace ².

When war arose between Great Britain and the revolutionary rulers of France, our imports bordered on twenty millions, and our exports, including foreign merchandise re-exported, approached the value of twenty-five millions; and, in the course of the war, they so far rose as to amount, in 1800, to thirty millions and a half, and forty-three millions. I am here stating the official value: the real marketable value was above fifty-five millions four hundred thousand pounds, on the former head, and, on the latter, fifty-five millions eight hundred thousand pounds. The greatest importation in that year, except from the colonies, proceeded from Russia; and the most copious exportation was to Germany. With Russia, Sweden, and some other nations, the balance of trade was against Great Britain; but the general balance was

¹ *Annals of Commerce, Manufactures, Fisheries, and Navigation*, by David Macpherson, being a Continuation of Anderson's *History of Commerce*.

² *Macpherson's Annals*.

favourable. In the year 1798 the prime minister was of opinion that the profits of foreign trade amounted to twelve millions, and those of internal traffic and varied industry to twenty-eight.

The trading vessels belonging to the different ports of the British dominions, in 1792, exceeded the number of sixteen thousand and seventy, the tons being one million five hundred and forty thousand one hundred and forty-five. In 1800, the ships were seventeen thousand eight hundred and eighty-five, and the burthen was estimated at one million eight hundred and fifty-five thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine tons. Of the whole number of vessels England fitted out above two-thirds. At the same time the royal navy, which in 1761 did not exceed three hundred and seventy-two vessels of all sizes, amounted to nine hundred and six, one hundred and ninety-five of which were of the line.

The chief British manufacture is the woollen branch. In making fine cloth of this description, no nation can justly be said to excel the English; but, for the perfection of the manufacture, it is necessary to have a mixture of Spanish wool. The woollen goods annually produced by the artisans and workmen of Great Britain, in the period to which this chapter refers, were not of less value, upon the average, than fifteen millions and a half sterling. The leather manufacture might be valued at ten millions and a half; that of silk at two millions seven hundred thousand pounds; that of linen at two millions; that of hemp at a million and a half. Fourteen millions formed the supposed value of articles in iron, steel, tin, lead, plating, &c. and three and a half might be reckoned for those of copper and brass. In some of these branches of art, the steam-engine was employed. The great improver of this machine was Mr. Watt, who, with the assistance of the ingenious Mr. Bolton, in 1775, added wonderfully to the power of the engine, so as to render it capable of turning mills for a great variety of useful purposes.

When the increasing demand for cotton goods had suggested the expediency of quickening the progress of spinning, various contrivances were devised for that purpose; but their effects did not answer expectation. At length, in 1767, Hargrave, a weaver in Lancashire, invented a machine called a *Jenny*, which was rude in its original form, but was soon improved, while its contriver, harassed by persecution, for having attempted to diminish the employment of the people, died in poverty. Arkwright, who was at first a rustic *tonsor*, applied his mind to this object, and procured a patent for spinning by means of rollers. His first

mill was worked by horses; the second by water. He obtained patents for other improvements, and died in a state of well-merited opulence. Spinning and carding, in consequence of his judicious contrivances, were subsequently performed with wonderful celerity. These discoveries occasioned the introduction of the calico and muslin manufactures¹; and, from the extension of the trade, the result (notwithstanding the diminution of labour in each piece of work) was the employment of a much greater number of persons than had before been engaged in the business. The annual value of cotton articles, taken at an average, might be computed at nine millions and a half.

For the improvement of porcelain and pottery, we are indebted to Mr. Wedgwood, with whose well-formed ware not only his countrymen, but also several of the continental nations were abundantly supplied. The manufacture of glass was highly improved. Clocks and watches were constructed with greater neatness and precision. Astronomical instruments received an accession of accuracy and an extension of power; and those which belonged to other branches of science were fabricated with increasing skill.

The trade of France quickly revived after the restoration of peace in 1748: but the folly of Louis XV., in provoking a new war by his colonial encroachments in North America, baffled the hopes of his commercial subjects. The next interval of peace was longer, but was not so well employed as it ought to have been; and it required extraordinary exertions, after the peace of 1783, to put trade again in a flourishing state. The French then strenuously endeavoured to secure the chief share of the North American commerce: but they could not, even from the animosity which yet rankled in the hearts of the provincials against the mother country, obtain so great an advantage: nor, indeed, did they take proper measures to conciliate the subjects of the United States; for, in the colonial traffic, they subjected the latter to various restrictions, and made large exceptions, both with regard to imports and exports.

By a treaty concluded with Sweden, in 1784, the French monarch consented to resign the small and infertile island of St. Bartholomew to Gustavus III., in return for a full freedom of trade with Sweden. In the following year he erected a new company, with the privilege of trading to every country beyond

¹ The muslin made in Scotland has been brought into general use: but it is no more equal to that which is manufactured in India, than the British imitations of *cambric* are to the French originals.

the Cape of Good Hope, except the Isle of France, to which *dépôt* all other French merchants were permitted to send vessels. In a decree of commercial regulation, he expressed a wish for such an unrestricted circulation of the produce of all countries, as might give to the whole civilized world the appearance of an united nation; but, as all states were not yet disposed to concur in a scheme of this kind, it was expedient, he said, to prohibit the importation of various British and other goods, which might interfere with French manufactures. Mutual prohibitions, however, on the part of France and of Britain, gave way in 1786 to a commercial treaty, by which it was stipulated, that the subjects of each kingdom should be treated by the other, in point of duties, with as much indulgence as was shown to any nation, and that only small duties should be levied on British cottons, woollens, and other desirable articles, or on French wine and brandy, millinery, cambric, &c. France also extended her trade by particular treaties with the czarina, the king of Prussia, and the American republic.

The war with Great Britain, after the French revolution, reduced the trade of the French to a low ebb, and tended to the extraordinary depression of their manufactures; but these effects were deemed trivial by those who imagined that they had obtained the blessings of liberty. It was stated, in an official report presented to the three consuls of France in 1800, that two thousand nine hundred and seventy-five French vessels had entered inward, and three thousand three hundred and fifty-eight cleared outward. If we admit this statement to be true, we may be certain that the number would have been, in a very high degree, greater in time of peace.

The commerce of Spain was in a languishing state at the accession of Charles III.; but that prince removed some of the restrictions with which his brother had left it shackled, and in some measure roused his subjects from the torpor which had seized them. Many years, however, elapsed before he gave any great degree of encouragement to the American trade: for the establishment of monthly packet-boats in 1764 from Coruña to the islands of Cuba and Porto-Rico, and of six in a year to and from the river De la Plata, with permission to individuals to export merchandise to the amount of one moiety of the cargo, and import American produce in the same proportion, proved a very insufficient extension of the traffic. At length, in 1778, he granted the liberty of trading with many American towns, to all who would be content to ship goods from seven prescribed ports.

This comparative freedom so pleased the public, that the opportunity was readily embraced ; for, in that year, beside sixty-three ships from Cadiz (the port to which the trade had been confined, the number of vessels being also limited,) ninety-nine sailed from Malaga and other ports. The various merchandise conveyed in these ships generally consisted, in the proportion of five-eighths, of articles furnished by the French, English, Dutch, and some other nations ; for the natives were then so backward in manufactures, that they only worked up a very small part of the great quantity of wool produced in their country. From France and Britain they received calico, linen, wrought silk, fine woollen, worsted stuffs, iron and steel goods ; from the former they also imported jewellery, haberdashery, perfumery, and sometimes corn ; from the latter, an abundance of salt fish for *maigre* days. From Holland they had common lace, linen, paper, grocery, and cutlery ; Germany and Switzerland contributed to supply them with linen and haberdashery. At the time before specified, they had about four hundred and fifty mercantile vessels ; of which number Catalonia and Biscay nearly furnished the whole : yet the coasting trade was chiefly carried on by foreign traders. Ten years afterward, the exports from Spain to America exceeded three millions one hundred and thirty-two thousand four hundred and seventy pounds sterling, being two millions three hundred and thirty thousand two hundred pounds beyond the amount of the year 1778. The foreign merchandise, included in this calculation, did not equal that of the nation. The imports from America, at the same time, were valued at eight millions three hundred and eighty-two thousand two hundred pounds, and were composed of coffee, sugar, tobacco, cocoa, cochineal, indigo, cotton, leather, and gold and silver bullion, beside coin. The two last articles, in many years, exceeded six millions sterling, without including the millions which were clandestinely imported. Among the commercial productions of Spain we may reckon wine, brandy, oil, barilla, soda, salt, madder, leather, cork, and lead. The manufactures of the country were considerably improved and extended before the war arose with revolutionary France, but by no means so effectually as to produce a sufficient supply of articles for all the provinces and colonies of Spain ¹.

¹ *Itinéraire Descriptif de l'Espagne, et Tableau Élémentaire des différentes Branches de l'Administration et de l'Industrie de ce Royaume*, par Alexandre de Laborde.—Paris, 1809.

M. Bourgoing, speaking of the introduction of a cotton manufacture at Avila by two Englishmen in 1789, says, that they were for a considerable time in danger of being murdered as odious heretics, and that the peasants of the neighbourhood, from

Instead of the imperfect intercourse with the East Indies, carried on by one annual ship, Galvez, the minister for the colonies, proposed that a direct trade from Cadiz should be opened with the Philippine islands. A company was formed in 1785 for that purpose; and though its first voyage was not very profitable, succeeding attempts were exceedingly beneficial. Its vessels were allowed to trade with the ports of Caraccas and Maracaybo, and with the provinces of Mexico and Peru, as well as with the oriental colonies of Spain¹.

The proportion of general trade with Cadiz, in 1791, was as follows. Of one thousand and eight ships which then entered the port, one hundred and eighty were British, one hundred and seventy-six came from Spanish America, one hundred and sixty-two from different ports of Spain, one hundred and sixteen were French, one hundred and four Portuguese, ninety belonged to subjects of the United States of North America, eighty were Dutch, forty-one came from Denmark, twenty-five from Sweden, only one from Russia, one from Hamburg, twenty-two from Ragusa, eight from Genoa and Venice, one from Manilla, and one from an imperial port. This extensive commerce rendered Cadiz the most opulent city in Spain.

The trade of Portugal was improved under the government of Joseph and his daughter; but, if those sovereigns had been less prejudiced and more enlightened, the valuable resources of their country would have been much better employed than they were. Their mines of iron were neglected: those of lead were not properly worked: manufactures did not flourish in full vigour; and, near the close of the eighteenth century, about two-thirds of the land were left uncultivated. The lucrative export of wine, however, was considerably augmented, while the import of woollen cloth from Great Britain was diminished by the encouragement that was given to native industry. Commercial treaties were concluded with nations which hitherto had carried on only an indirect trade with Portugal; and the colonial traffic was subjected to improved regulations. The chief exports, beside wine, were oil, fruit, salt, drugs, cork, and cotton.

Of the commerce of Italy, the English had a great share; and

a superstitious dread, studiously avoided going near the spot where the strangers resided. But this senseless prejudice and alarm at length subsided; and, in 1792, above seven hundred persons were employed in the new manufacture. Poverty was thus banished from Avila; and the fame of the two Englishmen occasioned their presentation and gracious reception at court. The manufacture, however, afterwards passed into other hands, and was nearly annihilated. *Tableau de l'Espagne Moderne*, tome iii.

¹ *Tableau de l'Espagne Moderne*, par J. F. Bourgoing, tome ii.

the port of Leghorn was more particularly under their influence, before it was seized by the French. In this town silks and stuffs were well manufactured. Genoa had a brisk trade with France and Spain; and some of its manufactures (velvet, brocade, lace, &c.) were in a flourishing state. At Turin, trade was less vigorous. The city of Milan abounded with artisans; and the country was better cultivated than the rest of Italy. The Venetians retained a sufficient share of trade to draw a great number of ships to their chief port; for, in 1791, above a thousand vessels entered the harbour. Corn, fruit, drugs, paper, cloth, mirrors, coral, iron, &c. were exported by the subjects of that republic. Rome had little trade. From Naples and Sicily were exported wine, oil, silk, flax, hemp, cotton, wool, and cattle.

The French long enjoyed the principal share of the trade of Turkey and Greece: but the English also secured a considerable proportion of it. It was in a great measure passive on the part of the Turks, who had scarcely any mercantile vessels.

Among the Russians, commerce prospered under the fostering care of Catharine II.; and their articles of exportation were usefully increased by the spoliatory acquisitions in Poland. They supplied many of the European nations with iron, copper, timber, sail-cloth, hemp, flax, pot-ash, peltry, and coarse linen. They traded with China by caravans, and exchanged their furs for precious stones, porcelain, tea, silk, and cotton. From Persia, by the Caspian lake, they procured silk (both raw and manufactured), carpets, and fine stuffs, in return for iron, steel, and furs.

The trade of Sweden was not in a very flourishing state at the time of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. It was chiefly carried on with Denmark, Russia, Great Britain, France, Portugal, Holland, and Germany. Gothenburg was the principal port next to the capital. From that town the trade with India was prosecuted: but this branch of traffic was much less beneficial to its inhabitants than the herring-fishery, which, between the years 1753 and 1763, increased in produce from twenty thousand seven hundred barrels to one hundred and eighty-six thousand six hundred; and the Swedes were enabled to dispose of their fish at a cheaper rate than could the Dutch or any other traders. In 1781 the exports from Sweden amounted to one million three hundred and ninety-seven thousand pounds sterling, and the imports to one million and twenty-seven thousand pounds; so that the balance was, by three hundred and seventy thousand pounds, in favour of that kingdom. The most valuable exports were iron, copper, timber, fish and their oil, pitch and tar: the most

extensive import of that year was rye, sugar the next, and then hemp.

By the Trolhætta canal (cut through rocks with great skill and extraordinary labour), and other communications, a passage was opened for goods across Sweden, from Gothenburg to Stockholm. The Sound duties were thus saved, and the dangerous navigation of the Baltic avoided. This scheme was in agitation so early as the reign of Charles XII.; but it was not completed before the year 1800.

The exports from Denmark and Norway to Britain were usually less than those of Sweden, and the imports much greater. In 1774, the progress made by the Danes in the woollen manufacture induced the court to prohibit the importation of British articles of that description: but the balance of trade with Denmark continued to favour this country; for the goods sent to that kingdom were frequently double, in point of value, to those which were received. The Danish India company flourished for a time: but, when private trade was allowed, its affairs declined; and the monopoly was at length reduced to a mere shadow, without injuring the prosperity of the Oriental settlements. The Danish exports consisted of timber, iron, tar, peltry, cordage, and a few other articles. Wrought iron, copper and brass, glass and earthenware, cotton and linen goods, leather, hats, and silk, were among the imports.

The commerce of the United Provinces flourished until they were involved in a war with Great Britain, in 1780; and, after the return of peace, it did not rise to its former extent. Both their East and West India companies gradually declined in opulence and credit, in consequence of the increasing concern of other nations in the colonial trade. The former, in 1786, could only be saved from bankruptcy by considerable loans from the government. Our trade with Holland, even during the revolutionary war, continued to be considerable; and the articles received from that country were generally far inferior in value to our exports.

In the Prussian dominions, the spirit of commerce increased after the peace of Hubertsburg, and more particularly after the partition of Poland. Manufactures were widely diffused. In the Electoral Marche, linen, woollen, silk, and cotton, were wrought in an improved style: in the Middle Marche, porcelain was an important article: in the duchy of Magdeburg, stuffs of various kinds were fabricated: in Silesia, the linen manufacture highly flourished: in Pomerania trade was brisk; from Stettin were exported corn, timber, glass, pot-ash, madder, tobacco, lapis calami-

nares, and antimony. From East and West Prussia, planks, hemp, flax, and corn, were exported ; and the imports were lead, tin, copper, broad-cloth, sugar, fruit, spices, wine, and brandy. The trade of Embden, in East Friesland, was not at first encouraged by the great Frederic ; but he at length gratified the burghers with an India company and with other favours.

The trade of Saxony continued to be considerable, its products being numerous and valuable. Among these we may reckon silver, iron, lead, copper, cobalt, and precious stones ; hemp, flax, saffron, and hops. The porcelain of Dresden is still admired, as is also that of Meissen.

The Palatinate flourished in point of manufactures and traffic : but, when the elector had succeeded to the Bavarian inheritance, the former part of his dominions received less encouragement from the court, and betrayed marks of neglect.

The Hanoverian territories were not so well cultivated as they might have been ; for, notwithstanding the sterility of many districts, some are sufficiently fertile to encourage an agricultural spirit. At the same time, manufactures of linen, coarse woollen, paper, glass, gold and silver lace, were carried on with success : and many articles in copper and iron were also well fabricated.

The Saxons exercised their industry in a variety of modes, and their towns were enlivened with the bustle of trade. Their mines were wrought with skill, and the products were neatly formed into useful and ornamental articles. Linen, cotton, woollen, silk, lace, and other objects of constant or frequent demand, were manufactured with skill and dispatch ; and Leipsic, beside a considerable share of general trade, was the greatest literary mart in Europe.

Trade was encouraged in the Austrian dominions by Maria Theresa, by her sons Joseph and Leopold, and her grandson Francis. Joseph was fond of conversing with merchants and artisans, to whom his suggestions were sometimes useful. He invited foreigners to give spirit and extension to the traffic of his people. He increased the commerce of Ostend and Trieste, and opened a trade by the Black Sea. The wines of Austria and Hungary, the valuable mineral produce of the latter region, the linens of Silesia, Bohemia, and Moravia, were exchanged for the woollens of other countries, for silks, colours, coffee, sugar, &c. Horses, oxen, corn, and tobacco, were also among the productive articles of traffic.

The Swiss diligently attended to agriculture, as far as the rugged nature of their country would allow, and carried on various

manufactures of immediate use and necessity, without being particularly eager for the prosecution of foreign trade. Yet they sent cattle and provisions to other nations, linen and cotton goods, silks and stuffs, lace, and watches. The Genevans long excelled in the last species of workmanship; but it is now generally allowed, that British artisans are more skilful in that branch of art.

LETTER XVII.

A Survey of the Progress of Society in Europe, from the Year 1763 to 1802.

THE greater part of history, my dear son, unfortunately consists of scenes of blood and slaughter, exhibiting a melancholy picture of the misapplied energies of the human race. After the view of so many dreadful effects of ambition and political animosity, a display of the state of civil society, a survey of art and science, of institutions, manners, and customs, will afford a pleasing relief to your mind. You cannot, however, expect that I should dwell upon every point connected with these topics. The limits which I have prescribed to myself will not admit diffusion, or allow minuteness of discussion.

The French continued to surpass the other nations of Europe in exterior politeness, in elegant and pleasing manners. They had a winning suavity and graceful ease, freedom without coarseness, and vivacity without rudeness. They excelled in conversation, and in the art of rendering themselves agreeable in society—I mean temporarily, not permanently; for I doubt their general capability of real or sincere friendship.

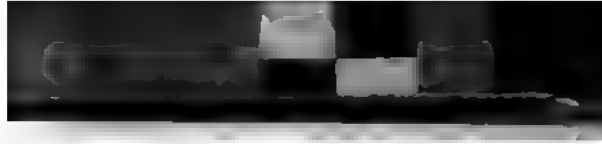
Their licentiousness with regard to the female sex did not decline even under the sway of Louis XVI., whose rigid morality was not accompanied with such imposing majesty of demeanor as to command an imitation of his chaste example. If we exclude every idea of actual guilt on the part of his queen, her levity may be supposed to have had an effect not altogether favourable to conjugal decorum. In another respect, it is allowed that her disinclination to the formality of *etiquette* impaired the dignity of the court, and diminished the respect of its attendants and votaries. Familiarity tends, according to the proverbial remark, to breed contempt; and, where no foundation for contempt exists, it

lessens reverence. I do not affirm, that Marie Antoinette was coarsely or meanly familiar : her share of Austrian pride would not suffer her so to degrade herself ; but, by encouraging freedom of access to the courtly sanctuary, she contributed to a decline of the fervour of adoration.

The revolution occasioned a great change in the manners of the French. It transformed them into a rough and brutal race, as destitute of feeling as of politeness. It blunted their social energies, and absorbed their private sensibilities. It taught them to refer all their actions to objects or purposes of patriotism, at a time when few of them seemed to be acquainted with the true means of promoting the interest of their country. It so unsettled the volatile minds of an inconsiderate people, that they were unfit for dispassionate inquiry and calm deliberation. Appearances, by such men, were taken for realities, and presumptions for proofs ; arguments were disregarded, and opinions were formed without the least foundation in correct judgment. A democratic *furor* pervaded the community, overpowered law and reason, banished good breeding and politeness, and almost exploded civilization itself.

The liberal arts suffered amidst the decline of courteous and elegant manners. The arts which were principally cultivated were such as were conducive to the accommodation of ordinary life, or connected with the practice of war. This was studied with peculiar eagerness, not so much in history or in old works upon tactics, as in conversation and in mental inquiry. To this art every thing was rendered subservient. Without consummate excellence in it, said the leaders of the revolution, the nation would be subdued by its numerous and powerful enemies. Their philanthropy, they pretended, induced them to wish for a total cessation of war ; but the present state of the world would not admit such concord : yet it was hoped that gradual approaches would be made to those improved morals and purified dispositions which might ultimately preclude sanguinary contests. But, with whatever zeal the military art was studied by officers, or by those who wished to enter into a profession supposed to be honourable, the force of number was chiefly instrumental in producing the extraordinary success of the republican troops.

During the revolutionary war, the French improved the construction and management of their field-pieces, and introduced flying artillery, with seats on the carriages and the limbers, with which they made a great impression. In more than one engagement they were assisted, according to the French accounts, by



the new invention of air-balloons, which they owed to a sudden thought of their countryman Montgolfier, although a similar idea had previously occurred to Dr. Black, Mr. Cavendish, and Mr. Cavallo. A bag being filled with heated air, one or more persons rose in a car annexed to it, and soared to a great height; and, when that species of air was found to be dangerous, from the necessity of taking up a brazier or furnace with the car, inflammable air, produced by pouring oil of vitriol upon the filings of steel, or by some other chemical process, was substituted for it. The movements and supposed intentions of the opposite army were communicated by the aéronaut to the French general, who thus derived an important advantage.

The rapid conveyance of military intelligence was promoted in France by the use of the telegraph; a machine resembling that which was recommended by the philosophic marquis of Worcester about the middle of the seventeenth century. It was constructed under the eye of M. Chappe. It has since been brought into use in the country which had a better claim to it.

Before the revolution a constellation of ingenious men, in various branches of science, established the fame of France. M. D'Alembert was distinguished both as a mathematician and polite scholar. He contributed many valuable articles to the *Encyclopédie*, and wrote the celebrated introduction to that great work. He first studied law and then medicine; but neither of those professions suited his taste. He threw light on the motion and resistance of fluids, explained the theory of the winds, illustrated the integral calculus, investigated the philosophy of music, and resolved a variety of problems in astronomy. Freedom of thinking he promoted, and, under an arbitrary government, asserted the claim of mankind to liberty. He was invited by Frederic of Prussia to preside over the academy of sciences at Berlin, and by Catharine II. to superintend the education of the grand duke Paul; but he rejected both offers. It is to be lamented that he entertained doubts of the truth of Christianity, and was indeed disposed to deny all revelation. In this point his fellow-encyclopedist Diderot agreed with him. The latter was not so conversant in mathematics and natural philosophy as M. D'Alembert: yet he was a scientific as well as an elegant writer. Clairault, the astronomer, disputed with D'Alembert on various points, and his Tables of the Moon seem preferable to those of his rival. The count De Buffon investigated the abstruse subject of the primary formation of the earth; but his theory, which refers it to an igneous origin, is too fanciful to obtain many proselytes, or

to require particular notice. In his natural history he was too speculative and hypothetical, and not sufficiently exact or methodical: but his great work on that subject is attractive and interesting, from the variety of its topics, its style, and manner. Brisson, who preceded him, was a more accurate naturalist, as was also D'Aubenton, who assisted Buffon.

Macquer skilfully analysed dyes and earths, and gave a more regular form to chemical knowledge. Guyton Morveau trod in the same path, and, with the assistance of Lavoisier, Berthollet, and Fourcroy, he produced, in 1787, a system which tended to overturn the theory of Stahl, who had referred almost every thing to *phlogiston*, or the principle of inflammability. A more accurate nomenclature was devised by the same associates, whose system soon gained ground, and at length generally prevailed. Several new acids, metals, and earths, were discovered by their sagacity; and Lavoisier, in particular, found oxygen to be the grand acidifying principle. He illustrated the nature of air and of heat, and pronounced the latter to be a distinct substance rather than a mere quality. He also threw light on the physiology of animals, as Tillet and Vauquelin did on that of vegetables.

The numerous uses of chemistry, and its application to agriculture, to almost every mechanic art, to natural history, and medicine, were more clearly pointed out, and more fully established by these and other modern philosophers, than by any of their predecessors; and thus great benefit accrued to the world.

Mental philosophy, when studied in France, unfortunately led to infidelity. The ability of various writers on this subject lost itself in metaphysical subtilty. In moral philosophy, also, the French at this time were more refined than judicious. Their historians were lively and agreeable, but not, in general, sufficiently attentive to accuracy of statement. Their novelists wrote in a popular style, but many of them taught erroneous sentiments, and exhibited false views of life. Their classical scholars were superficial rather than profound; and, though some good Latinists appeared among them, few were skilled in Grecian lore.

In the fine arts, ability and skill were possessed by some natives of France, if not by a great number. Deshayes promised to be an admirable painter; but he died at an early age. The productions of Greuze and Grenée are admired: the landscapes of Vernet procured him high reputation: Guerin was an his-

toric painter of merit: Roslin and La Tour excelled in portraits. Pigale was high in the ranks of sculptors: Le Moine was also a distinguished statuary, but his groups are not equal to his busts. Julien's statue of La Fontaine, and his figure of the female bather, are admired. Stephen Falconet had acquired celebrity by his group of Pygmalion, before he executed, for the empress of Russia, the equestrian statue of Peter the Great. The completion of this *chef-d'œuvre*, placed upon a mass of stone (said to weigh above three millions of pounds) which had been transported with extraordinary labour from Lachta in Carelia to Petersburg, was accompanied with a release of many debtors, and other acts of grace from the czarina. Mademoiselle Collot, daughter-in-law to this artist, executed a model for the head of the figure, with great skill. Cars, Monnet, Le Mire, and others, were eminent in the art of engraving.

The ornaments of the French theatre were Le Kain, La Rive, Molé, and Mademoiselle Clairon. The first broke through the disadvantages of nature, and became an excellent tragedian; the second had great merit in the same department; the third was remarkable for comic humour, as was also Préville; the lady was an admirable representative of tragic characters. Among ingenious comic dramatists we may reckon Destouches, Saurin, and Beaumarchais. Few of the modern French tragedies are esteemed. The musical composers and performers were not highly distinguished, in comparison with those of Italy and Germany; but the talents of Gretry, in the former department, were respectable.

The progress or decline of religion must not be neglected in a sketch of society, of which it is a strong cement. The luxurious and dissipated habits of the higher clergy, and a decay of piety among the inferior ecclesiastics, were very observable before the accession of Louis XVI., whose religious spirit feelingly lamented this degeneracy. That prince was requested by the clergy, in consequence of the resolutions adopted in a general assembly, to take measures for the repression of infidelity, and also to discountenance the protestants, who, presuming upon the indulgence of the court, asserted their claims to that freedom of worship and practice which the existing laws denied them, and encroached on the rights of the catholic church. However depraved and immoral were many of the dignitaries of the church, they thought it their duty to oppose the licentiousness of the disciples of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists, whose efforts threatened the establishment with danger; but their intolerant spirit

toward the protestants had a less justifiable foundation. The king gave them a favourable answer; but he was less pleased with the latter than with the former part of their remonstrance. The infidel and democratic philosophy continued to gain ground; and the protestants were not so discouraged, as to relinquish their pretensions. They at length, in the year 1787, obtained what they deemed their rights.

The revolutionists made a violent attack upon the clerical fabric. The supporters of the former system were persecuted: constitutional prelates and priests were appointed, with reduced stipends; and, at one time, religion was so neglected, that the goddess of reason seemed to supersede the God of the Christians. The church revived in the sequel; and, while all sects were tolerated, the catholic system was re-established. The executive directory permitted a council to be holden at Paris in 1797, and various decrees and regulations were promulgated for the settlement of the church. Bonapartè, to whom all religions were equally acceptable if they did not obstruct his ambition, confirmed the restoration of catholicism.

The study of politics and oratory flourished during the revolutionary agitations; but the fine arts and the abstract and sublime sciences were repressed, and narrowed in their range. Philosophers and artists were exposed to obloquy and persecution; and no other merit was regarded than that which was connected with party. An enlightened astronomer was sacrificed in the person of Bailly; an excellent chemist suffered in the form of Lavoisier: the acute metaphysician Condorcet committed suicide to avoid the *guillotine*; and other distinguished men were prematurely driven from the world. But, when the terrific reign of Robespierre was closed, the arts and sciences seemed to revive. Even the sanguinary David, who deserved death as the promoter of the atrocities of that tyrant, escaped proscription. His genius as an artist overpowered the odium to which his guilt had exposed him. The Junius Brutus of this painter is a piece of great merit; and equal praise is due to his representation of the story of the Horatii and the Curiatii. The composition and colouring are good, the expression admirable, and the effect impressive.

The establishment of the national institute tended to give fresh vigour to science; and the number of valuable pictures, statues, monuments, and other productions of art, collected in conquered countries, and accumulated in public repositories, stimulated the talents and exertions of the French. La Place, La Lande, and Mechain, now applied, with renovated zeal, to the study of the

celestial system: La Croix explored the profundities of mathematics: La Metherie dived into the *arcana* of geology; and Gosselin rivalled D'Anville in geographical knowledge. De Lille gratified readers of taste with his elegant poems; and, while Ségur and other historic writers gave luminous displays of extraordinary incidents, Madame de Stael, Mademoiselle Cottin, and numerous novelists of both sexes, amused the public with the effusions of sentiment and passion.

In the enlightened period which I am now considering, Great Britain may be said to have exhibited a splendid galaxy, streaming with varied lustre through the hemisphere of science and learning. Almost every branch of natural philosophy, and of mechanic art, and various branches also of elegant literature and refined erudition, were then improved by the judgment and taste of our countrymen. A minute display would be unnecessary: a cursory survey is sufficient for my purpose.

It may seem inconsistent to commence the display of British merit and excellence with the mention of a native of Bourdeaux: but Dr. Black, though born in France, was of British extraction, and studied and flourished in this island. His discoveries in chemistry diffused his fame over Europe. He ascertained the existence of a peculiar species of air, which he named from its appearing in different bodies in a fixed state. It was afterwards proved that this was an acid; and, being formed of carbon united with oxygen, it was denominated the carbonic acid. Dr. Black also taught that doctrine of heat which is now generally admitted; and he threw light upon other chemical and philosophical operations. Mr. Cavendish added inflammable hydrogenous air to the discoveries of his friend; ascertained the composition of water; and, by these and other inquiries, cleared many disputed points in chemistry. Dr. Priestley warmly contended for the declining doctrine of phlogiston; manifesting, in this point, less than his usual acuteness. By the discovery of oxygen, this indefatigable philosopher led to a better knowledge of the component parts of common air. He also improved our ideas of the nature of light, illustrated the *phenomena* of electricity, analysed acids and alkalies, and threw light upon vegetable physiology. His political opinions exposing him to obloquy and persecution, he retired from Great Britain to North America, where he enjoyed the protection of the president Jefferson. Kirwan studied the chemical philosophy with extraordinary zeal; and he may be considered as the best of our geologists and mineralogists. Whitehurst, an ingenious speculator, framed a new theory of the earth: Dr. Hut-

ton also inquired, but in a less scientific manner than did Kirwan, into the original formation and progressive structure of the globe.

Astronomy was cultivated by Maskelyne with an ability which rendered him a worthy successor of Bradley; but Herschel, who was of German birth, distinguished himself in this country beyond all our native astronomers. He extended the power of telescopes, discovered the Georgium Sidus, examined the fixed stars with peculiar success, and added thousands of stars to the number previously known. Sir Henry Englefield added to our knowledge of comets and their orbits; and Mr. Vince, professor of experimental philosophy at Cambridge, also illustrated the astronomic science.

Count Rumford may here be introduced as an acute philosopher, and as the founder of a society calculated to “diffuse the knowledge and facilitate the introduction of new and useful mechanical inventions and improvements, and teach, by regular courses of philosophical lectures and experiments, the application of new discoveries in science to the improvement of arts and manufactures.” The object was, in fact, the adaptation of philosophy to the purposes of general utility, and a facilitation of the means of procuring the comforts and conveniences of life. Sir Joseph Banks patronized the scheme, and subscriptions for its accomplishment were easily collected. A charter was granted, in 1800, for a society of this nature; and it was denominated the Royal Institution. The London Institution followed; and the subscriptions for this and other societies of a similar kind, were quickly completed. A board of agriculture had been long before instituted¹; and natural history was promoted, in 1802, by the erection of the Linnæan Society, of which Dr. Shaw was one of the most distinguished members.

Theology boasted of able professors. The prelate Warburton was a man of a strong mind and considerable learning: Hurd was a more elegant scholar. Bishop Watson, beside being an adept in chemistry, came forward as a defender of the religion in which he was educated. Dr. Paley was an acute (but occasionally latitudinarian) moralist, and an able advocate of Christianity. His works are highly popular. The bishops Lowth and Porteus possessed literary ability. One reformed the language of his country, and happily appreciated the beauties of Hebrew poetry; the other prelate interested well-disposed readers by his pleasing and judicious sermons. But the discourses of Dr. Hugh Blair, a

¹ In the year 1793.

Scottish professor, met with more general acceptance than those of English divines. They are elegant rather than energetic, and rational without being profound. Bishop Horsley was a good mathematician, and a formidable champion both of religious and political orthodoxy.

The medical science, and surgical art, were in some respects better understood and practised than in former periods. Dr. Hunter had great sagacity and judgment; and his brother was a skilful anatomist, who is said to have discovered the absorbency of the lymphatics, a merit, however, which was claimed by Dr. Alexander Monro. Hoberden, Pringle, Pitcairn, and Warren, were experienced and able physicians. Dr. Currie introduced the cool regimen in fevers. Pott and Sharp, one rough and severe, the other mild in his manners, performed with success a variety of difficult operations, and rendered dangerous accidents less frequently fatal. Many eminent persons afterwards appeared in these departments. Among these we may name Pepys and Latham as men who "lengthened life" by judicious prescriptions, and Earle, Blizard, and Cooper, as skilful surgical operators.

Dr. Edward Jenner, a provincial physician, who was rewarded by the parliament as a benefactor to the public, claims honourable mention for having discovered the applicability of the cow-pock to the gradual extermination of the small-pox. The vaccine inoculation, thus recommended, has been introduced into most of the countries of Europe. It may fail as a preventive in one out of a thousand cases; but, even where the small-pox may have subsequently appeared, the disease has been very slight, compared with what it usually was before the use of vaccination.

In speaking of eminent professors of the healing art, it is necessary to take notice of the theories of Cullen, Brown, and Darwin. The first of these ingenious men, following in some respects the system of Hoffman, a subject of Prussia, derogated from the supposed importance of the circulation of the blood, referred health and disease to the state of the solid moving powers, and represented the brain as the chief organ that influenced the bodily predicament, not only in fevers but in other disorders. Brown founded his system on the principle of excitability, and considered diseases as arising from an *excess* or *deficiency* of that excitement which was producible by the air, the blood, heat, and particular kinds of aliment, or by passion and muscular motion. To allay the former species of indisposition, he recommended such medicines as would lower the tone, and stimulants for the latter. Darwin had recourse to sensorial power for an explanation of the

causes of disease, and divided that power into irritation, sensation, volition, and association. He borrowed both from Brown and Cullen, and added, from his own brain, fanciful hints, positions, and conclusions. By his doctrine, man seems to be rendered a mechanical agent, impressed with feelings rather than endowed with reason.

In various branches of literature, a rich harvest was afforded to the studious part of the community. Burke philosophically analysed the sublime and beautiful; sometimes condescended to record, in a periodical work, the events of his own time; and endeavoured to promote a war by the severity of his strictures on the French revolution. He stooped to accept a pension from the hands of a minister whom he had for many years reproached and reviled for his public conduct. Gibbon wrote a florid history of the later times of the Roman government, in which he evinced acuteness and learning, but exposed himself, by his insinuations against Christianity, to the just censures of divines. Dr. Gillies produced a history of Greece which will long be read with pleasure and instruction; Ferguson ably narrated the affairs of the Roman republic; and Gilbert Stuart illustrated a remarkable period of the history of Scotland. Lord Lyttleton trod the historic field with manly grace; and the inquiries of Dalrymple and Macpherson threw light on some important reigns in our annals: but a masterly continuation of Hume is yet a *desideratum*. Dr. Johnson preferred biography to general history; and his Lives of the Poets are in high estimation. His Dictionary transcended the merits of former works of the kind, and his Rambler fixed his reputation. Lord Monboddo (as Burnet the Scottish judge was by courtesy called) was a learned writer; but his investigation of the nature of man and society did not procure him the fame of judicious rationality. His countrymen, Adam Smith and Home (or lord Kames), left memorials of their abilities, that promise to be more permanent than his eccentric effusions: one of them examined, with a philosophical eye, the wealth of nations, and traced their progress through every stage of society; the other developed the principles of taste and criticism. Harris analysed grammar by the rules of logic, but was not so well acquainted with the philosophy of language as Horne Tooke. Beattie was a good critic, moralist, and poet. Blackstone concentrated the laws of his country in an elegant compendium; and sir William Jones was not only an able writer on the subject of the law, but a profound orientalist and a general scholar. Professor White, without visiting any eastern country, was, at an early age, con-

versant in the Arabic and Persian tongues; and his *Sermons*, proudly contrasting our divine faith with the religion of the Moslems, contributed, by the admiration which they excited, to procure him a station among the dignitaries of the church.

No poet of this period¹ can justly be pronounced equal to Pope. The critic who undervalued that admired author was himself a writer of pleasing verse, but did not ascend the heights of Parnassus: I mean Dr. Joseph Wharton. His brother, the historian of poetry, was a respectable and laureated bard. Cowper's *Task* displays an interesting simplicity, not always destitute of strength. His biographer Hayley produced both vapid verse and elegant poetry. The effusions of Burns are natural and impressive, and make their way to the heart. Bloomfield, the untaught bard, trod firmly in the steps of Goldsmith. Southey's *Joan of Arc* was a pleasing specimen of youthful talent; and Cumberland did not disgrace either himself or the nation by the sacred poem of *Calvary*.

The genius of Chatterton shone like a meteor; it appeared, and quickly passed away. His forgeries under the name of Rowley deceived the erudite Jacob Bryant, but were detected by Tyrwhit and Thomas Wharton. Horace Walpole had perhaps an opportunity of saving the unfortunate youth from suicide; but he was not sufficiently liberal to be a patron of genius.

In the comic drama, Sheridan must be mentioned as pre-eminent. His *School for Scandal* may be regarded as the best of modern comedies, if we remove from our consideration some obliquities in point of moral. His *Duenna* is a lively and pleasing opera: in his *Rivals* are some well-drawn characters: his *Pizarro*, though a piece of patchwork, is striking in the representation: and his *Critic* is an admirable satire on bombastic unnatural tragedies and ordinary authorship. General Burgoyne was also a votary of the comic muse, and produced the *Heiress*, an elegant and well-written piece. The comedies of Reynolds and O'Keeffe are entertaining, but border too closely on the extravagance of farce; some of Morton's plays are more interesting. The plays of the younger Colman mingle nature and sentiment with coarseness and ribaldry. Mrs. Cowley is also entitled to notice for her lively comedies; but those of Mrs. Inchbald are more natural, and leave, in the mind of the spectator or the reader, a stronger impression. Miss Baillie's plays evince genius, taste, and feeling.

¹ From 1763 to 1802.

The British Roscius, Garrick, was succeeded by Henderson, who, like Le Kain, overcame, or at least diminished, by art and study, the disadvantages of nature, and became an able personator of different characters. He certainly was not equal to Garrick; but he shone in some characters which his predecessor did not attempt, particularly that of Falstaff. Kemble followed him, and, by gradual improvement, surpassed his contemporaries as a tragedian; not, however, without sometimes overstepping the modesty of nature, and violating the rules of propriety. The admirable talents of his sister, Mrs. Siddons, contributed to the revival of a taste for tragedy, which had for some years declined. That taste seemed to give way, in the sequel, to an inclination for humorous comedies, splendid *ballets*, and ludicrous pantomimes. *L'Allegro* triumphed over *il Penseroso*.

In easy humour, and natural acting, Edwin excelled; and the younger Bannister pleased the public in a still greater variety of comic characters. Mrs. Abington and Miss Farren (afterwards countess of Derby) were distinguished in genteel comedy, and Mrs. Jordan figured in the scenes of undisguised nature.

The novelists who succeeded Richardson produced few works of merit, before Miss Burney (madame D'Arblay) arose, whose novels, without the coarseness of Fielding or the circumstantiality of the author of *Grandison*, are both amusing and interesting. Charlotte Smith wrote with elegance and feeling. The productions of Mrs. Radcliffe are romantic without extravagance, and display an elevation of character and sentiment. Human nature is well depicted by Dr. Moore, whose novels of *Zeluco* and *Edward* may be read with interest, while his views of society and manners in different countries amuse and instruct by a display of real life. The progress and agitations of love are not ill represented by Miss Lee and her sister; and Mrs. West combines sound morality with pleasing narration.

During the presidency of sir Joshua Reynolds over the Academy of Arts founded by king George III., some able painters, sculptors, and architects, graced the institution. These were noticed, as well as the second president, Mr. West, on a former occasion. It may now be observed, that Wright was a good landscape-painter, and particularly excelled in the representation of fire; Gainsborough and Morland delineated scenes of rural nature with ability; Opie, a self-taught genius, produced some interesting pieces; Hamilton depicted the female figure with elegance; Mortimer and Barry had a spirited pencil. Laurence excels in portraits; Smirke in scenes of humour; Westall in more

serious subjects; Flaxman and Westmacott have great merit as sculptors; Banks also deserves praise in the same branch of art; and the late Mrs. Damer united grace with strength in her statues and groups.

While arts and learning were thus diligently cultivated, Godwin, Holcroft, and other writers, endeavoured to propagate a spirit of democratic reform; but they did not make a great number of proselytes. They were hostile to almost every existing institution, and not only censured gross abuses, but seemed disposed to root up the wheat with the tares. They strongly declaimed against war; but there is reason to apprehend that, even if their form of government had been adopted, Mars and Bellona would still find votaries among the directors of the administration. The world, I fear, will never be governed by true wisdom or real humanity. Ambition, folly, passion, prejudice, and want of principle, will perhaps ever prevail among the rulers of nations. The idea of gradual perfectibility is pleasing to the imagination; but no one can confidently predict that it will at any time be realized.

The votaries of reform were more numerous among sectaries than in the established church; for those who are disgusted with the prevailing religion, are not likely to be perfectly pleased with the ordinary or settled government of the country. But the greater part of the middle class of the community seemed to deprecate all attempts at reform, apprehending that it might lead to the triumph of the rabble, or of ambitious and unprincipled demagogues.

Religion, as well as politics, occasioned various controversies. The Confessional of archdeacon Blackburn produced many replies, some acrimonious, others temperate. The object of that work was to prove that doctrinal subscription was an unjustifiable tie upon the conscience. A contest also arose, partly religious and partly philosophical, on the prevalence of free-will as opposed to necessity. The former doctrine was more strongly supported than the latter; and it is evidently more rational. Another controversy related to the preference of public worship to private prayer. The prevailing practice was more plausibly defended than the other mode was urged.

Religion, in Great Britain, was less fervent among the members of the established church than it had formerly been. A lukewarmness and indifference prevailed among the laity; and a great proportion of the clergy seemed to perform their ordinary duties with apathy, as if they had religion in their mouths only, and not

in their hearts. This want of zeal tended to swell the number of sectaries, whose apparent earnestness induced the people to believe that they were more impressed with piety and devotion than the orthodox ministers. The Methodists, in particular, took advantage of the coolness of the clergy ; and a rapid multiplication of the votaries of grace and the depreciators of good works took place throughout the kingdom. In other words, erroneous doctrines, and pretended sanctity, injured the interests of rational religion and sound morality.

The Presbyterians maintained their ground in point of influence, and continued to be a more respectable body than the Methodists. They gradually became less rigid than they were in the preceding reign, and less hostile to public amusements or diversions. The society of *friends*, or Quakers, also relaxed in their strictness and formality. The Catholics lived in a more social manner with the Protestants, in a great measure shook off their bigotry, and were less devoted to the authority of the pope.

In the United Provinces, the government tolerated every sect, as both humanity and reason demand ; removed some restraints which seemed to have been unnecessarily imposed upon liberty ; and, more studiously than before, promoted the general welfare. Trade, though it declined, was still the great object of concern ; but the improvement of the mind was not wholly neglected. Some men of science and literary intellect arose during the sway of the late stadtholder, and also while the French domineered over the Batavian republic. Natural philosophy was cultivated by Van Marum and others ; Nieuwland was a respectable mathematician ; and a recollection of the fame of Boerhaave, as well as a regard for the health of the people, produced an attentive study of anatomy and medicine. Even poetry had its votaries in the heavy atmosphere of Holland ; Feith and Hœufft courted the muse with sufficient zeal to merit the approbation of their countrymen.

The Swiss republic being much less attached to commerce than that of Holland, its fame was greater in science. Among the luminaries of the cantons, Euler was highly distinguished. He resided for the most part in Russia ; but his labours and discoveries benefited all Europe. He plausibly accounted for the tides of the sea, improved the construction of ships, contributed to the perfection of the integral calculus, and resolved a variety of problems in geometry, physics, and astronomy. The philosophers De Saussure and De Luc were respectable geologists ; and they also investigated with success the nature and variations of the atmosphere. Bonnet was

an able naturalist and experimental philosopher. Haller, of Bern, was remarkable for his general knowledge, and particularly conversant in physiology. By his doctrine of the irritability of fibres, independent of the nerves, he considerably improved medical science; but he did not fully understand the theory of respiration or that of digestion¹. The younger Sanasare and Senebier may also be mentioned among the Swiss votaries of science. In poetry Haller excelled, while Mallet distinguished himself as an historian and antiquary.

The manners of the Swiss peasants were still frank and honest, but less rough and unpolished. The gentry and burghers began to be ashamed of their former simplicity of character, to affect refinement, and to give way to dissipation. The canton in which the ancient manners were most prevalent, was that of Appenzel. The inhabitants of that territory were not only herdsmen but manufacturers, without the laxity of morals too frequently attendant upon people of the latter description. They lived on homely fare, and apparently had no wish for luxuries. Their government was purely democratic; and harmony prevailed between the Catholic and Protestant members of the state. The success of the French invasion occasioned little alteration in the government of this canton².

The general character of the Germans continued to display frankness and integrity, industry and perseverance; but variations of character appeared in the different countries that formed the empire. In the circle of Westphalia, the people were more active and industrious than in Bavaria: in Saxony, behaviour and manners had less roughness than in Westphalia or Suabia. In the catholic principalities, ignorance, irrationality, and superstition, were much more observable than in the Protestant territories. In the electorate of Cologne, the people were inferior, in the arts and accommodations of life, to almost every other Germanic community; and the higher ranks were bigoted, proud, indolent, and addicted to coarse pleasures. In the imperial city of Franckfort, civilization and manners were improved by the great resort of strangers of distinction. Associations for the promotion of the arts and sciences, and for friendly and convivial purposes, were numerous in that town; and freedom of opinion so far gained ground, that the Calvinists, in 1790, were permitted by the Lutheran clergy to enjoy the public exercise of their religion, and the restrictions upon Catholics and Jews were at other

¹ Priestley explained the former, and Spallanzani the latter.

² *Schilderung der Gebirgs-Völker der Schweiz*, von J. G. Ebel.

times diminished. At Hamburg the spirit of toleration was less indulgent than at Franckfort; but the inhabitants were equally hospitable and friendly. Luxury made great progress among them; and it was not unfrequently accompanied with taste and elegance. The merchants encouraged science and literature; and their views were promoted by the ability and zeal of the professors Meyer and Lichtenstein. At Bremen the burghers were less polished and less luxurious. At Hanover some degree of refinement was mingled with comfort. Berlin was the seat of intellectual exertion and of moderate pleasures, while Dresden was the abode of elegant sociality. Weimar was distinguished by a good police, and by the agreeable manners of the inhabitants.

The Austrians, in the capital and other great towns, were fond of pleasure, prone to dissipation and debauchery. Pride and stateliness of demeanour, among the higher ranks, were relaxed by the affability of Joseph; but they did not so readily follow his example of temperance. Indulgence was the general wish and the prevailing practice. The Hungarians were less patient under oppression than the Austrians, but not disloyal. They were active in war, but indolent in ordinary life. The northern Bohemians were more civilized, industrious, and orderly than those of the south, who had more of the warlike spirit among them. In Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria, the people were simple in their manners, active, and industrious; and the Tyrolese were a bold and hardy race.

The sciences were pursued with vigour in many parts of Germany. Professor Werner of Freyberg obtained great reputation as a mineralogist. Dissatisfied with Cronstedt's arrangement, he in 1774 offered to the world a more accurate and scientific classification, from external characters. His system was soon adopted not only in Saxony, but in the majority of the German states; and it was also favourably received in Great Britain. The structure of the globe being diligently examined by Werner, he ably pointed out the nature of rocks, of which it seems in a great measure to be composed, and considerably improved the science of geology. He conjectured that the earth originally existed in a state of solution, and was entirely covered by the ocean; that this vast volume of water was in the sequel greatly diminished; that the contents of this solution were chemically precipitated, so as to form a class of primitive rocks; that other rocks, partly of chemical formation, and partly of mechanical deposition, followed, during the transition of the globe into a habitable state; that

different species of rocks were formed while the water was settling after the deluge ; and that alluvial deposits afterwards arose from various masses, worn down by the united influence of air and water. This theory has been strongly recommended and scientifically illustrated by Jameson, a Scottish professor ; and, although it is not unobjectionable (for it is not a subject that can admit absolute demonstration, or be brought to a decision universally satisfactory), it gains ground among philosophical observers.

An eminent disciple of Werner was professor Leske, whose celebrated collection of minerals, enlarged by Karsten, the Royal Society of Dublin purchased. Other mineralogists of Germany strongly supported Werner's arrangement ; and that of Haüy, the French investigator, who classified minerals according to their crystallization, did not supersede it. Klaproth, Margraaf, and Raspe may also be classed among skilful observers of fossil productions ; and baron Born (though not strictly a German, being properly a Transylvanian) may be mentioned as an improver of the mineralogic science, and of the art of metallurgy.

Ingenhousz, the physician, and Von Humboldt, applied with success to chemistry and botany : Gartner was particularly conversant in the latter science : Blumenbach was an able naturalist : Bode, Burchhardt, and Von Zach, distinguished themselves as astronomers.

The philosophy of the metaphysician Kant must not pass without notice. He ascribes to man a sensitive faculty, or theoretical reason, enabling him to form perceptions of space and time, practical reason or judgment, and rational faith. On these points the Prussian professor and his disciples have poured forth a series or rather a variety of jargon, obscuring a doubtful subject on pretence of removing its difficulties. Mr. Dugald Stewart is a preferable metaphysician ; yet many readers may plausibly assail his speculations, and a much greater number, perhaps, cannot comprehend their precise import.

In the *belles lettres* the Germans excelled during this period. Beside Klopstock, whom some of his admirers have panegyricized as the Milton of Germany, Gellert, Gleim, Wieland, and Voss, shone as poets : Schiller, Goëthe, and Lessing, distinguished themselves in tragic composition ; the two last also courted the comic muse with success : Kotzebue produced plays, novels, and accounts of travels, with a rapid pen : Augustus La-Fontaine was his rival in the second of these branches of writing, and was less inattentive to moral purity than were many of his countrymen. Reiske, Ernesti, Heyne, Wolff, Ruhnken, Brunck, and a nu-

merous body of scholars, illustrated the classics by critical sagacity, and displayed multifarious erudition. Schmidt, Muller, Schiller, and others, appeared with honour in the historic walk : Herder, in criticism and miscellaneous composition, polished his native language, and interested the public ; and Mendelsohn obtained the honour of being styled the Plato of Germany, an appellation which has also been conferred on Herder. Lichtenberg is called, by Matthisson, the most witty of the German writers, and his extraordinary extent of knowledge is mentioned with admiration by the same critic, who thinks that only Lessing excelled him in an union of wit and taste with multifarious attainments. Zimmermann, of Hanover, was an able physician, a worthy man, and an esteemed writer. Meiners improved Gibbon's history by a regular survey of the progressive manners, arts, and institutions of the Romans ; and he exercised his pen with skill in varied composition.

Sweden also was not undistinguished in science. In consequence of the suggestions of Linnæus, Wollerus endeavoured to regulate and classify the mineral kingdom. Cronstedt more accurately performed the same task. Sir Torbern Bergman was still more famed as a mineralogist. He united experimental analysis with mathematical reasoning, and became a very able chemist. Scheele was an apothecary ; but he soared above the orbit of his profession, and was perhaps the greatest chemical philosopher of the age in which he lived. New acids, airs, earths, and minerals, were discovered by his sagacity ; by him the art of analysis was improved, and the boundaries of useful knowledge were greatly extended. Thunberg, Sparman, Konig, and Retz excelled as naturalists ; Menanderhielm and Wargentin shone as astronomers. Lagerbring wrote history with ability ; the count De Creutz was a good poet ; and Gustavus III. produced comedies not destitute of merit. In the pictorial art, no men of great eminence appeared ; but, in sculpture, a pupil of Archeveque, the French statuary, soared above all his contemporaries in the north. I mean Sergel, whose statues of Gustavus and his son, figure of Venus, and representation of Psyche imploring pardon of Cupid for having attempted to murder him, are justly admired for spirit, precision, and grace. Gustavus was a patron of the fine arts and of polite literature ; and he founded an academy, in 1786, for the cultivation of the Swedish language, eloquence, and poetry.

From the Swedes to a nation of the same origin the transition is easy. The mutual animosity between them and the Danes

neither that consideration nor any other circumstances have wholly extinguished; but it declines in keenness and asperity. It is yet cherished, but less strongly, by the vivacity of one nation, and the phlegm of the other. Gustavus III. encouraged the social turn of his subjects, by mingling with their parties of entertainment; and his court was less dull than that of Copenhagen. His government, however, tended to repress that energy of character which the Swedes had displayed while the states of the realm were in full power, and which had given them a superiority over the humbled Danes. Both courts encouraged industry; but the Danes, having a better soil and climate, and being more assisted by foreigners, who received greater encouragement among them than in Sweden, prospered more than their neighbours in agriculture and various manufactures. For the encouragement of those pursuits, a society was instituted at Copenhagen in the year 1769, agreeing in its plan with that of London. When the prince-royal began to act as regent, he particularly provided for the education of the poor, and also promoted general improvement. Under his sway, Bugge and Wurbieg cultivated mathematics and astronomy; Fabricius applied himself to zoology; Vahl to botany; Shum, Guldberg, and Egger attended to the claims of history; Ewald and Baggesen courted the muses; Warnsted and Rosenstand, without equalling their predecessor Holberg, gratified the prevailing taste of their countrymen for the drama; and Abelgaard and Hoyer were interesting painters.

Not only the efforts of Peter the Great to civilize the Russians had rather a partial than a general effect, but the less precipitate endeavours of the second Catharine were not altogether so successful as she wished. The bulk of the people remained in a state of gross ignorance; even the majority of the ecclesiastics were illiterate and uninformed; only a small proportion of the number of merchants and tradesmen (about the year 1779) could either read or write¹; and many of the gentry, in their manners, exhibited a mixture of coarseness and refinement. If the government had been free, the Russians would have been sooner civilized.

Their religion, as it was practised, seemed to be a mass of superstitious ceremonies and observances. The *roskolniks*, or sectaries, also paid a greater attention to form than to substance, while they complained of the corruption of ancient orthodoxy by

¹ They reckoned (says Mr. Coxce) by beads strung upon wires.

the modern Greek church. The czarina endeavoured, but with little effect, to remove the prejudices in favour of ceremonies. Such a reform must be the work of time.

Under the sway of that princess, however, many of the Russians directed their attention to the sciences, and cultivated mathematics, astronomy, physics, and natural history, with zeal and success. Kotelnikoff, Rumoffski, Lepekhin, Razumoffski, and Guldenstadt, distinguished themselves among these votaries of science. Pallas may here be mentioned, because he was a professor in the academy of Petersburg, although he was by birth a subject of Prussia. His labours as a naturalist procured him high and extensive reputation. Gmelin was also a German, but he flourished under the czarina's patronage.

Agriculture and the mechanic arts were improved in the same reign. A society for the promotion of the former pursuit was instituted in 1765; and many young Russians were sent to England to acquire a practical knowledge of it. Geography and statistics were also studied with eagerness and proficiency.

The composition of history was promoted among the Russians by the zeal of professor Muller. Prince Cherbatoff proved himself to be an able historian: Golikoff, Yelaghin, and Tumanski, also excelled in that branch of literature. In poetry, after the death of the celebrated Lomonosoff, who wrote with originality and spirit, Sumorokoff bore away the palm. The latter particularly shone in the drama, and his pieces derived additional recommendation from the skill of Volkof, the Garrick of Russia. Kniæshnin increased the stock of interesting plays; the comedies of Van Viesin remind the reader of Moliere. Derschaven, Khe-raskoff, and Karamsin, are pleasing poets.

The painters who exercised their skill in Russia were chiefly Germans; but Kosloff and Levitski were natives; the former of whom excelled in historical pieces, the other in portraits. In sculpture and architecture Ivanoff and Staroff may be particularised as eminent; but they were surpassed by French and Italian residents. In instrumental music the Russians were not unskilled; but they did not shine as composers. Maresch, a Bohemian, invented for them a peculiar entertainment, derived from the blowing of twenty (sometimes fifty) horns, of regularly-varied size, with the same tone. This is denominated the Russian hunting music; and complicated airs are thus performed with an accuracy which would hardly be expected, and with impressive and interesting effect.

Poland was formerly more distinguished by general literature

than by science. The Latin language, eloquence, and history, were the chief objects of attention to those who wished to be instructed, or to shine; but, under the government of Stanislaus, natural philosophy was cultivated by many of the gentry, medicine was more eagerly studied, and science was rendered subservient to the improvement of the mechanic arts. The czarina, in those parts of Poland which she seized, more strenuously promoted the same objects. At Kaminiac she endowed a college for the study of various sciences, and erected schools in some other towns. She also gave vigour to the manufactures which had been already introduced, particularly those of lace, silk, and velvet, and brought forward new branches for the employment of her new subjects¹.

The manners of the Turks have been less altered in a long course of years than those of any other European nation. They are still nearly the same ignorant, prejudiced, and bigoted race, the same half-civilized community, that insulted human nature under the sway of an Ibrahim or a Morad.

Of the illiteracy imputed to them there is sufficient proof; but it is not so general or so gross as it has been represented. To all the mosques founded by different sultans, academies are annexed, in some of which a great number of students are lodged and supported. Before the conflagration in 1782, the great schools in Constantinople exceeded five hundred; and those in which only reading and writing (beside the principles of religion) were taught, were reckoned at one thousand two hundred and fifty-five. At the same time thirteen libraries were open to the public in that capital.

The arts which signalized ancient Greece are in a very imperfect state among the modern inhabitants; but, under a just and enlightened government, they might soon be roused to emulation, and to a spirited exercise of their powers. The fine forms of ancient sculpture are still recognized among their women; and both sexes have a greater quickness of apprehension than the Turks, and a pleasing vivacity of disposition. They are represented as crafty, faithless, and revengeful; but these bad qualities find a palliative in the tyranny to which they are exposed. Their religion is degraded by idle ceremonies and superstitious practices, which the Romanists cannot fairly reprehend, but which a protestant writer may reasonably censure.

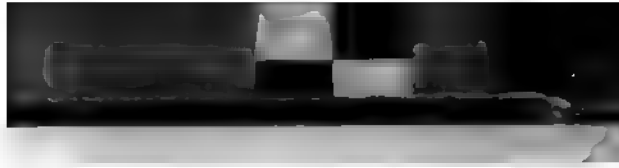
Italy, less degenerate than Greece, and less enslaved, did not

¹ *Avantissement de la Pologne, décrit par M. Sirisa.*

neglect the sciences or the arts. Beccaria (not the reformer of the penal system) inquired into the nature of air and light, and acutely investigated the electrical philosophy; Volta and Valli also studied this branch, and endeavoured to demonstrate its connexion with an influence or principle discovered by Galvani, who, by the use of metals, had produced a kind of action in dead animals. Fontana was an able mathematician; Spallanzani studied the physiology of animals and vegetables, and was a sagacious geologist. Fabroni cultivated mineralogy; Piazzzi was conversant in astronomy; and Vassalli was not a despicable philosopher. Boscovich, the Ragusan, who, from residing chiefly in Italy, may be classed among the scientific ornaments of that country, was a celebrated mathematician, and an advocate for the corpuscular system, referring the origin of the world to atoms which had not only passive laws of motion, but also active principles, implanted by the great Author of nature.

Poets, historians, and artists, at the same time flourished in Italy. Battoni, the painter, was the rival of Mengs: Tiepolo and Casanova had also considerable merit. Paesiello, Cimarosa, and other composers of elegant music, extended their fame over Europe; but there are many who prefer the music of Gluck the German, Haydn, and Mozart, to that of the Italians.

The manners of the Italians may be supposed to vary, in consequence of the number of different governments. The inhabitants of the Milanese dutchy, before the French revolution, were the most social people in Italy; and they still bear the same character. The Piedmontese were bigoted, but cheerful and obliging to strangers. In the Genoese state the nobles were proud and ignorant, unsocial, and meanly parsimonious; the people were deceitful and vindictive, but sober and industrious. The Venetians were particularly fond of amusement and buffoonery; a propensity which the government encouraged from motives of jealousy. In Tuscany, a frankness of manners prevailed; and the ladies of Florence were unaffected in their deportment, lively, and affable. Industry was more characteristic of the people of Lucca than of the Italians in general. The inhabitants of the ecclesiastical state were indolent, revengeful, and more religious than moral. Gaming was a fashionable propensity among the Neapolitans, and amorous sensuality degraded their character. To the people of Abruzzo better dispositions are ascribed than to the other provincials; and, on the other hand, the Sicilians are represented as more deceitful and



cruel than the occupants of the Neapolitan portion of the Italian peninsula.

Charles III. of Spain was disposed to be an encourager of the arts and sciences; but their progress was retarded by indolence and prejudice. Various branches flourished more, however, under his sway and that of his son, than in the reigns of his father and brother. The medical and chirurgical arts, indeed, made little progress, notwithstanding the number of professors; they pursued the old *routine* of practice without a zeal for improvement. Villalba and some others, however, were respectable physicians. Cavanilles was a good botanist; Isquierdo was a more general naturalist. Ehuja was a mineralogist, and Betancourt a mechanist; and Pignatelli distinguished himself by his concern in the canal of Arragon. In the former of these modern reigns, the arts of painting and sculpture were resuscitated from the ashes under which they had been in a manner buried at the commencement of the eighteenth century. Mengs, who was born a subject of Austria, was patronized by the Spanish court, and adorned the churches and palaces with valuable pictures. Vergara, Bayeu, and Maella, produced some admired paintings; Goya pleasingly delineated the provincial *costume* and games; and Estevan and Acuna excelled in portraits. Vergara was an able sculptor, and Capuz and Martinez shone in the same branch of art. Polite literature was, at the same time, cultivated with zeal by some individuals, if not by a great number of votaries. The count de Campomanes, the political economist, distinguished himself as an historian; Masdeu, Clavigero, and Munoz, also acquired fame by historic composition ¹.

The spirit of catholicism still prevailed among the Spaniards; but their zeal was not so intolerant as it had been. Charles III. manifested superstitious weakness, without the cruelty of a bigot. He repressed the tyranny of the clergy, and put a stop to inquisitorial barbarity ². The light which was diffused by Feyjoo removed, from the minds of many of his countrymen, the darkness of prejudice, and rendered the prevalence of error less general, not only in religious points, but in the affairs of political and civil economy. The king was not so far converted by the hints of that judicious writer, as to become an enlightened monarch; but, while he reformed abuses in the state, he also

¹ *Itinéraire Descriptif de l'Espagne*, par Laborde.

² He suffered, however, a reputed witch to be burned alive at Seville, in 1780.

checked some religious absurdities. He suppressed a great number of processions, which only served to draw his people from their useful occupations. He endeavoured to explode the idea, either that the pope had a right to control his subjects in temporal affairs, or that true religion was compatible with clerical profligacy.

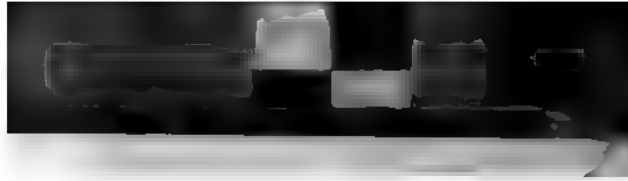
Pride and gravity were yet apparent among the features of the Spanish character; slowness in proceeding to action, and indolence, were also very common: but the last habit was not so general as to include the Catalonians or the provincials of Biscay. Pride did not preclude frequent displays of obliging affability, nor did gravity wholly extinguish that gaiety which seemed only to wait for an occasion of showing itself. Jealousy, relinquished by the men, transferred itself to the other sex, and rendered the married ladies particularly anxious to secure the constancy of their *cortejos*, or those gallants who, with the connivance of their husbands, attended them on almost every occasion. That these connexions were then, or are now, always criminal, I am not so censorious as to affirm; but that they very frequently lead to actual guilt, there is no reason to doubt, when the amorous disposition and voluptuous propensities of the Spaniards are taken into consideration.

The prevailing taste for bull-fights (or *bull-feasts*¹) did not yield to that comparative mildness of manners which occasioned a decline of the horrible practice of private revenge or assassination. Persons of both sexes and all ranks eagerly flocked to behold those scenes; virgins, it has been said, would sometimes even barter their chastity for the means of admission. Charles III., disgusted at such exhibitions, prohibited them from being so frequently repeated as they had been. They were for many years encouraged by his son, but were at length suppressed.

It has been observed, that gay nations are fond of serious plays, and grave nations of mirthful pieces. The Spaniards seem to prefer the latter; yet they are attentive to good tragedies, and are pleased with those of the modern dramatists, Ayala, Cienfuegos, and Quintano. The tragic productions of the elder Moratin, however, do not please them so much as the comedies of his son.

Extemporaneous poets,—not equal, indeed, to the *improvisatori* of Italy,—are not uncommon in Spain. The language is not ill adapted to poetry; it admits many variations of form, is

¹ *Fiestas dos Toros.*



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sonorous, and not deficient in melody. Among the more regular poets may be reckoned Yriartè, Melandez, and Ariaza.

Portugal exhibited some improvements in this period, but, in the arts and sciences, fell beneath the merits of almost every nation in Europe. The populace of that country have been stigmatized as a despicable set: but they have been more severely censured than they deserve. They have been represented as deplorably ignorant, base, cowardly, vindictive, treacherous, and unprincipled. Undoubtedly there are many individuals of that description; but the bulk of the nation, it may be presumed, cannot justly be so characterized. The inhabitants of the northern provinces are, in general, frank, civil, honest, and industrious; but in the southern parts of the kingdom, the people do not maintain so good a character; they are more ceremonious than sincere, more indolent than active, and more disposed to give way to their passions.

The progress of knowledge was long checked among the Portuguese; but it seems now to be reviving. Many of the gentry, and even some of the clergy, are endeavouring to promote such a reform as may gradually rescue their country from the reproach of ignorance. Superstition and prejudice lose ground; and more rational ideas of religion, government, civil and social economy, are beginning to diffuse their light.

END OF THE THIRD PART.

PART IV.

FROM THE TREATY OF AMIENS IN 1802, TO THE DEATH OF
ALEXANDER, THE RUSSIAN EMPEROR, IN 1825.

LETTER I.

A general survey of the Politics of Europe, from the Peace of the Year 1802, to the Renewal of Hostilities between Great Britain and France.

THE treaty of Amiens might have had a prosperous and permanent effect, if the ruler of the French nation, upon whose conduct the destiny of Europe seemed to depend, had possessed the common attributes of human nature. It might have been reasonably expected, that an adventurer, whose original condition gave him no hopes of rising above the middle class of society, would have been content with that splendour of fortune to which his courage and talents had raised him, without aspiring to higher degrees of distinction and pre-eminence. It might have been concluded, that he would have studiously cultivated the arts of peace, and would have given long repose to a people who had so severely suffered by revolutionary fury ; and that, under his auspices, the labours of honest industry, the activity of commerce, the pursuits of literature and science, would have completely triumphed over the vulgar, degrading, and mischievous passion for military glory. But it soon appeared, as many had foreseen, that the Corsican usurper was as destitute of good sense, prudence, and judgment, as he was estranged from the feelings of humanity and benevolence ; that he had no wish to promote the true welfare and prosperity, either of the nation which he was permitted to govern, or of any other portion of the human species ; and that his chief delight centred in the extension of his dominion, and the consequent propagation of all the miseries of the most humiliating servitude.

Affecting both a sense of religion, and a regard for peace, the first consul connected the triumph of restored catholicism A.D. with the confirmation of the recent treaty. He had ad- 1802.

justed, in the summer of the preceding year, a *concordat* with the pope, subjecting public worship to the superintendence of ten prelates of the highest rank, and fifty bishops; and that convention, being submitted to the deliberation of the tribunate and the legislative body, was now sanctioned as a law, and honoured with accomplishment. On the festival of our Lord's resurrection, he ratified the peace in due form, and received, in the metropolitan church, the oaths of the new prelates, amidst the roar of artillery and the acclamations of the people. He thus (says a French journalist) gratified himself with the favourable opinion of a great part of the nation, and reconciled the new government with the ancient religion of the state.

In this season of good humour, he was also disposed to favour the emigrants with a relaxation of the rigour of former edicts. He therefore ordered, by an act of the senate, that all who had not yet arrived, should return to France before a certain day in the autumn of 1803; and that they should then take an oath of fidelity to the constitutional establishment, renounce all places, pensions, and titles, which they had procured from foreign powers, and quietly submit, for ten years, to the particular superintendence of the government, which might occasionally require their change of residence. He promised to restore, but not without considerable exceptions, such parts of their property as the nation still possessed. This amnesty, it must be added, did not extend to the whole body of emigrants; for those who had acted as officers in the army of an enemy, or had excited war, civil or foreign, against the republic,—all commanders, either military or naval, and popular deputies, who had been guilty of treason,—and even the prelates who had not resigned their sees, with a view to the execution of the *concordat*,—were excluded from the benefit of the new ordinance.

Amidst these arrangements, he did not neglect the preservation of his own power and authority. In treating with the pontiff, he reserved to himself the nomination of all the prelates, required a canonical institution as the necessary sequel of the appointment, and declared that no bull or brief should have any effect without his consent, and that no council or synod, unauthorized by the government, should deliberate or act; and, in his conduct toward the unfortunate royalists, he cautiously provided for their subjection to the eye of peculiar vigilance, until time and habit should reconcile them to the most patient acquiescence in the exclusion of the Bourbon family.

As ten years, the period assigned for the duration of the con-

sular power, seemed too short a term for his prospective ambition, he resolved to extend it by anticipation. His wish being communicated to his friends, the conservative senate referred to a committee the consideration of a proper mode of testifying national gratitude for his eminent services; and, when it was suggested that the former term should be doubled, the proposal was readily adopted, not only as a mark of high respect, but also with a view of imparting to the government that stability which would "multiply its resources, promote external confidence, and internal credit, encourage the friends and confound the enemies of France, ensure a continuance of the blessings of peace, and extend the means and opportunities of providing for the welfare and prosperity of the nation." For the confirmation of this important grant, the people were consulted; and so popular was Bonapartè, or so commanding was the influence of the army, that it was not deemed a sufficient testimony of gratitude to establish the limited decree of the senate. The citizens, meeting in the different *communes*, voted, almost universally, that he should be invested with the supreme consulate for life. This decision was readily sanctioned by the senate; and the fortunate object of general choice, in declaring his acceptance of the ^{July 29.} extraordinary honour, boasted that liberty, equality, and the prosperity of France, were fixed on the most permanent basis.

For the pretended benefit of France, a new constitution was prepared, under the eye of the first consul, by three of his counsellors of state, by whom it was presented to the senate for that exterior approbation and formal assent which the members did not presume to withhold. It was ordained by this instrument, that the second and third consuls should be nominated by the first, to whom the privilege of appointing a successor to himself was also conceded. He was invested with the power of making war, adjusting alliances, and concluding peace, in concert with privy counsellors of his own choice; and he was to enjoy, with their concurrence, the prerogative of pardon. All the acts of the senate were to emanate from him in the first instance: the members of that body were to be selected by him, to the number of eighty, from a list presented by the electoral colleges of the departments; and he was allowed to add forty by a choice wholly uninfluenced. The members of the legislative body were to be nominated by the senate, from lists arranged by the departmental colleges, containing the names of three candidates for every deputy to be chosen. For the tribunate, the colleges of the circuits were to name a certain number of citizens, that a selection

might be made by the senate. Three hundred representatives were to compose the former assembly, a fifth part being renewable in every fifth year; and it was resolved that the latter should gradually be reduced to fifty, one half of which number should be succeeded by other members in the course of three years. In the event of a dissolution by the senate, these partial regulations of renewal would necessarily give way to a complete re-election. The convocation, adjournment, and prorogation, of these two assemblies were not left to that authority which might dissolve them, but to the government. With regard to the formation of the colleges, it was ordained, that those which were to name the candidates for the tribunate should have one member for every aggregate of five hundred domiciliated inhabitants of the circuit, and that the members should be nominated by the central assembly of the cantons which composed the district; while the electoral colleges of the departments, appointed for life, were to have one member in the proportion of one thousand inhabitants. For the supreme administration of justice, a grand judge was to be named, who was also to be a senator and counsellor of state. He was to enjoy, over inferior tribunals, the right of inspection and control; and if any judgment should appear to be politically improper, inexpedient, or hazardous, it might be annulled by the senate. Whatever aspect favourable to freedom this code might assume, the intention of granting that blessing to the nation was not seriously entertained by its artful framer, whose arbitrary inclinations considered despotism as the necessary basis of government.

Such was the zeal of the first consul for an appearance of political reform, that he not only gave to France this phantom of liberty, but framed new constitutions for the Cis-Alpine and Ligurian republics. Both these states were declared independent by the treaty of Luneville; and their discretionary right of adjusting a particular form of government was specifically acknowledged. As this natural and obvious right did not suit the arbitrary views of Bonapartè, he resolved to mould and regulate these nominal republics by his own will, so as to secure a commanding authority over them. Even after the preliminaries of peace had been signed, when a sense of honour might have been expected so far to influence him, as to prevent any irregular assumption of power, by which his relative situation might be improved during the negotiations for a definitive treaty, he had repaired to Lyons for the sole purpose of ambitious aggrandizement. The most distinguished citizens of the Cis-Alpine state

being invited to meet him in that city, had many private conferences with him and Talleyrand on the subject of their political organization; and the result was a report of the existing circumstances of the aggregate nation, calculated to prove that it required the superintending care of some great personage, who, by the influence of his name and power, might protect and secure it, and throw over its infancy a splendour which might accelerate its manhood. As no such person could be found among the citizens, he was entreated to undertake the task of conducting the machine of government. He did not refuse the honour; and, under his auspices, a constitutional code was quickly prepared, and presented to the deputies, by whom it was readily adopted. The state was thenceforward to be called the Italian republic. Bonapartè was declared president for ten years; and not only was he permitted to exercise the usual branches of executive power, but no laws were to be adopted, unless they should be proposed by him. Under him or his representative, the government was confided to a council of state, to ordinary ministers, and to a legislative committee. The national sovereignty, which was acknowledged to belong to the whole body of citizens, resided by delegation in three electoral colleges, namely, three hundred *possidenti*, or proprietors of land, two hundred *dotti*, or men of learning and science, and the same number of *commercanti*, or traders and manufacturers. These associations, chosen by the citizens, were to nominate the members of the council of state, and to elect a legislative body, consisting of seventy-five persons, who were to meet at least for two months in every year, and whose number was to be partially renewed by the choice of twenty-five deputies once in two years, in lieu of a retiring third. The ministers were responsible for their acts and for neglect of duty, but not the members of the different public bodies. The judges were allowed to retain their situations for life, unless they should disgrace themselves by guilt or delinquency. Although the new state consisted of six nations, the laws, both civil and criminal, and the system of education, were to be uniform.

The Ligurian republic received with equal submission the dictates of the domineering consul; and the constitution which it received from its creative genius, was applauded by the servile citizens as the work of an enlightened mind and a beneficent disposition. The three grand bases of this code were unobjectionable,—liberty, equality in point of civil rights, and national representation; but the pretended grants were not secured to the people.

The legislative body was to consist only of thirty members, who were to make choice of a doge, or president of the supreme magistracy, out of three candidates named by the electoral colleges, which, in their organization, resembled those of the Italian republic. The doge was to remain in office for six years. His chief assistants were the presidents of the four inferior magistracies, and four other ministers. The renewal of the senate was on the same plan with that of the legislature in the neighbouring republic. Of the three colleges, the members were to be chosen for life. The property of the church was declared to be inalienable. For the promotion of the arts and sciences, a national institute was to be established at Genoa, as well as at Milan; for the consul, amidst the cares of state, and the regulations of policy, did not neglect the patronage of science or the interests of learning, while the adepts and professors abstained from the propagation of the principles of freedom.

That constitution which had been framed for Switzerland under the auspices of the French directory, was particularly repugnant to the feelings of the democratic cantons; and, in consequence of their application for political redress, the general diet at Bern transferred the administration to a new executive council, at the head of which was Aloys Reding, the distinguished patriot. A more judicious code than that which the French had imposed upon the nation, was voted by the senate; but those members of the council who had been introduced by the influence of Bonapartè, as a counterpoise to the advocates of the old *régime*, displaced Reding and his friends, and prepared a constitution upon French principles, to which they procured the assent of the aristocratic cantons. Pleased at the adoption of this code, the consul recalled the troops whose continuance in Switzerland had given offence; and the cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Unterwalden, took this opportunity of separating from the Helvetic body, and of forming a government more correspondent with their habits and circumstances. They were quickly joined by the people of Appenzel, Glarus, and Zug; and the confederacy assumed that boldness of attitude and demeanour, which alarmed the national council. Troops were detached against the allies; who, being prepared to meet the storm of hostility, gained the advantage in two conflicts. As the citizens of Zurich seemed to favour the views of the patriots, general Andermatt insulted them by a bombardment; but he was obliged to relinquish the intention of garrisoning that town. Bern was attacked
Sept. 18. by the confederates, and taken with little difficulty; and

the consequence of this success was the reinstatement of the former magistracy. Irritated at these proceedings, Bonapartè addressed the cantons in an imperious tone, and insisted upon the annulment of the late changes and regulations at Bern, and the dispersion of all armed assemblages. This proclamation produced a remonstrance from the British court against the unwarrantable interference of the French in the internal government of an independent state; and Mr. Moore was sent into Switzerland to encourage the patriots by a promise of pecuniary aid. In the prosecution of their success, the allies attacked at Fribourg the partisans of the French system, and reduced that city; they then rushed into the Pays de Vaud, and routed the enemy near Moudon. In the meantime, the associated cantons held a diet at Schwitz, and completed their constitutional code: but they were not suffered to give it that establishment which it deserved; for a French army, commanded by Ney, received orders for the enforcement of full submission to that government which was recommended by the first consul. When intelligence of the occupation of Basle and Bern by these formidable intruders reached the diet, no thoughts of resistance were entertained; the assembly dissolved itself; and, while the arrogance and injustice of Bonapartè excited general indignation, the people quietly submitted to their fate. Oct. 28.

In this conduct toward the cantons, he still pretended to act only as a mediator. He requested the attendance of a body of Swiss deputies at Paris, and authorized four of his senators to adjust with them a federal government, and, at the same time, to make constitutional regulations for each canton. These discussions terminated in the formation of nineteen particular codes, and a series of ordinances for the united republic. In the specific constitutions a greater regard was paid to the habits and wishes of the people than could have been expected from the domineering arrogance of the first consul; but he studiously provided for the general exercise of his authority over the confederacy. He prohibited alliances between one canton and another, and all partial confederacies with any foreign state; he restricted the embodied militia to five hundred, unless the federal president should agree to an occasional augmentation; he ordained that every violation of a decree of the diet, by an inferior government or legislature, should be subjected, as an act of rebellion, to the cognizance of the general tribunal; and he superseded the ancient commercial laws and exclusive privileges of every kind by uniform regulations. He allowed an annual rota-

tion of directorial authority to Fribourg, Bern, Soleure, Basle, Zurich, and Lucerne, because at these towns the diet would be alternately convoked. It was ordained that only one citizen should be deputed to this assembly from each canton; but the members, belonging to the six most populous divisions, would respectively have two votes. The chief magistrate of the directorial canton was to be styled the landamman of Switzerland, or president of the republic. He was considered as the representative of the nation in all intercourse with foreign powers; was authorized to call an extraordinary meeting of the diet, which otherwise would not extend its session beyond one month; was bound to provide for the maintenance of public tranquillity, and to interfere in every instance of a deviation either from the federal act or from any particular code; but he was not permitted to declare war, or to conclude treaties of peace or of alliance, without the previous sanction of the diet, manifested by a concurrence of three-fourths of the cantons. The Helvetic state, constituted conformably to this act, was declared, in the insulting language of the dictator, an *independent* power.

When the contest with Switzerland was approaching to its termination, the first consul derived, from the death of the duke of Parma, the means of extending his power in the north of Italy. Referring to a convention which he had concluded with the court of Madrid, he promulgated a decree, declaring that the sovereignty of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, belonged to the French republic: and he immediately took measures for securing the acquisition. He congratulated his new subjects on the happiness which they would derive from their connexion with France, and their consequent prospect of being governed with justice and equity.

In the pacification between France and Austria, it had been stipulated, that they should concert with the Germanic body a plan of indemnification for those princes who had suffered by the war. Bonapartè at first pretended, that he had no wish to interfere in this adjustment; but as a great difference of opinion agitated the princes and states of the empire on this subject, he was prompted, he said, to accelerate the important settlement by the desire of restoring complete tranquillity to that country, and of fixing the peace of Europe upon a solid basis. He persuaded the Russian emperor to co-operate with him; and, as his mediation was thus powerfully supported, he disregarded the remonstrances of the court of Vienna, and arbitrarily arranged the territorial transfers. He affected impartiality; but he chiefly

favoured those princes from whom he expected the most implicit subserviency. In the *projet* which he prepared, he assigned to the Prussian monarch (in exchange for the dutchy of Cleves and other ceded territories,) the bishoprics of Hildesheim and Paderborn, the greater part of the episcopate of Munster, some imperial cities in Saxony, and many other valuable possessions; to the elector of Bavaria, some parts of the bishoprics of Passau and Wurtzburg, the whole of Bamberg and Augsburg, and a long list of abbeys and imperial towns; and to the margrave of Baden, Constance and other towns and districts bordering upon Switzerland, and large portions of the Palatinate. The duke of Wurtemberg, and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, were also gratified with important cessions, and honoured, as well as the margrave, with the electoral dignity, which was at the same time revived in favour of the high chancellor of the empire, under the title of Aschaffenburg. The archbishopric of Saltzburg, the bishoprics of Trent and Brixen, and other territories, were awarded to the prince whom the war had deprived of Tuscany; and his imperial brother, by remonstrating against the inadequacy of these assignments, and demanding that full indemnification which was stipulated by the treaty of Luneville, obtained some additional allowances for the archduke. The elector of Hanover, by relinquishing his claim to Hildesheim, and waving other pretensions, procured a grant of Osnaburg in perpetuity: and to the prince of Orange, the bishoprics of Fulda and Corvey, the city of Dortmund, and several abbeys, were assigned; a very imperfect compensation, with which he was obliged to be content.

The acquisition of a paramount influence in Germany and in other parts of Europe, did not content the aspiring mind of the first consul. His comprehensive eye and grasping policy were also directed to the western hemisphere. While the treaty was in progress between France and Great Britain, the state of St. Domingo had arrested his attention. The creation of an independent power in that island, by a negro adventurer, alarmed the rulers of the other insular colonies, in which the blacks far out-numbered the white population. It was apprehended that the contagion of emancipation might be widely propagated, and the colonial governments be shaken to their foundations. Toussaint L'Ouverture was the founder of the new republic. He was born in slavery near Cape François; but as he exhibited early indications of a comprehensive mind, and conducted himself with general propriety, he was not treated with the rigour to which

slaves are usually subjected, and was even highly favoured by his master, yet, in the insurrection of 1791, he was induced to bear a part, and to accept a command; and it was then that the cruelties which have been imputed to him were perpetrated. As he found, in his courage, talents, and popularity, the means of retaining and extending his authority, he was at length promoted by the French to the command of their whole force in the island; and, as their power declined, he obtained the chief sway, both military and political, although he only enjoyed the title of general.

This extraordinary elevation did not inspire the chieftain with arrogance, or prompt him to act the part of an inhuman tyrant. His government, not without occasional exceptions, displayed the features of moderation and justice; and he gratified the people, in a great measure, with the advantages of a free constitution. This state of tranquillity, however, was disturbed by the policy of Bonapartè, who, being requested by many exiled claimants of plantations, and by the principal merchants in France, to send an armament for the recovery of a valuable island, and wishing to free himself from that part of the army which dared to disapprove his usurpation, made great preparations for the enterprise. His brother-in-law, Le Clerc, was invested with the chief command; and the fleet, in the winter, safely reached the bay of Samana. While general Kerversan proceeded with one division of the troops to the city of St. Domingo, Bouded sailed with another *corps* to Port-au-Prince, and Rochambeau to the bay of Mancenille. The attack of the town of Cape François, which was the seat of government, was reserved by Le Clerc for himself and the main body. In the absence of Toussaint from the capital, Christophe, his relative and friend, desired the French commander to postpone his disembarkation, declaring that the white inhabitants should be considered as hostages for the forbearance of the strangers, and that an assault upon any town would operate as the signal for its conflagration. Le Clerc, in answer, stated the claim of the French to the possession of the island, and invited Christophe, with plausible promises, to that submission which duty required; and he supported the application by producing a letter from the first consul to Toussaint, acknowledging his signal services, and offering, not merely indemnity, but favour and recompense. These overtures being disregarded, the general made dispositions for a descent, ordering admiral Villaret to attack the town from the sea. Having effected a landing at some distance, the troops marched toward the town,

and witnessed the execution of the menace: but their exertions to stop the progress of the flames were in some degree effectual ¹.

An artful attempt to procure the surrender of Toussaint was evaded by that firmness of character which the chieftain united with the tender feelings of a parent. Two of his sons had been sent to France for education; and their tutor, Coisnon, who accompanied them on their return to the West Indies, hoped by their means to seduce the chieftain into a submission to the will of their friend and protector, the first consul. He repaired to a plantation which Toussaint possessed, and interested the mother of his pupils in the cause of France; but when the father returned, he was neither moved by the persuasions of the emissary, nor influenced by a threat of debarring the young men from the gratifications of a residence with their parents, to resign the power to which he thought himself entitled, or betray the interests of his brethren. Exasperated at the inflexibility of Toussaint, Le Clerc denounced vengeance against him and Christophe, and, excluding them from the protection of the law, ordered all citizens to pursue them, as enemies of the French republic.

Expecting a vigorous prosecution of the war, the chieftain roused all the energy of his adherents; and his perfect acquaintance with the country was particularly advantageous to his operations, which were also directed with the skill of a general. He was, for some time, ably seconded by Maurepas, who routed one of the French divisions: but the despair of success, and the promise of a continuance of military rank, induced that officer, and two other generals, to submit to the enemy, with many of their fickle warriors. In a well-contested conflict between Rochambeau and the chief defender of the island, success was equally balanced. One called into exercise the superiority of French tactics, the other made the best use of the advantages of a strong position. Le Clerc having removed his head-quarters to Port-au-Prince, formed the siege of La Crete, chiefly in the hope of spoil, as it was a considerable *dépôt*. It was defended by Dessalines, who could not, however, maintain it against the great force employed for its reduction. During the siege, the French committed such cruelties as could only have been expected from the most brutal barbarians. An officer overpowered 600 negroes, and put them to the sword: another encompassed a small camp, and murdered all its occupants. When Dessalines found the post no longer

¹ *Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti*, by Marcus Rainsford.

tenable, he retreated in the night with a part of his force, and escaped with small loss; but those who remained after a final sally were sacrificed to the fury of the besiegers, many of whom had fallen by the well-directed fire of the fortress.

While the French were exulting in this success, their vigilant adversary, being joined by Christophe, rushed from the mountains, defeated an opposing division near Plaisance, and alarmed the garrison at Cape François. He repelled Boyer, who had marched from the town to attack him, and ravaged the extensive plain, in defiance of Le Clerc himself, who had hastily returned by sea to the endangered station. But, when the French commander had been reinforced from the mother country, and, by a renewal of his specious promises, had increased the defection from the banners of the native general, even drawing Christophe into

May 8. a peaceful negotiation, an exterior amity was substituted for the rancour of hostility, and the armed followers of the chieftain were admitted with him to a participation of the honours and advantages of the French service.

An act of base treachery soon followed this ostensible reconciliation. While Toussaint, after the fatigues of war, reposed in the bosom of his family, two ships approached the western coast, and a party of soldiers, hastening to his plantation, seized him, his wife, and offspring, and conveyed them on board of a vessel, in which they were transported to France. Le Clerc affirmed, that the rebellious general, immediately after he had been pardoned, instigated the labouring negroes to a new insurrection: but he had only complained of their being compelled to work for their ancient masters, as a violation of the recent promises and engagements. On his arrival in France, he was thrown into prison, from which he never emerged. Above one hundred of his friends in the island were hunted out by Rochambeau, forced into some vessels in the harbour of St. Marc, and (as is generally supposed) privately put to death.

The arbitrary and tyrannical government of Le Clerc excited general disgust and indignation. Christophe and Dessalines partook of the rising emotions, and resolved to aim at the recovery of expiring freedom; and other leaders of negro and mulatto associations arose in different parts. Dreading a revolt of all the blacks who had been incorporated with the French army, the commander-in-chief ordered them to be disarmed; and, when they resisted his will, he subjected a great number to various modes of death. Hundreds were suffocated in the holds of ships, many were shot, and others were destroyed by blood-hounds. Before

the late pacification, disease had concurred with the war to thin the French army; and the number of bodies thrown by the returning tide upon the shore, diffused a contagion through the nearest towns, in which the soldiers, driven from the field by the increasing force of the insurgents, were confined within a narrow space. The consequent mortality was great; and the malcontents so far took advantage of it, as to recover, in many parts of the island, the influence and authority which they had lost by the peace. Le Clerc, whose health had been long declining, died at this crisis. The colonial præfect, in announcing his death, called him a hero and a sage; but his pretensions to those honourable characters may justly be denied.

The king of Great Britain and his ministers did not altogether disapprove the attempts of the French for the recovery of an island, of which they had not only possessed a very considerable part, but had procured from Spain a cession of the rest. It was in their opinion more desirable, that the French should resume their sway in Hispaniola, than that slaves, who had obtained freedom by the sword, should be enabled, by the acquisition of independent power, to recommend and enforce the dangerous example. No remonstancé, therefore, had been offered against the preparations in the first instance; nor, after the conclusion of the definitive treaty, was this enterprize included among the grounds of dispute and animosity which arose between the rival governments.

The conduct and proceedings of that parliament which commenced its deliberations after the return of peace, necessarily excited the anxious attention of the political world. In addressing the two houses, the king boasted of the internal prosperity of the country, and applauded the loyalty of his people. He expressed a strong wish for the continuance of peace: but he did not think himself justified in attending so scrupulously to this object, as to “lose sight of that established and wise system of policy, by which the interests of other states are connected with our own,” or to “be indifferent to any material change in their relative condition and strength.” This allusion to the critical state of the continent seemed to argue a doubt of the permanence of that tranquillity which had been ostensibly restored to Europe. Mr. Windham, lord Grenville and his brother, and some other senators, were so apprehensive of danger from the ambitious encroachments of France, that they recommended either an immediate renewal of the war, or the retention of so large an establishment as, if it would not overawe that turbulent nation, might enable this country to be prepared for the most perilous contin-

gency. This alarm was increased by a royal message, which stated Mar. 8, the certainty of very considerable military preparations in 1803. the ports of France and Holland. His majesty admitted, that these means of hostility were avowedly intended for colonial purposes¹; but, when it was considered that important discussions were depending between the governments, it was expedient, he thought, that more effectual provision should be made for the security of Great Britain.

With regard to the subjects of discussion, it may be observed, that the French testified no inclination to give that satisfaction which a friendly power, or an honourable government, would have readily granted. They were accused by our ministers of having offered violence to British vessels and property, and of employing agents in our ports, who acted as spies rather than as superintendents of commercial intercourse. They still pursued, it was said, an iniquitous system of aggression and aggrandisement, keeping an army in Holland against the will of the government, invading the territory and the rights of the Swiss, and withholding from the king of Sardinia the most valuable portion of his dominions, although they had solemnly promised to attend to his interests. Their allegation, that they were not bound to forbearance in any point which did not form an express part of the stipulations at Amiens, was, in the opinion of our cabinet, a pretence which the law of nations did not justify; for, as that treaty was founded, like other public conventions, on the state of possession and of subsisting engagements, the dictates of arbitrary will and caprice could not authorize one party to make any considerable difference in the relative situation of either power. Their demand of the evacuation of Malta was also declared to be unreasonable, since they had concurred with the Spanish government in impairing the constitution and weakening the independence of the order of knights, to whom, under such circumstances, the island could not in the spirit of the treaty be restored. Menaces of violence, and indignities offered to the British ambassador and to the nation, which, the first consul arrogantly and falsely stated could not singly cope with the French, were also noticed with displeasure. Inflamed by the progress of these disputes, the king peremptorily desired that the French government would afford substantial security against farther encroachments, and give satisfaction for illiberal insults.

¹ It has been confidently affirmed, and it is indeed undoubted, that these preparations were imaginary rather than real.

In an early stage of this diplomatic contest, Talleyrand had complained, in the name of his haughty and irritable master, of the libellous spirit of the British press, and of the encouragement given in this country to the fugitive friends of the house of Bourbon. Lord Hawkesbury replied, that it would be improper for the executive government to restrain the constitutional liberty of the press ; but he admitted, that a foreign power might legally apply to the courts of judicature, and obtain redress for defamation or calumny ; and, with regard to the second point, he declared, that, if any of the emigrants should endeavour, by artful intrigues, or by the transmission of inflammatory writings to France, to excite sedition among the people, they should be ordered to retire from the British dominions. These answers did not satisfy Bonapartè : he still complained of the unchecked effusions of political animosity.

The irregular agency of colonel Sebastiani was also productive of altercation. Talleyrand did not scruple to affirm, that the mission of this officer was purely commercial ; but it was, in reality, an artful scheme of vigilant ambition and interested policy. After a voyage to Tripoli, where this active emissary mediated a peace between the bey and the king of Sweden, and procured an acknowledgment of the Italian republic, he proceeded to Alexandria, which the British troops had not then evacuated. He insisted upon the immediate surrender of that city to the Porte ; but general Stuart replied, that no orders to that effect had arrived from his court. He informed the pasha, that agents from France would soon make their appearance in Egypt, and re-establish commercial intercourse. In all the towns which he visited, he spoke of the first consul's regard for the people, and the interest which he took in their welfare. At Cairo, he offered his mediation between the Turkish government and the beys ; but the pasha assured him, that he had received peremptory orders from Constantinople for the extermination of those rebels. After examining the fortifications of the Egyptian towns, the intriguing agent directed his course to Acre, where he courted the friendship of Al-Gezzar, the tyrant of Syria. In his homeward voyage he stopped at Zante, where he encouraged the inhabitants to look only to France for protection. In his report to the first consul, he declared it to be his decided opinion, that all the Ionian islands would embrace the first opportunity of submitting to France ; and, when he had given an exposition of the state of the British, Turkish, and Mamelouk armies in Egypt, he said, that 6000 French soldiers would compose a suf-

ficient force for the conquest of that country. He spoke of general Stuart as a man whose talents did not rise above mediocrity, who was subservient to the counsels of a French emigrant, and was on very ill terms with the pasha of Alexandria. He accused the English of having driven the Turks from several forts, of taking provisions from the governor without payment, and of consuming three times as much as would suffice for their wants. These illiberal insinuations and unwarrantable charges concurred with the general spirit of the report, to excite strong indignation among people of all ranks in Great Britain, and to rouse the angry feelings of the ministers more decidedly than even the palpable infractions of treaty in Switzerland and in Italy.

The petulance and asperity of the first consul particularly appeared in some of the conversations which attended the progressive discussion. "Every wind that blows from England (said he to lord Whitworth, in an angry tone) brings nothing to me but marks of ill will and of enmity." He ridiculed the alarm which had been excited by his incorporation of Piedmont with France, and his arrangements in Switzerland. "Those are mere trifles," he added;—"you must have foreseen them while the treaty was in agitation; and you have therefore no right to introduce such irrelevant topics."—When our armaments were in progress, he exclaimed, "So you are determined to re-commence hostilities;—a fifteen years' war¹ might seem to be sufficient; but, if you will force me into war for fifteen years more, you shall have your wish."—Addressing the Russian and Spanish ambassadors, he said, "The English are bent upon war; but if they should be the first to draw the sword, I will be the last to sheath it. They pay no regard to treaties, which must in future be covered with black crape."—Resuming the conversation with his majesty's representative, he asked, in apparent agitation, "For what purpose are you arming? Against whom are you taking these precautions? I have not a single ship of the line in my ports; but, if you are determined to fight, I will fight also." When his lordship declared that it was the wish of our court and nation to be upon amicable terms with France, the irritated consul said, "You must then be faithful to your treaties. Woe be to those who violate their engagements!"

After the offer of various schemes of compromise and accommodation, lord Whitworth was authorized to propose, that Malta

¹ The war was much too long; but it did not extend beyond nine years.

should be retained for ten years, and then be resigned to the inhabitants, as an independent island ; and that Lampedosa should be given to the king as a substitute for it. He also required, that the French army should quit the territories of the Batavian republic. Talleyrand replied, that his master would immediately acquiesce in the transfer of Malta to Austria, Russia, or Prussia, and would open a negotiation for the adjustment of every disputed point which was unconnected with the late treaty. This answer was deemed so unsatisfactory, that the ambassador demanded a passport and returned to England.

When the king had intimated to the two houses the termination of the discussions, each assembly voted an address, breathing defiance and war ; but, before he received this promise of support, he issued letters of marque and reprisal against the French. The first consul readily accepted the challenge, ^{May 16.} and preparations for war were prosecuted with mutual zeal.

LETTER II.

History of Europe, continued to the Erection of an Imperial Dynasty in France.

NOTHING but national animosity, or the dread of imaginary A.D. danger, could have induced the majority of the parliament 1803. to vote so readily for war. The alleged encroachments and insults were not sufficient justifications of hostility. The arbitrary conduct of the aspiring ruler of France indisputably suggested the expediency of precaution ; but it was not so open and decisive, as to provoke or authorize sanguinary extremities. No aggression nor outrage, so undisguised or so atrocious as to call for the armed interference of Great Britain, had yet been committed. The loud clamours, however, of the zealots of war prevailed, drowning the voice of reason and the whispers of humanity.

The resentment of the first consul, when he was menaced with war, vented itself upon those subjects of Great Britain, who, having visited France from motives of curiosity and amusement, did not expedite their departure, and who were therefore detained in exile for the alleged injustice of their government.

The desire of vengeance also suggested to him the idea of an invasion; but, fortunately for this country, he had not the means of making a powerful impression upon a well-defended island. He provided a numerous flotilla, and exercised the crew in a variety of evolutions; and, when all the changes of manœuvre were exhausted, an endless repetition ensued¹. To obviate the alarm arising from this source, a strong additional force was deemed necessary; and it was proposed, that a body of reserve should be levied, partaking of a middle nature between the regular troops and the militia. The new defenders of the state were to be raised by ballot, to the amount of 40,000 for Great Britain, and 10,000 for Ireland; and, that they might be the more effectually prepared for service, they were to be commanded and disciplined by officers of the established army. It was contended, on the part of the ministry, that this scheme, by providing sufficiently for the security of the country, would allow the employment of the greater part of the regular force in offensive operations; that many of the new battalions might, on particular occasions, be sent to act out of the kingdom, as there would still be a large body of militia for the purpose of defence; and that a kind of preparatory school would thus be formed for the regiments of the line. On the other hand, the measure was condemned by Mr. Windham, as injurious to the military establishment, because it would preclude the due supply of that force upon which the only effectual defence of the nation could rest. When the bill for this object had become an operative law, it was deemed insufficient to repel the danger which had given rise to the scheme; and a new bill was brought forward, ordaining a levy *en masse*. All men, between the ages of seventeen and fifty-five, were to be enrolled, trained, and disciplined; liable to be called into the field, if an invasion should be effected or attempted; and bound to serve until the enemy should be crushed, or driven from the shores of our island. The king's prerogative in this respect, said the secretary-at-war, was indisputable: he might lawfully require the service of all his subjects, capable of bearing arms, in case of an invasion; but it was expedient that the parliament should regulate the manner in which that branch of authority should be exercised. Such a bill as the court desired was quickly enacted; but, as compulsion was disapproved by many, the rigour of the act was qualified by a proposal of accepting the offers of a certain

¹ Roman warriors, alluding to this useless employment, which was not more effective than absolute idleness, might have said with Horace, *Strenua nos exerceat inertia*.

number of men who might be disposed to serve, and of suspending, in that case, the general operation of the statute. Of the four classes into which the adult and vigorous population had been divided, it was expected that the first, consisting of unmarried men from seventeen to thirty years of age, would furnish 400,000; and three-fourths of this amount were considered as sufficient even for the extraordinary exigencies of the endangered country.

While these arrangements tended to secure the united kingdom against foreign hostility, the alarm of internal commotion arose. Notwithstanding the well-meant endeavours of the advocates and promoters of the union, Ireland was still in a state of perturbation; distress, and consequent discontent, pervaded the body of the people; and the abettors of democracy took advantage of that feverish irritability which was occasionally manifested, for the propagation of disloyalty and sedition. These leaders were not men of rank or distinction; but they had talents which enabled them to obtain a great influence over the populace, and their courage removed all fear of the personal consequences of their traitorous intrigues. Emmet and Russell were the chief instigators of the rash malcontents, who, having procured pikes and other weapons, assembled at Dublin in the evening, after the distribution of inflammatory addresses, by which ^{July 23.} the people were exhorted to take arms for their rescue from an insupportable yoke. When the mischief exploded, it was rather an outrageous tumult than an organized rebellion. The chief-justice Kilwarden and his nephew were stopped, as they were passing in a carriage, and murdered by a party of the ruffians. But the career of sedition was soon arrested. A body of soldiers and yeomanry attacked the insurgents; and the loyal combatants prevailed in the conflict. In the flight and dispersion which ensued, a great number of the malcontents were apprehended; and tranquillity was restored to the capital. If their early efforts had not been thus promptly opposed, the insurrection would, in all probability, have been widely propagated; but the intelligence which was received from Dublin by the provincial conspirators repressed the general ebullition of treason. When some of the inferior agents in this insurrection had been convicted and capitally punished, Emmet, whose place of concealment had been discovered by the vigilance of major Sirr, was brought to trial. It appeared from the evidence adduced against him, that he had prepared a scheme of provisional government, which he hoped to enforce or recommend to the people; that he had superintended

the measures which were taken for arming the enemies of the establishment, having particularly directed the fabrication of pikes; that, on the night of the insurrection, he had assumed the character and exterior of general, and had led his pike-men to action; and that after the defeat of his party, he still meditated revolutionary schemes, and threatened to retaliate, upon the armed adherents of the court, the violence which had been exercised, under the forms of law, against the true friends of Ireland. The jury, without hesitation, declared him guilty; and he suffered death with coolness and courage. He avowed his hostility to the existing government; but denied that he had solicited aid from the French, whose interposition he strongly deprecated, because in every country which they had entered as friends they had acted as the most determined enemies. Russell did not openly engage in the insurrection; but it was proved, that he was well acquainted with the whole scheme, and had encouraged the disaffected to take an active part in treasonable machinations. He was as ready as his bold associate to acknowledge his invincible repugnance to the prevailing political system; and he encountered his fate with equal fortitude. He had served in the army during the American war, his abilities had been improved by education, and his manners and address were untinctured with the vulgar coarseness of democracy.

At the close of the session, an attempt was made by Mr. Hutchinson, not from factious views, but from patriotic motives, to procure a temperate parliamentary investigation of the affairs of Ireland, that proper remedies might be applied to the disorders of the country; but the ministry, satisfied with a suspension of the privilege of *habeas-corpus*, and with the exercise of martial law, reprobated all inquiry as inexpedient and useless; and the king, referring to the late commotions, trusted that the vigorous measures, authorized by the two houses, would prevent any farther interruption of the tranquillity of that part of his dominions, and convince his loyal subjects of his wish to protect them against seditious violence.

The meditated invasion was an object of permanent attention, as it was a task which required a length of time for its progress and accomplishment; but an enterprise for the reduction of Hanover was quickly carried into effect. This act of hostility had no relation to the war between France and Great Britain, for the king had declared that he would observe a strict neutrality in his electoral character; but such an attack, being calculated to wound the feelings of his majesty, readily suggested itself to the

resentful spirit of Bonapartè. He sent an army into the electoral territories ; and, although it was pretended that a sufficient force would be ready to act with vigour against the invaders, it was deemed prudent to yield to the storm when the enemy had gained some advantages in the field. A convention was signed at Suhlingen, not very honourable to the Hanoverians, but preferable, in their opinion, to a state of war. It was stipulated that the French army should occupy the country and its fortresses, and be maintained by the people ; that the native troops should retire beyond the Elbe, and might retain their arms, but should be considered as prisoners of war ; and that the French general might ordain, even in the civil administration, such changes as he might deem expedient. His majesty refused to ratify this convention ; and, as the enemy had taken positions on various parts near the river, with a view of obstructing the freedom of navigation, he stationed some ships at its entrance for the purpose of a strict blockade. In consequence of the rejection of the agreement, the French insisted upon the adjustment of new terms ; and, by menacing the Hanoverians with all the rigours of war, prevailed upon count Walmoden to sign a capitulation, by which the troops were required to surrender their arms, and retire to their respective habitations, under a prohibition of serving against the enemy without a previous exchange ; the French at the same time agreeing to the sole occupation of the dutchy of Lauenburg.

As the subserviency of the ostensible rulers of Holland to arbitrary dictation obstructed the display of those friendly inclinations which would have ensured the forbearance of the British court towards its ancient allies, an extension of the war was reluctantly adopted ; and letters of marque were issued against the Batavian republic, after the peremptory rejection of a proposal of perfect neutrality, which his majesty had readily offered to that government. The trade of the Dutch soon suffered severely by the activity of the British cruisers : and it was no consolation to imagine (as their tyrant taught them to expect) that they might indemnify themselves, and avenge their insulted honour, by concurring in the invasion of Britain.

No brilliant enterprises or splendid achievements distinguished the first year of renewed hostilities ; but some useful accessions of colonial territory gratified the zealous promoters of the new war. Lieutenant-general Grinfield and commodore Hood, as soon as they had received instructions for offensive warfare, collected a sufficient force for the conquest of St. Lucia and Tobago, and sailed from Barbadoes without the least apprehension of dis-

appointment. The troops having made a descent on the former island, the French out-posts were quickly forced, and the town of Castres was taken. At the Morne Fortunée, the garrison hoped to withstand the assailants until the rainy season should commence; but this consideration served only to render the British commanders more intent upon an immediate reduction of the fortress. It was stormed with small loss; and the whole island was subjected to the sway of Great Britain. The annunciation of this success to the governor of Tobago induced him to relinquish all thoughts of resistance; and it was agreed, that he and the civil and military officers, and the garrison of each post, should be conveyed to France in British vessels. The joy with which the colony submitted to this change, clearly indicated a preference of the British to the French government. Demerara and Essequibo were added to these conquests by that show of hostility which intimidated the Dutch, whose settlement of Berbice was taken with equal facility.

As the French and their allies were unable to defend their settlements with effect, the former also failed in their grand attempt for the recovery of Hispaniola. They did not, however, resign their hopes, after the death of Le Clerc, without a renewal of effort; and as Rochambeau, who assumed the command, had a greater knowledge of the island, and of the character of its inhabitants, than the defunct general, high expectations were formed of the result of his appointment; but his conduct disappointed the hopes of those who wished for the establishment of the authority of France over the colony. In an expedition to the Mole, he acquired no laurels; and although general Clausel reduced Fort-Dauphin by a vigorous siege, it was found expedient to abstain for a time from hostilities. During that interval, Dessalines, who had assumed the command of the insurgent army, procured important accessions to his means of annoyance; and, being desirous of bringing the war to a speedy close, he resolved to attack the French in their principal station. Rochambeau did not decline the challenge. The two armies met near Acul; and both were so far successful, as to capture many of their opponents. The French commander, regardless of the danger of retaliation, put his prisoners to death. Dessalines, who heard with horror the groans and shrieks of the dying men, prepared in his turn a terrific display of vengeance, for which no warrior can justly blame him. He ordered gibbets to be erected in the night; and, as soon as day appeared, all the officers who had fallen into his hands, and some of the inferior captives, were seen suspended, either dead or

expiring¹. The indignant negroes then rushed upon their enemies, and drove them in dismay to the town of Cape François, where a blockade was quickly formed and vigilantly maintained. A British squadron being sent to act against the French, the town was so closely watched, that no supplies could be introduced. The miseries of famine, and the dread of an assault which might lead to the massacre of the garrison, at length subdued the fortitude of Rochambeau, who, offering to capitulate, obtained honourable terms from the moderation of Dessalines. As if no such convention had been concluded, he soon after sent two officers to commodore Loring, to promise an evacuation of the town, if he and about 450 of his men should be suffered to return to France without any restrictions. This proposal being rejected as inadmissible, he remained in the town, vainly seeking an opportunity of escape. Noailles, the commandant at the Mole, also meditated a retreat, and he escaped in the night with a part of his garrison, although five of his vessels were captured. Loring, weary of delay, concerted measures with Dessalines, who, having taken possession of the town, compelled the French to quit the harbour. Rochambeau, and about 8000 men, were then Nov. 30. captured by the English, with three frigates and other vessels.

While the joy of triumph diffused itself over the island, Dessalines proclaimed its independence; and the negroes and mulattoes concurred in public declarations of eternal hatred and enmity to their cruel oppressors, denouncing death against every native of France who should dare to pollute the land of liberty with his sacrilegious footsteps. The fortunate general was invested with the supreme government for life; and he discharged the duties of his high station with a degree of ability, which soared above the ordinary standard of barbarian intellect; but he frequently betrayed the cruelty of a despot, and his government was far from reaching the highest point of enlightened civilization.

In the East Indies, at the same time, the interest of the French declined. When peace was restored to Europe by the treaty of Amiens, they had been gratified with an opportunity of renewing their intrigues among the native powers of India; and, as it was expected that they would more particularly endeavour to establish their influence in the Mahratta territories, the marquess Wellesley, who was then governor-general, renewed those proposals which had been repeatedly rejected or evaded, for a

¹ Rainsford's *Account of the Black Empire of Hayti*.

revival of the alliance between the peishwah and the company. A dread of the domineering ascendancy of the English had inspired that prince with such jealousy and caution, that he would have continued to decline the delusive offer of their friendship, if his authority had not been endangered by the hostilities of Jeswunt Holkar, one of the most powerful Mahratta chieftains. He was encouraged in his reluctance by the advice of Dowlat Rao Scindiah, another independent leader, who promised to assist and protect him against his daring adversary. But, when the storm of war impended over his capital, after the defeat of one of his generals, he consented to take into his service 6000 men from the native troops of the company, and to cede, for the pay of this force, such a portion of territory as would produce an annual revenue of £300,000. He then risked another battle, in which his troops and those of Scindiah were totally routed by Holkar, who, on the flight of the terrified prince, took possession of Poonah, and nominated a new peishwah. A treaty was now concluded at Bassein¹ with the fugitive, who, under the name of an ally, became a dependent of the powerful company. Troops were detached to his aid from various stations; and major-general Wellesley, an officer of promising talents, undertook his defence with great zeal. Scindiah, displeased at the completion of the treaty, endeavoured to draw Holkar and the rajah of Berar into a confederacy for its annulment, while he outwardly pretended to wish for a participation of its advantages. The former chieftain was not then disposed to risk the consequences of an open rupture with the British government; but the rajah listened to the overtures and persuasions of the ambitious malcontent, and even put his army in motion².

It was the policy of the governor-general to construe every instance of an incomplicant spirit, on the part of a native power, into an irrefragable proof of an intention of making war upon the English. He was ready to give credit to every hint or insinuation which imputed mischievous or aggressive views to the neighbouring princes or states, and to rush into hostilities without that full and indisputable evidence, by which alone they could be justified. Flattering himself with the prospect of triumph, and with the hope of elevating the fame and power of his countrymen, and of diffusing lustre over his administration, he seemed rather to wish for a discovery of dangerous intrigues and machi-

¹ December 31, 1802.

² *History of Events and Transactions in India*, by the marquess Wellesley.

nations, than for an opportunity of preserving peace without the loss of honour or the sacrifice of safety. Thus influenced, he gave to his brother such instructions as were apparently more calculated to produce hostilities than to secure peace.

A negotiation ensued with Scindiah and the rajah, who, being desired to withdraw their armies from the nizam's frontiers, expressed their unwillingness to comply with the requisition, unless the troops under the major-general should return at the same time to their respective stations. This point was warmly disputed; and the discussion terminated without effect. In the mean time, the marquess received information of the intrigues of M. Perron, a French adventurer, who, exercising the chief authority over the troops in the northern territories of Scindiah, endeavoured to procure occasional accessions to his force from Pondicheri, and who, it was also affirmed, intended to extort a transfer of the districts within the limits of his command to the French government. Connecting these intimations with the insubmissive behaviour of the two chieftains, he thought himself justified in having recourse to those sanguinary extremities which no consideration of mere political expediency could fairly or honourably authorize¹.

The preparations for war were organized on a large scale. Four armies were amply provided with all the requisites of service, and subjected to the command of able generals. Wellesley opened the campaign with the siege of Ahmednagour; and, when he had taken the town by escalade, he intimidated the garrison of the fortress into a capitulation. He then crossed the Godaveri, and, when Scindiah menaced the nizam's capital, made such movements as deterred that chieftain from the prosecution of his purpose. Being desirous of a general engagement, and hearing that the two chiefs had encamped their united force near the Adjuntee pass, he advanced to an attack, even without that additional strength which the expected junction of colonel Stevenson

¹ The author of the historical part of the Asiatic Annual Register, for 1803, eagerly defends the conduct of the governor-general, not only in the instance of the war, but in the propriety of the treaty of Bassein. It might be *expedient* to acquire a commanding influence at the court of Poonah; but it is not equally true, that this influence was "obtained and secured on principles of indisputable justice." To encroach on the independence of another state, is too much in the French style to be consistent with justice.—The same writer incidentally discloses the real object of the war, when he says, that the marquess wished to "fix, on an extensive and solid basis, the *paramount power and authority* of the British government in the East."—In answer to an adulatory address, presented at the close of the war by the inhabitants of Calcutta, the marquess declared, that its object was, to vindicate and secure the legitimate rights, interest, and honour of the government and its allies, against *usurpation, violence, and rapine*; but no proofs have been given of the justice of these imputations.

would have afforded him. If he had delayed his assault with a view to that co-operation, the enemy would probably have disappointed him by avoiding a conflict; he therefore moved forward with rapidity, and, by the smallness of his force, held out to his opponents a prospect of success. His whole force, it is said, did not exceed 4500 men¹, and the Europeans did not amount to one half that number; while the Mahrattas encountered Sept. 23. him with 30,000. Their infantry, drawn up in two lines near Assi on the Juah, derived protection from a great supply of artillery, which they had been taught by the French to manage with dexterity. Ordering his cavalry to cover his right, the major-general advanced with his whole line exposed to a very heavy fire, by which his right more particularly suffered. The same division also sustained a fierce attack from the Mahratta horse. For the rescue of the endangered battalions, his cavalry rushed forward, repelled the equestrian force of the enemy, and diffused terror among all the opposing ranks. The exertions of his infantry completed the energetic impression; and the confederates retreated at all points. In the pursuit, many of the artillery men, whom the British troops had suffered to remain unmolested, because their prostration, and forbearance of motion, gave them the appearance of death, took an opportunity of bringing some pieces of cannon into play with harassing effect, and a large body of infantry faced about, and renewed the attack; but the indignation and vigour of the pursuers at length subdued all opposition. About 1200 of the vanquished lost their lives; and their wounded were numerously scattered over the country. Of the European victors, 640 were killed or wounded; and, of the native combatants, above 900.

While Wellesley thus triumphed in the Decan, Lake, who acted as commander-in-chief, invaded the northern part of India with success. His first object was the destruction of the power of Perron. He found that officer in a strong position near Coel; but, by turning his left flank and menacing him with an impetuous attack from the cavalry, he overawed the adventurer into a rapid retreat. He soon after took Ali-Gour by storm, profiting

¹ So says the periodical historian to whom I lately referred: yet, as he estimates the major-general's army, in entering upon the campaign, at 16,823 men, it is difficult to conceive how it could be so reduced. He had scarcely sustained any loss in his progress to Assi; and, although he had detached a part of his force under Stevenson, it is not probable that he would send away, upon a less important service, a greater number than he reserved for his own operations. This remark is solely dictated by a regard to verisimilitude and consistency; it does not involve the smallest wish to detract from the lustre of the victory, or from the well-earned fame of the duke of Wellington.

by the enemy's neglect of some precautions which might have rendered that fortress impregnable. The loss of this grand *dépôt*, the decline of Scindiah's regard and attachment, and the want of a firm dependence on the officers, induced Perron to resign his employment.

General Lake now advanced toward Dehli, where another French commander supported the interest of Scindiah. Louis Bourguien crossed the Jumna to oppose him, and drew up his infantry on a rising ground, between swamps which were guarded by cavalry, his front being protected by entrenchments and batteries. He weakly suffered himself to be drawn out of these works by a pretended retreat, and advanced to the attack, announcing his purpose by a tremendous fire from a wide range of artillery; which, however, did not disorder the British line. Major-general Ware led the right wing, and Mr. ^{Sept. 11.} Saint-John the left; while colonel St.-Leger conducted the cavalry. The two former divisions quickly made an impression upon the enemy by well-directed discharges of musquetry, and, by the subsequent use of the bayonet, spread confusion among the thronged ranks. A furious charge of the cavalry completed the defeat; a great slaughter ensued; and many who attempted to escape perished in the stream. This victory, according to the statement of the commander-in-chief, was obtained by 4500 men over four times that number, with the death of only 109 Europeans and natives. The result was the acquisition of Dehli, which the company particularly wished to secure. Shah Aalum, the last Mogul emperor, resided in that city, as a prisoner of state rather than a prince; and he was so pleased at the success of the English, that he received their general with marks of high respect, as a hero who had rescued him from thraldom and degradation.

A natural sequel to the conquest of Dehli was that of Agra; but, before the citadel could be taken, it was necessary to dislodge seven battalions from the town, as well as from an encampment and some ravines in the neighbourhood. This service was accomplished by a resolute attack; and the combatants who escaped destruction surrendered to the assailants. The fortress was garrisoned by about 5500 men; but, as soon as the batteries had made a breach in the walls, the governor capitulated. About the same time, the province of Bundelcund was freed from the control of Scindiah by the defeat of one of his detachments.

The British arms were also prosperous in the east and the west. The province of Cuttack was invaded by a small but suf-

ficient force; the chief town and the sacred city of Jagarnaut were taken without a blow; Balasore made a spiritless resistance; and the fort of Barabatti was captured by a vigorous assault. On the side of Guzerat, the town and fortress of Baroach, partly garrisoned by Arabs, were reduced, and other conquests attended the progress of the Bombay army.

Of the troops which escaped from the battle of Dehli, two battalions joined fifteen, sent from the Decan under M. Duder-naigue. This officer had surrendered to the English; but his successor had taken an advantageous post near Laswari, and

Nov. 1. guarded his front with an abundance of artillery. General Lake endeavoured to dislodge him with the cavalry alone; but the resistance was so vigorous, that this attack proved unsuccessful. The infantry then advanced, under the protection of four batteries. That part of the first column which led the attack suffered so severely in advancing, that, instead of waiting for the rest of the division before the assault should commence, the general ordered the men to charge without delay. They boldly approached the enemy's artillery, and repelled an assault of cavalry; and when the latter had rallied, a regiment of British dragoons came up, and put them to flight. The other troops of the same column at length afforded their effective aid; and the second division, subsequently advancing, made a forcible impression, which was completed by the exertions of the reserve. Above two thousand men were made prisoners; but, out of the whole number, only the chief officers were detained. Of the British troops and their associates, 820 were killed or wounded; but, on the side of the Mahrattas, at least 4500 may be supposed to have suffered.

As the battle of Laswari elevated the fame of Lake, whose alertness, courage, and skill were eminently conspicuous on the occasion, the victory which was obtained on the plains of Argam reflected additional lustre on the military character of Wellesley. He had promised to grant an armistice to Scindiah in the west and the south; but, as the condition upon which it depended had not been strictly executed, he disregarded all the remonstrances of that chieftain's ambassadors, and resolved to attack both his troops and those of the rajah, if he should find them in a state of combination and apparent concert. He was soon gratified with the desired opportunity. Having arranged his infantry in one line, and his cavalry in another, he coolly advanced, repelled a considerable force which had ventured to assault him, routed also the cavalry of Scindiah, and quickly triumphed in all

parts of the field. Gawil-gour was soon after taken; and the supposed defensibility of the two forts of Marock did not secure them from a speedy reduction. Nov. 28.

Finding all resistance fruitless, the rajah now sued for peace. He bound himself to a renunciation of all connexion with Scindiah or any other Mahratta chieftain who remained hostile to the company; to an exclusion of all Frenchmen, and of the subjects of any power which might be at war with the British government, from his service; and to a similar discouragement of all British subjects, unless the assent of the company to their reception should be obtained. He also agreed to a cession of the province of Cuttack, and other territories; and, on the other hand, it was stipulated that no assistance should be given to any of his enemies or malcontent subjects. Scindiah was also obliged to purchase peace by a variety of cessions. He resigned all his territories between the Jumna and the Ganges, the district of Baroach, the lands between the Adjunttee hills and the Godaveri, and other possessions; and, as he did not obstinately contest these points, he was complimented with the restitution of several forts and their dependencies. He promised not to encourage or employ the obnoxious adventurers whom France sent forth to seek their fortunes in India; and declared, with regard to Shah Aalum, that he renounced all claims and all interference. Dec. 17.

These territorial acquisitions, and the ruin of the French influence among the Mahrattas, gave great joy to the British subjects in Hindostan; and the abilities and energy of the governor-general were as highly applauded as the martial talents of the victorious commanders. Dec. 30.

While the war was raging on the continent of India, an adjacent island was involved in sanguinary commotions.

It was a natural supposition, that the conquest of the Dutch territories in Ceylon, by a nation which had long manifested, in its Indian dependencies, a spirit of ambition and encroachment, hostile to the rights of the native powers, would excite jealousy at the court of Kandi. A pompous embassy to the king, sent from Columbo by Mr. North the governor, served only to allay his apprehensions for a time; and he at length made great preparations for war, as if he expected to be attacked, or intended to be the aggressor. That this was his intention, the friends of the government affirmed; and it was stated that, in repeated instances, traders had been robbed by the king's officers of valuable

commodities, without the allegation of irregular traffic. All remonstrances being disregarded, troops were sent into the Kandian territories, under the command of Mac-Dowal, to enforce reparation. In their way to the capital, they seized some strong posts, and easily dispersed the different divisions of the native army. The king and his prime minister fled with their treasures; and attempts were made by the inhabitants to consume by fire the palace and the temples; but the flames were speedily extinguished by the invaders. The re-assembled Kandians, advancing to expel their enemies from the town, were resolutely opposed, and defeated with great loss.

Overtures were now made by the general for an accommodation: but the king, trusting to the climate for the ruin of his enemies, or meditating vengeance for the invasion, disdained the idea of a treaty. It was therefore resolved by the governor, that he should be considered as an abdicator of the throne. A prince of the same family, who had been a refugee at Columbo, was proclaimed king, with the apparent acquiescence of the people; and hostilities against the deposed prince were suspended. The minister who had lately presided in the cabinet was continued in power, and affairs seemed to wear an aspect of tranquillity. The greater part of the army having returned into the British territories, only seven hundred men remained to garrison Kandi, under major Davie, beside small parties at other posts. Upon each of those stations an attack was suddenly made before the expiration of the armistice, in consequence of a secret concert between the minister and the former king. The major, after a short defence, consented to an evacuation of the fort, on the condition of an unmolested retreat; but he and his party were prevented from crossing the river, and compelled to give up their arms; and, while the Malays and Lascars were spared, fifteen British officers, and about one hundred and fifty privates, were put to death. From the other stations the garrisons escaped with scarcely any loss. The atrocious massacre was followed by an invasion of the British districts, and the capture of several settlements: but the most important towns and fortresses were well defended and maintained; and, after the arrival of succours from Bengal and the Cape of Good Hope, not only the Kandians were expelled from the places which they had taken, but all the Ceylonese who had revolted were reduced to submission. A vigorous attempt upon Hangwelle, personally directed by the prince who had restored himself to his throne, flattered him with

the hope of success ; but, after three assaults, the tyrant was repelled with very severe loss. He then returned to his capital ; and peace and order resumed their influence in the colonial districts ¹.

In the commotions of Ceylon the French had no concern ; but they could not behold, without envy and dissatisfaction, the progressive establishment of the British power on the continent of India. Upon the whole, notwithstanding the seizure of Hanover, they had so little reason to exult in the success of the renewed war, that it would have been good policy in their ruler to content himself with the undisputed supremacy of a flourishing state, instead of affording, by wanton encroachment, a pretence for hostility on the part of Great Britain.

When the king again convoked the parliament, he mentioned the necessity of continuing the contest ; and, referring to the menace of invasion, expressed his firm conviction, that, if the enemies of the nation should attempt to execute that presumptuous threat, the “consequences would be, to them, discomfiture, confusion, and disgrace.” But, while he lamented the existence of a war with any power, he was pleased at the opportunity of stating, that all disputes with the court of Stockholm had been accommodated by a treaty, which, maintaining our maritime rights, gave at the same time a fair advantage to the neutral prince, who was merely prevented from furnishing the enemies of the other party with the implements and the means of hostility. Nov. 22.

Amidst the parliamentary deliberations, a change in the administration was prognosticated by the increasing animosity and embittered dissensions of party. When Mr. Pitt resigned, he had no wish or intention of long remaining without the gratifications of power and patronage : he hoped to find, after the experiment of pacification, an opportunity of re-asserting his high pretensions. For two years after his retreat from office, he supported the ministers with apparent zeal ; but, when the premier seemed inclined to renounce his subserviency to his patron, and when the continuance of the war opened to the ambitious statesman a prospect of retrieving his fame as a determined enemy of France, and as an able director of vigorous hostilities, he resolved to display his parliamentary importance in such a mode as might ensure his recall to power. He did not regularly enlist in the

¹ *Asiatic Annual Register*, for 1804.

ranks of opposition, but took opportunities of reprehending the feeble measures of the court, and of urging the necessity of a more vigorous and effective system. Being now attacked by three parties,—namely, by the friends and admirers of Mr. Pitt, by Mr. Windham, and the clamorous advocates for war, and by the permanent members of opposition,—Mr. Addington found his situation so insecure, that, although he enjoyed the unre-

A.D. served confidence of the king, he resolved to retire from 1804. the helm. He had tried the effect of an overture to Mr. Pitt for his return to the high station which he had formerly filled, and the re-admission of lord Melville and other friends into such offices as he might wish them to accept. In answer to this application, Mr. Pitt expressed a wish for the inclusion of earl Spencer and lord Grenville in the new arrangements; adding, however, that he would not make any specific proposals, until he should receive an intimation from his majesty, that his services in the cabinet were deemed essential to the strength of the government. This reply was not satisfactory, because the warm opposition of those noblemen to Mr. Addington, and their undisguised contempt of his talents and capacity, rendered them highly obnoxious to him. Having continued to act until his May 7. majorities alarmingly declined, he at length declared his intention of resigning his employment: and a royal message was sent to Mr. Pitt, desiring him to name the persons by whom he would wish to be assisted in the cabinet. Some difficulties occurred in the important settlement. It was required, on the part of a great personage, that the question of catholic relief should not be brought forward; and it was also stated, that the admission of Mr. Fox into the cabinet would not be agreeable. With these exceptions, Mr. Pitt was allowed to act at his discretion. He immediately invited lord Grenville and his principal friends to the honours and advantages of ministerial association: but his lordship replied, in a high tone, that, at a crisis which imperiously demanded an union of weight, talents, and character in the public service, he would not assist in forming an administration on the illiberal principle of exclusion. Disgusted at the rejection of his offers, and apprehending a strong opposition to his present arrangements and future measures, Mr. Pitt was seriously embarrassed in his choice. He at length resolved to retain in the cabinet six of those individuals whose incapacity and misconduct he had lately censured and condemned; and, to complete the allowed number, he selected four of his steady

partisans,—the lords Melville, Harrowby, Mulgrave, and Camden¹.

The reinstated premier directed his early attention to the great concerns of national defence; but, as the subject required long deliberation both in the cabinet and in parliament, his plan was not so speedily carried into effect as he wished or intended. The removal of those obstacles which diminished the efficacy of the recruiting service, and the establishment of a foundation for a regular increase of the army, amidst a due attention to internal defence and security, were the chief objects which the scheme involved. It was proposed, that the militia of Great Britain should be gradually reduced to 48,000 men, exclusive of the supplementary bodies; that the supply of a more regular additional force should be rendered a parochial duty, with a limitation of the bounty to be offered; and that a neglect of this duty should be compensated by fines, while the rigours of the former ballot would be allayed. The plan did not promise to be more effective than the arrangements of Mr. Addington, who ventured to assert his conviction of its comparative futility; but it passed triumphantly through the ordeal of debate, being in vain assailed by ridicule and censure.

From his anxiety on the subject of defence, Mr. Pitt was seemingly more apprehensive of an invasion than the generality of the nation; and, in the speech which he framed for his majesty at the prorogation, he observed that the preparations for that purpose were daily augmented, and that “the attempt appeared to have been delayed, only with the view of procuring additional means for carrying it into execution.” He exaggerated the danger, that his defensive precautions might be more highly appreciated.

The first consul of France was as eager to confirm his power, as the English minister was to defend his menaced country. He looked forward to a more august title and a more imposing establishment; and, to evince the necessity of strengthening the government, he propagated rumours of traitorous intrigues and alarming conspiracies, promoted by the British court. Two malcontents were shot, under a charge of aiming at his destruction; but no persuasions could induce them to acknowledge that they had received any encouragement from Great Britain. The vengeance of the government was also directed against Moreau (the

¹ He afterward suffered his disgust at the conduct and administration of Mr. Addington to give way to a desire of association; and lord Sidmouth (for the ex-minister was ennobled by that title) was appointed president of the council.

celebrated general), Pichegru, and the Chouan Georges, who were accused of a revolutionary plot.

While the fate of these citizens remained in suspense, the supposed hostility of a prince of the house of Bourbon led to the perpetration of an atrocious act of wanton cruelty. Louis duke d'Enghien, grandson of the prince De Condé, who had served among the royalists in the preceding war, was suddenly apprehended in the neutral territory of Baden by Caulincourt and a party of dragoons, conveyed to the castle of Vincennes, and accused of having solicited a commission in the British service, of being the leader of a body of armed emigrants, and of a participation in the late conspiracy. Being condemned after an irregular process by a military committee, he was conducted at night into the ditch of the castle, and shot by some Italian mercenaries. This outrage excited general horror even in France; but the terrors of despotism silenced the rising murmurs, and stifled the expressions of just indignation.

In the machinations imputed to Moreau and Pichegru, Mr. Drake, the English envoy at Munich, was implicated, by the report of the grand judge Regnier, who declared that the real object of that minister's mission was to find agents for the assassination of the first consul, and the propagation of treason and revolt in France. His alleged delinquency was announced, in an official note, to all the diplomatic residents at Paris; some of whose answers were so offensive to the British court, that a charge which would otherwise have been treated with silent contempt, was repelled with spirit by lord Hawkesbury, as far as it related to murderous plots: but the secretary did not deny, that some attention had been given to the schemes of the justly dissatisfied inhabitants of France, for liberating their country from a disgraceful yoke;—an interference which was allowed by the law of nations, and which the French government practised without hesitation in the case of Ireland.

While the people were in expectation of a legal process against the imprisoned enemies of Bonapartè, he amused them with a change of dignity, and allured the subjects of a nominal republic to an acquiescence in his assumption of imperial supremacy. The acquisition of the highest title of sovereignty, and its continuance in his family, had long been the great objects of his desire; and the conjuncture seemed particularly favourable to his views, when he had impressed the nation with a belief of the existence of treacherous conspiracies against him, which, it was supposed, would be more effectually obviated by the complete

establishment of his authority. The servile senate, acquainted with his wishes, and tutored by his devoted partisans, voted an address, proposing that he should be declared hereditary emperor of France. He gave a gracious answer to this pleasing proposal, which was repeated in a number of addresses both from civil and military bodies. The citizens of the capital recommended it, not merely as the grand point to which their own inclinations tended, but because it coincided with the general wish of the nation, expressed at the commencement of the revolution. A member of the tribunate, named Curée, submitted it to the consideration of that body; and, as it was reprobated only by the republican spirit of Carnot, it was adopted by the assembly, with a proviso that the constituted authorities, in regulating the intended establishment, should make all due provisions for securing and maintaining equality, liberty, and the rights of the people. When this resolution was communicated to the senate, the vice-president, Neufchateau, panegyrised the wisdom and patriotism of the tribunes, for having agreed to a measure which promised to be so beneficial to France; and, after an affected delay, as if a pre-meditated and pre-determined scheme required long deliberation, the assembly decreed that the imperial dignity should be granted to Napoleon and his descendants. May 18.

The president, Cambaceres, repairing to St. Cloud with his courtly brethren, intimated to the fortunate adventurer, that this decree was only the authentic expression of a wish previously manifested by the French people; that it made no addition either to his glory or his rights; that it was a tribute which the nation paid to its own dignity, and a mark of respect, attachment, and gratitude, to its defender and protector, and the restorer of order and justice. He replied, that he accepted the new title without hesitation, but that he would submit to the popular deliberation the point of hereditary succession. He immediately ordered four high appointments. His brothers Joseph and Louis, and the two citizens who had been his fellow-consuls, were respectively declared grand elector, constable, arch-chancellor, and arch-treasurer, of the empire. To his most distinguished generals he gave the title of marshal; and that this designation might not be debased by extension, it was limited to sixteen individuals, beside a few senators who were allowed to enjoy it.

The new decree included a modification of the preceding constitutional code. After declaring that the dignity of emperor of the French should be hereditary in the direct and legitimate descent of Napoleon, and permitting him, if he should have no

male issue, to adopt the children or grand children of his brothers, it fixed the mode of appointing a regent in case of minority, which was not to expire before the completion of the eighteenth year. The regent might be named by the reigning prince, or (on failure of such nomination) by the senate, first from his own family, and afterward from the number of those who held the five chief dignities of the empire. The possessors of these dignities, and all the great officers of the crown, were to be indulged, in case of removal, with the retention of their titles and privileges, and a moiety of their salaries, which they could only forfeit by a judicial sentence for delinquency. With regard to the senatorial assembly, it was to be partly formed by the emperor from lists of candidates presented by the electoral colleges, and partly from his spontaneous choice. The legislative body and the tribunate were, as in the former code, to be named by the senate. All laws were to originate from the sovereign, or to be proposed in his name; and it was stated that his delay in promulgating a law, beyond the tenth day from its presentation, should be equivalent to a rejection, unless it should be re-adopted by the legislature; even in which case it was not expressly declared that he was obliged or expected to enact it. A high imperial court was erected for the cognizance of crimes committed against the state, or of any offences imputed to dignified persons; the arch-chancellor was the president of this tribunal. The judges of the ordinary courts were appointed for life, and therefore had a shadow of independence, which, however, could not secure them against the general despotism of the government.

LETTER III.

Continuation of the History of Europe, to the Eruption of a War between Great Britain and Spain.

THE new plan of sovereignty in France was so artfully formed, and with such a seeming regard to the public weal, that the advocates of the pretensions of the encroaching family entertained a strong hope of its permanence: but, while the people seemed to favour the proposal, it was the influence of the army that led to its adoption. The only pretence for the elevation of

an adventurer to the supreme power was the expediency of substituting a man of courage and talent for a feeble scion of the hereditary stock: yet, when that point was secured upon the only basis on which it could rest, the principle of *elective* pretensions, the grossest inconsistency was betrayed in the revival of *hereditary* interest—a doctrine which the first consul, at the commencement of his career, was eager to explode.

An early opportunity of notifying Bonapartè's change of exterior dignity was taken by the French ministers at the different courts of Europe; and the majority of princes and states acknowledged Napoleon by his new title. But the king of Great Britain, unwilling to follow the example of William III., who acknowledged Philip V. of Spain, even while he meditated his dethronement, scorned the idea of giving his sanction to that assumption of authority which he would gladly have annulled; and the claimant of the French crown, whose pretensions seemed to be rendered almost hopeless by the ostensible confirmation of the usurper's power, protested against the conduct of the "senate of Paris," and declared that he conceived himself bound by a sense of his own rights, and of the concurrent rights of other sovereigns, to condemn the dangerous principles which that assembly had dared to promulgate. The exiled prince was then at Warsaw; and the French minister at Berlin was ordered to draw him from his asylum, by proposing that he should be sent by the king of Prussia into France, to answer for his concern in the conspiracy; but the insolent demand was not granted even by the too passive Frederic.

Before the judges took cognizance of the treasonable charges, Pichegru died in confinement. It was affirmed, that he had committed suicide; but it was supposed by many that he was murdered. Moreau was accused of aiming at the restoration of the house of Bourbon; and it appeared, on his trial, that Georges, hoping to profit by the disgust which the general felt at the usurpation and tyranny of Bonapartè, endeavoured to procure the concurrence of such a respectable citizen in a conspiracy; but it was not proved that any promises of concert had been given to the Chouan chief. Roland declared, that at his request, Moreau had twice consented to meet Pichegru; that, in the first conference, they did not seem to agree; but that, when the latter asked whether his friend would head a movement in favour of the royalists, this answer was given: "If you will act according to my opinion, the consuls must disappear; and, in that case, I may have sufficient influence to obtain the chief

authority." These expressions were denied by Moreau, and explained away by his advocate Bonnet.

As the abbé David had eagerly promoted an intercourse between the accused generals, he was examined on the subject; and he admitted that he had conceived the idea of approximating these great men to each other, because he was of opinion that their union might be useful to France. There was nothing treasonable in David's agency. Having found that Moreau was highly pleased at the proposal of renewed friendship, he undertook a journey to London, as the bearer of a letter to Pichegru; but, when he was on the point of embarkation, he was arrested at Calais. Another agent was Lajolais, whom Pichegru had sent to learn the precise sentiments of his former associate in arms; and who, although he only received general assurances of regard for the exiled citizen, was inclined to deduce conclusions so favourable to the views of the malcontents, that he ventured to represent Moreau as ready to engage in any scheme calculated for the subversion of the existing despotism. A strict concert, in the mean time, subsisted between Georges and Pichegru: and it was agreed, that an attempt should be made to seize Bonapartè in one of his rides from Paris to Saint-Cloud. To promote the conspiracy in person, Pichegru returned to France, surprising the general by an intimation of the readiness of the confederates to carry it into immediate effect, and requesting him to sanction it by his concurrence. Moreau, while he expressed a wish for the restoration of the royal family, stated the expediency of longer preparation, and of a gradual progress in the organization of the hazardous scheme; and therefore declined an immediate concern in it. But his friend, by earnest persuasion, prevailed upon him to enter so far into the league, as to promise that, if Georges and his associates should find an opportunity of executing the scheme of personal seizure, he would take the most active measures for protecting them against the vengeance of the tyrant's partizans¹.

After trials which were conducted with seeming impartiality, nineteen of the accused citizens were condemned to death.

June 9. Moreau, and four of his supposed accomplices, were sentenced to imprisonment for two years; and nineteen were acquitted. Georges and ten of his associates were subjected to the summary stroke of the guillotine. The lives of eight were spared; but they were ordered to remain in prison for four years, and to be subsequently banished. It was the earnest wish of the new

¹ *Some Details concerning General Moreau*, by Paul Svinine.

emperor, that Moreau should be capitally convicted : but, when he felt the pulse of the army, he found that the extremity of vengeance, in the case of so distinguished a general, would excite high indignation ; and even the judges were not disposed to gratify him in this respect. He therefore contented himself with the denunciation of a moderate punishment ; and it was intimated to Moreau, that he was at liberty to retire to North America.

A British officer, who had landed Pichegru and other exiles on the French coast, unfortunately fell into the hands of the enemy. He was soon discovered to be captain Wright, who had served under sir Sidney Smith, and had escaped with him from the Temple. As no confessions, tending to a development of the conspiracy, or to an explanation of the concern which Great Britain was supposed to have had in it, could be extorted from him, he was detained in confinement to the time of his death¹.

Elate with the splendour of the imperial dignity, and pleased with the idea of having impressed a salutary terror by the late acts of vengeance, Napoleon considered his power as so firmly established, that he might safely defy the indignation or the jealousy of foreign princes. He disregarded the remonstrances of the Russian emperor, who, assuming a prominent attitude, espoused the cause of offended Europe. Far from acknowledging the irregularity or the injustice of his conduct, he vindicated the seizure of the duke d'Enghien, as consistent with the law of nations, which could not justly protect a rebel, merely because he was at the distance of two leagues from the territory of that nation against which he was armed : and, when the retention of troops and assumption of power in various countries were mentioned by M. D'Oubril as legitimate grounds of interference, he evaded instead of answering the complaint. He haughtily desired Alexander to execute his own engagements, and not encourage the enemies of France, or violate the independence of other states, particularly animadverting on the change which that prince was said to have effected by his own authority in the government of the Ionian islands. The Russian minister declared that his sovereign had in no respect neglected his political obligations, while the French government, regardless of its stipulations Aug. 28. of concert with the court of Petersburg, withheld all indemnity from the king of Sardinia, subjected the king of Naples to military intimidation, domineered over the whole of Italy, sullied the honour of Germany by an unwarrantable arrest, and violated, by

¹ It is generally supposed, that he was first tortured, and then murdered.

the invasion of Hanover, the integrity of the imperial territory; and, in opposition to the statement respecting the sept-insular republic, he affirmed that the Russian troops had left that state to the occupancy of Neapolitans, with the concurrence of the people and the Turkish Emperor, and in consequence of a previous arrangement with France. As this extraordinary state of affairs had arisen solely from the conduct of France, it would depend, he said, on the moderation of the cabinet of St. Cloud, whether war should ensue or peace be continued.

Notwithstanding these mutual remonstrances, peace prevailed on the continent. The clouds which seemed to indicate a storm quietly passed away. No emotions corresponding with the feelings of Alexander were manifested by the princes or states of Germany. The elector of Baden patiently bore the insult offered to him by the French government, and trusted to the good intentions of its *exalted head*. Frederic William would not have remonstrated against a greater outrage; and Francis, while he witnessed the decline of the dignity of the empire, did not insist upon a reparation of the affront. Concluding that the title of *emperor* of Germany would soon become an empty name, this prince assumed that designation in the capacity of Austrian sovereign. It was his duty (he said) as chief of the house of Hapsburg, to maintain an equality of exterior dignity with the first powers of Europe; and he thought himself fully authorized to follow, in this respect, the example of Russia and of France. In announcing this determination, he disclaimed all intentions of resigning his lawful rights, and declared that his political relations and connexions with the Germanic body would remain unchanged. The king of Sweden objected to this arrangement, and proposed that it should be submitted to the consideration of the diet; but this reference was deemed unnecessary by the other princes of the imperial confederacy. Between Gustavus and Napoleon some altercation passed on the subject of the arbitrary arrest; and the king, offended at the invectives thrown out against him in the official print of the arrogant dictator, ordered a cessation of all intercourse, except that of trade, between Sweden and France.

The subjects of the United Provinces more severely felt, than those of any other state, the effects of French despotism. They were obliged to contribute largely to the support of a war in which they had no wish to engage: they were oppressed in every mode; and their patience or servility only exposed them to insult. Their concern in the war, however reluctant, threatened them with the loss of their colonies. A small force being sent from Barbadoes

a descent was made near the mouth of the Surinam river ; the inferior forts and batteries on both banks were stormed with inconsiderable loss ; and the garrison of Fort Amsterdam then capitulated, although eighty pieces of artillery were mounted for its defence.

Few maritime exploits distinguished the second year of the war. Rear-admiral Linois, sailing from the isle of France to the Indian ocean, captured many British vessels ; and, meeting with a large fleet belonging to the company, he was tempted by the desire of spoil, and yet unwilling to risk a general attack, as these ships were not destitute of guns. He had one ship of the line, three frigates, and a brig : the trading fleet consisted of fifteen vessels. The captains offered battle ; but he remained at a distance. He at length ventured to approach the rear, in the hope of cutting off a part of the fleet ; but, when three ships tacked and bore down upon him, he fired with little effect, and then retreated. The exertions of captain Dance and his associates, for the preservation of such a mass of valuable property, were rewarded by the company, and honoured with general applause.

An attack was made by sir Sidney Smith upon the flotilla which had been equipped at Flushing for the invasion of our island : but the fortifications and gun-boats of Ostend, and the firing from a camp near the shore, so powerfully aided the operations of the praams and schooners, that only a small number could be sunken or irreparably injured. In the autumn, a feeble attempt was made for the destruction of the flotilla at Boulogne by the use of *catamarans*, or fire-machines of a new construction. The scheme at first excited horror among the French ; but, when its inefficacy was witnessed, it produced derision ; and, by the British community, it was assailed with sarcasm and ridicule, although an able and meritorious officer was employed in its execution. Lord Keith selected some of his best officers for this service ; and, at night, several floating caissons, filled with combustibles, prepared to explode mechanically, were sent against the enemy's vessels ; but they blew up with little effect.

A greater loss of lives than Great Britain sustained in any of the naval conflicts of the year, arose from the calamity of shipwreck. A commercial fleet, bound to the West Indies, met with tempestuous weather in the spring near the coast of Portugal : about thirty-five vessels, beside the Apollo frigate, were wrecked ; and some of them were overwhelmed by the waves with all who were on board.

There was little employment, at this time, for the military force

of Great Britain: but the probability of an extension of the war, suggested by the state and circumstances of Spain, flattered the naval servants of the public with the hopes of triumph. In the mean time, the contending nations were not disposed to recede from their respective pretensions, as each had a high opinion of the extent of those resources which would maintain public dignity, and provide for the general safety.

After a formal and splendid coronation, in which the pope meanly officiated, Napoleon opened a new session of the legislative body. He then exhibited, by the medium of Champagne, a pompous display of the flourishing state of France. The first object of notice was the tranquillity of the country, equal to that of the calmest periods. Mutual harmony and confidence, said the minister, prevailed between the nation and the government; and the improvement of public and private property attested the progress of security. This safety had been more effectually established by the change of the republic into an hereditary empire;—a change not imposed upon the people by arbitrary influence or commanding authority, but produced by the free and unfettered will of the community. By the concomitant regulations, greater lustre and impression had been given to the functions of a legislator; the office of a judge had been rendered more respectable, and his impartiality was better secured; high trusts and employments were brought within the probable reach of all; and the rights of the citizens were as fully guaranteed as those of the sovereign. A new criminal code was on the point of adoption; and such schemes of law as had been matured by long discussion would be submitted to the deliberation of the popular representatives. The schools both of primary and progressive instruction were well conducted; and the arts and sciences were far from declining. Commerce had resumed its activity; and, in various branches of manufacture which were connected with the use of machinery, the skill of the French rivalled the boasted eminence of the English. Agriculture was prosecuted with great industry, and in the most intelligent manner; and a multiplication of the true riches of the state struck every eye. Increasing wealth had enlarged the bounds of beneficence, which did not confine itself to the liberality of the moment, but, by patronising charitable establishments, extended its blessings to futurity. This exercise of good-will toward mankind was encouraged by a sense of religion, which, accompanied by a wise toleration, had resumed its empire in France.

Adverting to the army and navy, the orator spoke favourably

of both establishments, affirming that the latter was in a better state than it had been for the ten preceding years, and that the military force was never before so numerous or so well organized. The finances, he added, were in a good train, and all the burthens of the war might be sustained without serious injury. He applauded the conduct of Spain, in resisting the aggressive violence of Great Britain; complimented the Austrian emperor on his attention to the arts of peace; represented the king of Prussia, and all other German princes and states, as the friends of France; commended the temperate and judicious policy of Denmark; contemptuously omitted all mention of Sweden; and hinted that the Russian potentate would act wisely in cultivating the friendship of the new emperor, not only with a view to his commercial relations, but also to the balance of European power. He concluded his frothy effusion by animadverting on the folly and animosity of that government which had rushed into a war without motive or object, and which, having thus entangled itself, would never obtain from the French any other conditions of peace than those of Amiens.

This haughty manifestation of Napoleon's sentiments had scarcely reached our island, when a renewal of pacification Jan. 2, was proposed, in a letter written by himself to the British 1805. sovereign. He requested his royal adversary to consider, that all hopes of forming a continental coalition against France were apparently fallacious; to relinquish a contest which could not produce any gratifying result to a prince who had already attained the height of prosperity; to desist from adding colonies to those territorial dependencies of which he had a superabundance; and to sacrifice resentment at the shrine of humanity. This communication was rather evaded than answered. Lord Mulgrave assured M. Talleyrand, that the king had no object more at heart than the attainment of an honourable and secure peace: but that, as the safety and tranquillity of Europe ought, in his opinion, to be combined with the interests of his dominions, it seemed to be his duty, and it was certainly his wish, to consult those princes with whom he was engaged in confidential connexions and relations, particularly the Russian emperor, "who had given the strongest proofs of the wisdom and elevation of his sentiments, and of the lively interest which he took in the safety and independence of the continent." Similar remarks were introduced into the speech which the king addressed to the two houses Jan. 15. at the commencement of the next session; and he, at the same time, took notice of the evident subjection of his catholic

majesty to the influence and control of France, which had recently impelled that prince into a denunciation of war.

By the treaty of St. Ildefonso, Spain had bound herself to assist France with all her disposable force, whenever her aid might be required for any hostile purpose: but, instead of sending a naval or military force in the present war, she had agreed to the payment of a monthly subsidy. The British minister at Madrid had remonstrated against this grant; promising, however, not to resent it by arms, if no other violations of neutrality should be committed. A report of preparations in some of the Spanish ports led to another expostulation; and it was intimated by the king's representative, that, unless all armaments should cease, and the sale of prizes be prohibited, he would quit the court to which he had been deputed. It was only on the latter and less material point that satisfaction was obtained. As the court continued to favour the French with the use of its treasures, and to make preparations which indicated an intention of arming, the remonstrances assumed a more peremptory tone; and, as the answers were evasive, the complaining minister left Madrid. Before this indication of a rupture occurred, an attack had been made upon a Spanish squadron returning from South America with treasure and valuable merchandize, in consequence of the refusal of its commander to submit to an arbitrary detention. After a short engagement three of the vessels were captured; and one blew up during the action, with the loss of all the passengers and crew, except the lieutenant and forty men, who were rescued from death by the English sailors.

LETTER IV.

Sequel of the History of Europe, to the Naval Engagement of Trafalgar.

THE attack upon the Spanish fleet can only be vindicated on the plea of expediency or of policy: it cannot be justified by any arguments drawn from reason or from equity. The British court boasted of its *exemplary moderation*; but this aggression was no proof of the justice of such self-commendation. So little injury had been received from Spain since the renewal of hos-

ilities with France, that no serious vengeance was due to that power. If the Spaniards had acted openly in support of the French, it was lawful to treat them as enemies: but the mere injury which might result from the transfer of a part of their treasure to France, was not to be compared with that depreciation which the moral character of Great Britain might suffer from the outrage. These observations will be derided by the loose morality of a statesman; but his ridicule will be despised by more reasonable and conscientious men.

The hostile declaration, on the part of the king of Spain, did not immediately follow the seizure of his ships. He seemed desirous of waiting for farther acts of hostility; and he then denounced war in a spirited and indignant manifesto¹. As Great Britain had apparently invited the challenge, it was readily accepted, and boldly answered: yet not without the expression of an eager wish for the resumption of a "state of peace and confidence with a nation which had so many ties of common interest" to connect it with this country. The conduct which led to this extension of the war was strongly reprobated by lord Grenville, Mr. Grey, and other senators. It was defended by the king's advocate on the ground of precedent; but the learned civilian ought to have known, that no precedents could sanction injustice. Both houses voted in favour of the war, by a great superiority of number. Seamen and marines, to the amount of 120,000, were allowed; the land force was so far augmented as to exceed 135,000 men; and the act of the preceding year for an additional force was suffered to remain unrepealed, although it was warmly assailed as an ineffective measure. The supplies of the year were elevated to an extraordinary amount: they exceeded fifty-five millions and a half. The French, on the contrary, reduced their expenditure, which they said would not exceed 684 millions of francs². Jan. 24. 1805.

An investigation of the official delinquency of the viscount Melville gave unusual interest to the parliamentary session. The trial of a minister of state, before the highest court in the realm, necessarily attracts general attention, in a country that prides itself on the freedom of its constitution, and which consequently feels the violent agitations of party; and the deliberations of the national representatives, preparatory to impeachment, are proportionally interesting. In one of the reports resulting from a

¹ On the 12th of December, 1804.

² About twenty-eight millions and a half, in pounds sterling.

commission of naval inquiry, it appeared that lord Melville had either withdrawn from the Bank of England, for the purposes of private emolument, different sums assigned to him as treasurer of the navy, or had suffered a similar misapplication to be practised by public officers, for whose integrity he was responsible. The keen eye of Mr. Whitbread having discovered this flaw in the character of a veteran minister, he thought it his duty to submit the affair to strict investigation, with a view to the infliction of punishment or censure. The commissioners, he said, had examined his lordship and Mr. Trotter, his agent and paymaster; but no satisfactory explanation of the pecuniary deficiencies in their department could be procured. It was well known that the latter had speculated largely in the funds, and had amply profited by this species of adventure, as well as by other modes of pecuniary accumulation; and, as he was poor at the commencement of his official career, it was more than probable that he had employed the public money in his speculations. Even if his lordship had not shared the spoil, his connivance at the unjustifiable conduct of his friend rendered him liable to impeachment. Mr Pitt did not wish to encourage the violation of acts of parliament, or the misapplication of the national treasure; but he contended for the occasional expediency of transferring money from one service to another, and denied that the report authorized the suspicion of actual loss or detriment. Lord Henry Petty said, that if no loss had been sustained, great risk of loss had been incurred; and that the evasion of fair inquiry, during an examination, justified the interference of the house. Mr. Fox affirmed, that the public lost considerably upon the discount of the navy bills, in consequence of the temporary embezzlement; and, as the viscount had confessed that he had suffered the paymaster to derive benefit from the use of the public money, a regard to justice required his prosecution. The opinion of Mr. Wilberforce favoured a judicial process, for which he said, the voice of the people and the honour of the house loudly called. When the question was put to the usual test, an equality of number appeared on each side; and the speaker's vote, being thus rendered necessary, was given in support of the charge¹.

The leaders of opposition were not unacquainted with the want of harmony in the cabinet, or with the difficulty which the

¹ In such cases it is generally expected that the speaker of the house should gratify the people, rather than the court, by his decision.

declining influence of Mr. Pitt found in enforcing complete obedience to his mandates ; but they had no expectation of obtaining the sanction of a majority of votes for this bold attack. The public exulted in the idea of bringing an unworthy minister to justice ; and however inclined was the premier to retain lord Melville in the public service, he could not refrain from advising the resignation of his seat at the board of admiralty, as Mr. Whitbread threatened him with the proposal of an address for his immediate dismissal. It was found difficult to procure a successor whose appointment would give general satisfaction ; but, when several friends of the court had declined the honour and the responsibility, lord Barham accepted the vacant presidency. Not satisfied with the alleged resignation, Mr. Whitbread moved, that the king should be requested, by an address, to remove lord Melville from all offices holden during pleasure, and from his councils and presence for ever. As this motion was warmly resisted, he consented to waive it, if the vote of inculcation should be communicated to his majesty by the whole house. The royal answer was respectful but vague ; and the name of the viscount was not erased from the council-book before the reluctance of his majesty had been noticed in the house with surprise and disgust.

When an intended motion of impeachment was announced, lord Melville requested permission to defend himself ; but his denial of all participation in the unlawful profits of Mr. Trotter did not induce the majority of the commons to desist from the prosecution. After some debates respecting the mode of process he was impeached, before the house of lords, of high crimes and misdemeanours ; but the trial was postponed to another session.

In the progress of this measure, a contest connected with religion occurred, to animate the zeal of party, and divide the sentiments even of true patriots. The catholics of Ireland, or rather their opulent and titled leaders, loudly complained of their exclusion from corporations, from high offices, and from a seat in parliament ; and it was resolved, at a meeting of these sectaries, that a petition should be presented to each house, for the extinction of those “incapacities, restraints, and privations, which affected them with peculiar severity in almost every station of life,” and for the abolition of the “humiliating and ignominious system of exclusion, reproach, and suspicion,” which some unrepealed statutes generated and kept alive. Boasting of their regard for the best constitution that had ever been established,

they prayed that they might be restored to such a full enjoyment of its benefits, as might animate them to an enthusiastic defence of the government. In one house lord Grenville was their principal advocate; in the other assembly Mr. Fox took the lead in the recommendation of their claims. It was argued in their favour, that a difference of religious sentiments ought not to be considered as a bar to the possession of civil rights; that all citizens had equal pretensions to the honours and emoluments of the state, unless it should be clearly proved that their known and avowed opinions were incompatible with the spirit of the constitution and the security of the protestant establishment; that not only the peremptory declarations, but the solemn oaths, of the catholics removed or allayed the apprehensions of danger in these respects; and that their comparative weakness, with reference to the whole population of the united kingdom, operated also against protestant fears. It was farther remarked, that, if they could not be safely trusted with power, too much had already been conceded to them; but that, as the danger was either entirely visionary, or too trifling to justify alarm, all their claims might reasonably be granted, so as, by the promotion of concord, to consolidate the strength of the empire. On the other hand, it was alleged, that every state had a lawful power of confining its offices and favours to those who were most interested in its support; that, even if toleration might be claimed as a right, political power stood on a different ground; that, in an establishment to which protestantism was so essential that even the sovereign was not allowed to profess any other faith, the admission of the enemies of that religion into high employments, or into the legislative body, would be a manifest solecism and a palpable inconsistency; that the refusal of the catholics to acknowledge the king's ecclesiastical supremacy, and their recognition of a foreign jurisdiction (which, however they might pretend to confine it to spiritual affairs, could not be prevented, among the zealots, from encroaching on civil concerns), rendered the desired acquiescence impolitic and hazardous; that their zeal of proselytism would increase with the means of exercising it; and that the nation might gradually lose its predominant character. Mr. Pitt was, in his heart, friendly to the object of the petition; but, as a very powerful obstacle seemed to preclude success, and as the greater part of the nation appeared to be disinclined to the measure, he opposed the motion for its reference to a committee. In the house of peers the proposal was rejected by a plurality of 129 votes; and, among the commons, the unfavour-

able excess amounted to 212. The result of these debates did not surprise the catholic associates; but they trusted to perseverance for final success.

The majority of those senators who, from motives of liberality, were disposed to relieve the professors of the Romish religion, were equally ready to put an end to that traffic which invaded the civil rights of the Africans; but the renewed exertions of the opposers of this unjustifiable species of commerce were baffled, in a thin house, by mercantile influence; yet the closeness of the contest gave hopes, that another trial of strength would disappoint the zeal of self-interest and rapacity. For the honour of the parliament and the nation, the abolition of the slave trade ought to have been voted, as soon as it was proposed, by a simultaneous burst of acclamation.

While the proceedings against lord Melville occupied the attention of the parliament, a session of the Batavian legislature, consequent on the new constitution adopted by that republic, commenced. It was alleged, as a reason for an alteration of the political code, that the fabric of the state seemed to be tottering, and that wisdom and vigour were necessary for its support. By the new plan the supreme power was vested in the pensionary and an assembly of nineteen deputies, nominated by the administrative authorities of the eight departments. The pensionary was to be elected for five years by these representatives of the nation; but the first who might be chosen would be allowed to retain his post to the expiration of five years after the conclusion of peace with Great Britain. He was authorized to constitute a council of state, and to appoint all the ministers and political officers, and all the judges, except those of the national tribunal. He was to be the sole proposer of laws, which were to be approved or rejected, without the smallest alteration, by the legislative assembly. All acts of government were to be brought forward in the name of *their high mightinesses*, as the deputies according to the old style were called; but the pensionary was invested with the highest authority of the state, in political, civil, and ecclesiastical affairs, and indeed in every object that was connected with the ordinary and regular administration of the country. He was not, however, allowed to declare war without a previous resolution of the deputies, to whom also the confirmation of treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce, exclusively appertained. They were to have two sessions in a year, besides such extraordinary convocations as he might be disposed to order. One-third of the number would be annually required to resign

their situations to others, unless the departments should deem them worthy of re-election. The members were not bound to comply with the instructions of their constituents, as it was concluded that only men of sense and patriots would be chosen, or perhaps because it was supposed that a reference to the opinions of the electors would give a popular bias to the government; yet, from the inconsiderable number of the electors, there was little fear of that preponderance. Upon the whole, the new code tended to establish an oligarchy, unfavourable to the just claims of the people; and it did not preclude the disgraceful subserviency of the republic to the will of the despot of France. The pensionary Schimmelpenninck was an admirer of Napoleon; and, when he proposed to the new assembly the adoption of such a plan as might render taxation more regular and proportional, and the introduction of other schemes of reform, he congratulated the members on the influence which that great man had acquired over their nation, and boasted of the promised aid of his illustrious patron.

Far from being inclined to negotiate with the French government, the British minister exerted all his influence, during the session, for the promotion of a new confederacy against the domineering nation. Mr. Fox warned him of the danger of a partial league, which might eventually increase the power of France, by affording an easy triumph to the arms of Napoleon; but the premier misrepresented and ridiculed the seasonable caution, as if his opponent had said, that no concert whatever ought to be formed, because there was a possibility of its being more injurious than beneficial; and he eagerly prosecuted his object, accompanying his persuasions with the offer of such subsidies as might enable the princes to put their respective armies in motion. His strong representations of the danger of a tame acquiescence in the aggrandisement of Bonapartè, induced the emperor of Russia to give his assent to a preliminary agreement, by which he bound himself to assist in the formation of a general April 11. league, calculated to stem the torrent of French ambition, and to establish a firm barrier against future encroachments upon the independence and the rights of other nations. The Austrian potentate did not so readily listen to the proposals of Great Britain; but his reluctance to a new war at length yielded to his indignation and alarm at the renewal of usurpatory injustice in Italy.

The easy acquisition of the imperial diadem of France, instead of satisfying the ambition of Napoleon, prompted him, after a

display of modest forbearance for the short term of a year, to aim at the augmentation of his dignity and power in Italy. The title of president of a republic was less imposing and magnificent than the style of royalty ; and, at a time when a storm seemed to threaten the political horizon of Europe, a pretence for the change was found without difficulty in the expediency of strengthening that government which was too weak for preservation and durability. At the request of the constituted authorities of the Italian republic, Napoleon consented to become king of Italy ; assuming for *a part* of that country, a general appellation which implied an intention of embracing the first opportunity of seizing *the whole*. He repaired in pompous procession from the palace to the cathedral of Milan, and, amidst a revival of the ancient ceremonies, he took the iron crown from the altar, May 26. and placed it upon his head, denouncing vengeance against all who should attempt to wrest from him what God had given to him. A new constitution, calculated to suit the change of government, was prepared for the realm. Bonapartè and his counsellors were so accustomed to the fabrication of new codes, that, in their hands, the task was short and easy.

As I have, in a former letter, given the outlines of four constitutions emanating from the French school, it will not be necessary to state the particulars of the code now assigned to the kingdom of Italy. It was granted as an indulgence to the cherished republic of the hero of Lodi, to whom it still left high power and commanding influence.

As that kingdom, while its sovereign was also emperor of France, resembled a province more than an independent realm, Bonapartè condescended to gratify the national pride, in his compact with the people, by agreeing to the separation of the crowns in the event of his death, and insisting upon the residence of his successors within the limits of the realm ; and that his absence might be the less severely felt, he nominated a viceroy in the person of Beauharnois (son of his wife Josephine), whose courage and talents, he said, would enable him to defend the state and establish its prosperity. It was sufficient for him, however, if the exertions of his representative should secure its dependence upon the French empire.

The indignation felt by Austria and Great Britain at this conduct did not equal that which was excited by the treatment of the Ligurian republic. By a recent treaty, the doge had engaged to afford maritime aid to the French during the war ; but, as this was an imperfect advantage, Bonapartè had recourse to that in-

corporation which, he hoped, would elevate his authority over the Genoese beyond all control. The over-awed doge, and the inferior authorities, surrendered their power: and the territories of the republic were annexed to the great empire.

Before the emperor of Russia would enter into a war with France, he resolved to try the effect of negotiation, and sent the baron Novosiltzoff to propose terms of accommodation; but, when the envoy had only reached Berlin, he was recalled by his sovereign, in consequence of the seizure of Genoa. The Austrian ambassador at Paris also complained of that arbitrary act; but expressed an earnest wish for the amicable adjustment of all disputes. In replying to this intimation, Talleyrand acrimoniously animadverted on the conduct of Russia and Great Britain, while he endeavoured to cajole Austria into forbearance and neutrality. In a subsequent note, he assumed a less moderate tone toward the court of Vienna, demanding a speedy reduction of its army, and requiring that a determination of strict neutrality should be announced, with the view of extinguishing the hopes of a formidable coalition, entertained by the British monarch. Encouraged by the offer of Alexander to enter upon a regular negotiation, if the ruler of France would assent to it, and at the same time to send two armies to the Danube, for the enforcement of just demands, Francis made another application to the tyrant of France for a due observance of the peace of Luneville, and, referring to the French preparations in Italy, declared his intention of taking arms for his own security and the maintenance of that treaty; adding, that he was still ready to treat, in concert with Russia, and to accept those terms which a sincere desire of peace would induce a just and moderate prince to offer. To repel the effect of an address from the French minister at Ratisbon to the imperial diet, complaining of the hostile attitude of Austria, he repeated his wish for peace, and affirmed that France did not feel the same desire, as that state of affairs could not be called peace, in which one great power alone kept up its armies, and proceeded without opposition in the career of tyranny, insulting and oppressing inoffensive states. He also asserted, that several princes of the frontier circles had been instigated by the French to take arms against him; but he trusted that the greater part of the Germanic body would be convinced of the dangerous tendency of such unwarrantable proceedings.

Having acceded to the alliance proposed by Great Britain, when all prospect of obtaining reasonable terms from Napoleon had vanished, Francis ordered his troops to enter Bavaria. The sub-

serviency of the elector to France had remained unchanged since the settlement of the indemnities. He knew that the observance of neutrality was impracticable between such haughty rivals as France and Austria; and, as he dreaded the vengeance of the Corsican more than the resentment of the German potentate, he made preparations for joining the expected invaders of the empire. He amused the prince of Swartzenberg with a promise of military co-operation; but, on the approach of the Austrian army, he quitted his capital, and his troops retired into Franconia. In a manifesto which he issued from Wurtzburg, he reprobated the arbitrary conduct of Francis, and declared that, to avoid a compliance with the dishonourable terms upon which that prince insisted, particularly with the alternative of such an incorporation of his troops as would merge and absorb them in the Austrian force, or their total disbandment, he had accepted the offered protection of Napoleon, upon whose friendship he could safely depend.

Pleased at the intelligence which the fugitive elector transmitted to France, Bonapartè stated to the senate the outrageous aggression of the Austrian emperor, who, still pretending to wish for peace, and to lament the delay of negotiation, had driven one of the allies of France from the seat of his government, and meditated farther hostilities. His own inclination for peace, he said, must now give way to a vindication of the insulted honour of the French empire. If the new coalition should not be crushed, an ignominious peace would be enforced, and the glory of the great nation would be eclipsed: but so strong was his confidence in the zeal and courage of his military subjects, that he looked forward to the most triumphant success.

While these seeds of animosity were germinating into a new war, that which already existed was prosecuted at sea with reciprocal zeal, and, on the part of Great Britain, with remarkable and signal success. As soon as it was discovered that a squadron under Ville-Neuve had found an opportunity of sailing from the harbour of Toulon, an alertness of search testified the eagerness of the British seamen to overtake or meet the bold commander: but sir John Orde had not a sufficient force off Cadiz to prevent a junction between the French and Spanish fleets, which then proceeded to the West Indies. Lord Nelson directed his course to the same part of the world; but, not finding the enemy in the western hemisphere, he returned to the coast of Spain with unexampled rapidity.

The report of Nelson's voyage produced a return of the com-

bined fleet to Europe; and, when it appeared in the direction of Ferrol, sir Robert Calder, with a force greatly inferior, brought it to action, and captured two ships of the line. Being soon after considerably reinforced, the enemy sailed to Cadiz, where an imperfect blockade was maintained for a time by Calder and Collingwood. On the recal of the former, Nelson was invested with the chief naval command from the bay of Cadiz to the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean, and indulged with an extraordinary latitude of discretionary power. He now earnestly wished to encourage the egress of the hostile fleet, which, being tempted by its magnitude to defy the English, appeared at the distance of four or five leagues from Cape Trafalgar. It consisted of eighteen French and fifteen Spanish ships of the line, seven frigates, and eight corvettes. In the disposition of the vessels, no regard to national distinction appeared: all might have been supposed to belong to the same government. To oppose this great force, lord Nelson had only twenty-seven sail of the line, which only animated the hero of the Nile to a renewed display of skill and courage. He confidently hoped to destroy or capture a great part of the armament: yet he was apprehensive, that, by the favour of the wind, an escape to Cadiz might be attempted with success.

Nothing could more highly please him than the apparent determination of the enemy to give him an opportunity of contest. The adverse line exhibited an aspect of novelty: it formed "a crescent, convexing to leeward." A new mode of attack was also adopted by the British admiral. To avoid the delay which would have attended the usual arrangements, and to preclude the necessity of a multiplicity of signals, he ordered the fleet to advance in two columns, his own ship the *Victory* heading the van, and the *Royal Sovereign* (lord Collingwood's flag-ship) conducting the rear. It was his wish, indeed, that the captain of each vessel should get into close action as soon as possible, without regard to technical regularity. Some of the officers hinted the expediency of securing his valuable life by remaining in the rear: but he rejected the advice without hesitation, and assigned, as his reason, the force of example¹. He even displayed on his dress a profusion of badges of honour, by which, on the momentary dispersion of the smoke, he could be discerned, and marked out for vengeance.

¹ "And probably he was right," says captain Blackwood: yet there is little doubt that the natural courage of the seamen, and the spirit which he had infused into the service, would have ensured a brilliant victory, even if their commander, content with giving preliminary directions, had abstained from a personal share in the engagement.

When the ships were advancing, he gave, as a signal, these memorable words: "England expects that every man will do his duty;"—an interesting appeal, which was received with loud acclamations. He then said to a friend, "I can do no more. We must trust to the Great Disposer of all events, and to the justice of our cause. I thank God for this great opportunity of doing my duty."

Boldly pressing forward, the admiral was saluted by a furious discharge from the Bucentaur, the ship of Ville-^{Oct. 21.} Neuve. Three other discharges followed before he returned the fire; and a broadside was then given, which made dreadful havoc in the crowded ship; which was so injured by farther attacks, that its flag ceased to be hoisted. The Redoubtable was then exposed to all the vigour of Nelson's fire: and was soon reduced to a dangerous state: but the rifle-men pouring volleys of musquetry from the tops, the admiral received in his left shoulder a bullet, which, passing through the spine, lodged in the muscles of his back. He instantly fell, and the wound being examined was found to be mortal. In the mean time, the battle raged with horrible carnage: and, after a conflict of three hours, the enemy's line gave way. So close was the fight, that a British vessel was boarded by the crew of two ships at the same time: but the intruders were driven out, and the ensigns of the allied nations were torn down with indignation. Ten ships had surrendered before the admiral expired; and thus the lustre of victory cheered him in his last moments. One of the captured vessels took fire through the mismanagement of some of the crew, and exploded with destructive effect; but about 200 of the men were saved by the active humanity of the conquerors. Gravina, the Spanish admiral, fled towards Cadiz with ten ships, and four others, after a short renewal of action, also retired¹.

The wind, which was moderate during the engagement, increased soon after to a gale, so as to involve the victorious fleet in great danger. Among the last words of lord Nelson, were repeated orders to bring the ships to anchor; but, when a signal was made for that purpose, it could not be completely obeyed. The fleet, however, passed the night without serious injury. The next morning attempts were made to secure the supposed prizes; and many were towed off to the westward: but the violence of the wind rendered this service so extremely difficult, that lord Collingwood resolved to destroy all those which could not be

¹ *London Gazette Extraordinary*, of Nov. 6.—*Life of Lord Nelson*, by Clarke and Mac Arthur.

brought off. Having cleared the *Santissima Trinidad* of her men, some officers achieved the task of sinking the largest ship that any fleet in the world could exhibit. The *Redoubtable* foundered while in tow: one was forcibly sunken: another was burned; and some were wrecked, with the loss of almost all the men who had escaped from the murderous havoc of the battle. Four prizes reached Gibraltar: fifteen were destroyed or lost; and, of the fourteen which retreated, six were wrecked, and four, in the ensuing month, were captured, after a very spirited resistance, by sir Richard Strachan.

It was impossible to obtain so signal a victory without very severe loss. According to the official statement, 423 of our seamen and marines lost their lives in the action, and 1164 were wounded. The greatest number of deaths occurred in the *Royal Sovereign* and the *Téméraire*; while the *Colossus* had many more wounded than any other ship. Of the enemy's loss, no accurate or probable account has been given: but it must have very far exceeded that which the conquerors sustained¹. The French rear-admiral Magon fell in the action, and vice-admiral Alava died of his wounds: the most distinguished prisoners were *Ville-Neuve* and the Spanish rear-admiral Cisneros.

The admiral's death was lamented as a national calamity. It threw a gloom over the joy of victory, and damped the rising spirit of exultation. But, amidst the general grief, it was some consolation to reflect, that, if no commander equal to him in every respect survived, many gallant, skilful, and experienced naval officers remained to uphold the fame of Great Britain, and prevent a revival of the maritime power of the enemy.

No man ever entertained a stronger predilection for the naval service than lord Nelson. It was the object of his early choice, and the boast of his mature age. He was not qualified by courage alone to adorn his profession, but by sagacity, judgment, and discrimination. Vigour without wanton impetuosity, and decision without rashness, marked his conduct. He was of opinion, that the strongest measures were the best: but he did not enforce them before he had discovered, with intuitive quickness, the most seasonable conjuncture for their accomplishment. Vanity and prejudice are imputed to him; and that hew as not altogether free from those failings, his best friends are disposed to admit. He was, however, a warm friend to real merit, and

¹ It is stated as a certainty, in the *Annual Register*, that 584 men were killed or wounded in the *Bucentaur*, by the terrific discharge from the *Victory*; but this assertion seems incredible.

frequently opposed the ministerial practice of promoting less worthy or capable men from interest or partiality. Under the most prodigal of all ministers, he was economical in the disposal of the public money assigned to his department, yet not so parsimonious as to injure the service.

LETTER V.

Sequel of European History, including a new Continental War.

ALL the pride and arrogance of the tyrant of France, A.D. and his exalted opinion of his authority and influence, 1805. could not conceal from his view the important truth, that his power at sea was far from being commensurate with that which he exercised by land. By the imposing efficacy of a numerous and servile army, he could dictate his will to princes and states, formerly independent; while, in the other species of power, he was so obviously deficient, that it required extraordinary courage even to prevent a fleet from rotting in his harbours. The severe blow which the late splendid victory inflicted upon his navy, was not calculated to prompt him to a renewal of maritime audacity; and it contributed, more than any other incident of the war, to the removal of that dread of invasion which had diffused a gloom over the minds of a considerable portion of the British community. It was Napoleon's intention to employ the Spanish fleet, in concert with all the ships which he might find an opportunity of sending forth, for the execution of his repeated menaces; but the acute mind and vigorous arm of Nelson paralysed the naval strength of the boastful potentate, and dissolved in air the vision which had flattered his fancy.

He consoled himself for this misfortune with the prospect of defeating the principal Austrian army, before the Russians should have an opportunity of co-operation. He treated with contempt the hostilities of the king of Sweden, who had concluded a treaty of confederacy with Alexander, and who, in consideration of a subsidy payable by Great Britain, engaged to strengthen the garrison of Stralsund, and to send twelve thousand men into the field.

The pompous boasts of Gustavus, who seemed to consider him-

self as the Agamemnon of the confederacy, were by no means realized. By one of the articles of his treaty with the Russian emperor, he was to act as commander of the army which that prince had engaged to send into Germany; and he declared that he would immediately invade the territories of the Batavian republic, with a view of effecting a counter-revolution. He also directed his attention to the recovery and protection of the Hanoverian dominions, thus anticipating the supposed views of the king of Prussia; of whose intentions, with regard to the new coalition, he demanded an explicit statement. Alexander, who was then at Berlin, had prevailed upon Frederic William to promise that he would enter into the confederacy; and, as the delivery of the letter from Gustavus was not deemed necessary, he dissuaded the envoy from presenting it. This interference so offended the king, that he renounced the command of the Russian troops, and would not permit any part of his own army to advance from Pomerania. A delay of action was the consequence of this frivolous dispute; and, in the mean time, the French were prosecuting a career of success.

The French army, in six divisions, amounting to 140,000 men, advanced to the Rhine, and found an easy entrance into Germany. Bernadotte, Marmont, Davoust, Soult, Ney, and Lasnes, were the generals to whom Napoleon had committed, under his own eye, the conduct of the war. He passed the Rhine at Kehl, while the troops were moving towards the Danube. Instead of passing by an expected *route*, the two first divisions, reinforced by a Bavarian army, violated the neutrality of Prussia, by marching through the Franconian territories subject to Frederic. Remonstrances were made against this insult; but they were answered by scornful defiance; and the invaders, having passed the Danube, menaced the rear of the Austrians.

An injudicious choice of a general betrayed the weakness of the imperial cabinet. Notwithstanding the repugnance of the archduke Charles to the appointment of Mack, that officer was elevated to the chief command of the army in Germany. He was boastful, and apparently bold in the cabinet; but his courage did not rise to the height or dignity of resolution: he had no acuteness of discernment or comprehension of mind; his military skill was very imperfect; and he was more fit to receive orders than qualified for command. Deluded by feigned movements, he fancied that the French intended to penetrate through the Black Forest, and directed his whole attention to the defence of Suabia.

The advance of Soult to Donawert, and of Murat to the Lech, produced partial conflicts, favourable to the French ; who, proceeding to Wirtingen, defeated a strong detachment, and captured the greater part. Augsburg and Ingolstadt were seized by different divisions ; and Ney, encountering the archduke Ferdinand at Guntzburg, stormed the post, and made considerable havoc among its defenders. General Mack, in the meantime, occupied an entrenched position between Ulm and Memmingen. A part of his army, being attacked by Ney's advanced guard near the former town, fought with a spirit which repelled the enemy, who suffered severely on the occasion ; but the arrival of a reinforcement rescued the assailants from ruin. The conduct of Mack was so extraordinary, as to be attributed to corruption and treachery. Advancing beyond the reach of Russian aid, he had brought the army into a situation of great danger, and neglected all the means of extrication ; or, if he gave any directions which seemed just or reasonable, the opportunity of execution was suffered to elapse. The activity and vigilance of the French enabled them to profit by his hesitation and want of skill. Soult appeared with his division, and, by encompassing Memmingen, prevented the meditated escape of the garrison. The governor capitulated, and nine battalions became prisoners of war. A more important attempt was the investment of the army, now concentrated in Ulm and its vicinity. On the approach of the French a battle ensued near Elchingen ; it was so vigorously contested, that great loss was sustained on both sides. The enemy at length prevailed by superiority of number, and seized the disputed post ; and other advantages were obtained, over folly and indecision, by judgment and vigour.

Unwilling to share the expected fate of the army at Ulm, Ferdinand resolved to attempt an escape. Two divisions had been already sent away in the direction of Bohemia ; but they did not effect their retreat without a very great diminution of their force. In a stormy night the archduke retired with a body of cavalry, and eluded the vigilance of Murat ; while general Mack, in the hope of relief, remained at his post, without even endeavouring to take advantage of the temporary confusion which a dreadful hurricane and an overflow of the Danube had produced among the invaders, whose communications were greatly impeded by the destruction of the bridges. The menace of a general assault subdued the spirit of resistance. In an interview with the prince of Lichtenstein, the brutal Corsican declared, that, if he should take the place by storm, the defenders could not expect to be

saved from massacre. Terrified by this denunciation, Mack promised to capitulate, if the arrival of an Austrian or Russian army should not by the eighth day put an end to the blockade. A convention was signed to that effect; but Bonapartè was so unwilling to submit with patience to this delay, that he persuaded the imbecile general to give up the post and surrender the army on the third day, upon an assurance from Berthier, that, in consequence of the interceptive arrangements of the French, no relief could be afforded within the specified time.

This disgraceful capitulation consigned about 20,000 men to captivity. When they filed off before their conqueror, he addressed the chief officers with an affectation of politeness. He lamented that their master should have precipitated himself into an unjust war, of which he could not conceive the object. "I do not know," said he, "for what I am fighting, or what is required of me." He then hinted at the danger of a persistence in the war; affirming, that he could quickly procure an addition of 200,000 volunteers to his army, who would become as good soldiers in six weeks as Austrian recruits, who served by compulsion, would be in several years. He therefore advised his imperial brother to make peace without delay. "All states," he added, "must have an end; and the emperor may have cause to fear the extinction of the dynasty of Lorrain. Yet I do not wish to profit by his ruin: I desire no more acquisitions upon the continent: I want ships, colonies, and commerce; and it is apparently as much your interest, as it is mine, that I should have them." On the day which followed the expression of this wish, his hopes were annihilated by the splendid victory of lord Nelson.

Addressing his soldiers after his triumph at Ulm, he boasted of that rapid and extraordinary success which they owed to their unbounded confidence in him, to their exemplary patience in supporting fatigues and privations, and to their admirable intrepidity; and he assured them that the Russian host, drawn from distant retreats by the gold of England, would soon share the fate to which the Austrian army had been subjected. He ordered that the month which they had thus signalized should be reckoned, in point of service and of pay, as a whole campaign; and, as this declaration was accompanied with a promise, that he would endeavour to decide the approaching contest with the least possible effusion of blood, because his soldiers were his children, their hearts were filled with joy and gratitude. While he rewarded and flattered his troops, he did not neglect his own interest; for he commanded the seizure of all the Suabian terri-

tories belonging to the house of Austria, as if they were the legitimate fruits of his success. He then directed his course to Munich, where he was hailed as a friend and protector.

The late misfortunes did not deject the Austrian emperor. He had a great remaining force; and the Russians, eager for a collision, had reached the Inn, and formed a junction with general Kienmayer. He ordered new levies: encouraged the inhabitants of Vienna and other great towns to take arms in their own defence; and made a forcible appeal to the spirit and pa-^{Oct. 28.}triotism of his people, against the arrogance, perfidy, and sanguinary ambition of Napoleon.

Some parts of his address deserve transcription. "The emperor of France so ardently aspires to the fame of conquest and the splendour of power, that the limits of his extended dominions are too narrow to satisfy his thirst of sway. The fairest fruits of exalted civilization, every species of comfort and happiness that nations can enjoy, the blessings of peace and concord, all the interests which even by himself, as the ruler of a civilized state, ought to be prized and cherished, are to be destroyed by a war of conquest; and the greater part of Europe is to be reduced to abject and disgraceful servitude. Against the enforcement of this comprehensive scheme of usurpation, from which he is not deterred by the law of nations or the dictates of honour and justice, no choice is left, to a foreign and independent power, between war and the most ignominious subserviency."—The imperial writer, or his minister, proceeded to state, that, under these circumstances, he took hold of that hand which the Russian potentate, animated by the noblest and most honourable feelings, stretched forth to support him; and that, far from being influenced by any ambitious views or sinister intentions, both princes wished only to check the encroachments of France and to secure peace and independence. But their overtures were treated with disdain; and the spirit of injustice and aggression became still more offensive and outrageous.—"Let the intoxication of early success, or the baseness of malignant revenge, stimulate the foe: I wait without dismay the event of his hostilities. I stand serene and undaunted in the midst of twenty-five millions of people, who are the objects of my regard, and are dear to me as my family. I have a claim upon their affection, because I am desirous of promoting their happiness. I have a claim upon their service and assistance, because, in defending the throne, they support their own cause, contend for the preservation of their dearest interests, and provide for the welfare of their posterity."

Bonapartè, before he advanced for the prosecution of his success, judiciously arranged his formidable army. For the security of his right flank, he ordered Ney to extend his division to the Tirolese borders; and, while Mortier protected the left, and watched the enemy in Bohemia, Augereau remained near the Rhine, to guard the rear, and preserve a free communication with France. The main body, advancing to the Inn, crossed that river with little opposition. Conflicts, unworthy of detail, occurred at Ried and Lambach, to the advantage of the French, who, regardless of the severity of the season, moved forward amidst deep snow with eagerness and alacrity, and, being suffered to pass the Ens with facility, hastened toward Vienna. A mountainous post near Lauffen was stormed by the Bavarians: the heights of Amstetten were not so strenuously defended, as to preclude the success of the assailants, who were led to action by Murat and Oudinot; and the resistance of general Meerfeld, in a spirited conflict, did not prevent the triumph of Davoust.

When the approach and manœuvres of Napoleon exposed the left wing of the confederates to danger, a retreat to the north of the Danube was deemed requisite for safety; and, with a view of gaining time to prepare for the more effectual defence of Austria, an armistice was requested: but the concessions which the hostile chief demanded for the favour were so extravagant, that no convention ensued. The capital was left to the invaders. Francis retired to Brunn with his family and ministers, and many of the nobles and opulent citizens fled into Hungary.

It was alleged by the fugitive monarch, that his regard for his faithful subjects of Vienna, and his desire of freeing them from the extreme miseries of war, induced him to relinquish all thoughts of defending their city. The cause of his country, he hoped, would be more decisively maintained in the field. A deputation of the inhabitants, on the arrival of Murat at St. Polten, courted his forbearance and indulgence, and received from him a promise of protection. When the French were ready to enter

Nov. 13. the city, the prince of Auersberg, having retreated over the river with a small force, was preparing to destroy the bridge: but Murat, who wished for an easy passage into Moravia, remonstrated against the execution of such an unnecessary order, pretending that preliminaries of peace had been signed between the contending powers. The prince, unwilling to suppose that an officer of high rank would be guilty of a deliberate falsehood, immediately desisted, and retired with the troops.

The Russians, not secured by the river from attack, were ha-

passed in their retreat by Mortier; but, becoming the assailants in their turn, they nearly surrounded the inferior force of the marshal. A great number of the French were slain, and 2000 were captured: the rest escaped to the vessels which had been collected at Weiskirchen. The Russians then marched to the northward, in expectation of a considerable accession of force, while Napoleon domineered in the Austrian metropolis.

For the defence of the emperor's Italian dominions, the archduke Charles, who might have acted more beneficially in Germany, was placed at the head of a respectable army. He was opposed by Massena, who endeavoured to force a passage over the Adige at Verona. While the French distracted the attention of their adversaries by false attacks, they passed by the aid of planks over a broken bridge, and assaulted the works in the northern suburb. After a severe and mutual loss, they dislodged the Austrians; but, not being so completely successful as they wished, they repassed the river. On a renewal of their efforts, they obtained greater advantages, which, however, were dearly purchased.

While the intelligence of the surrender of Ulm encouraged the zeal and activity of Massena, his opponent was induced to prepare for a retreat from Italy, that he might save Vienna from danger. The marshal impetuously attacked the whole line near Caldiero; and, though he met with a vigorous resistance, he broke the hostile ranks. When the French had quitted this scene of action, the archduke, unobserved, retreated from his post; and he had marched for nine hours before Massena was informed of his movements. An eager pursuit commenced, and the marshal overtook him near the Tagliamento. In the way to Laubach, several partial actions occurred, without the infliction of great mischief upon the retiring army;—so ably was the archduke's march conducted, in the face of alert enemies, who considerably outnumbered his force.

The Tirol, at the same time, was not free from the rage of hostility. Penetrating into the rude recesses of the country, Ney advanced to Scharnitz, and took the post at the third assault. He then marched to Inspruck, of which he easily obtained possession. Other advantages attended the progress of the enemy; and the archduke John, apprehensive of the encompassment of his feeble army, sought an opportunity of unmolested retreat. Stationed on the Brenner mountain, he withstood repeated attacks, and compelled the aggressors to respect the courage of his troops. He at length decamped, bending his

course to the province of Carniola ; and, by judgment and vigilance, he prevented his pursuers from harassing him with decisive effect. The prince De Rohan was less fortunate ; for, when he had passed the mountainous barriers of the Tirol, and had nearly reached Castel-Franco, he was drawn into an engagement by the approach of general Regnier ; and, being also outflanked by St. Cyr, he capitulated with above 5000 men.

In Moravia, the allies were not suffered to remain unmolested. The Russian general Kutusoff, with a view of gaining time for defensive preparations, deluded Murat by a pretended agreement for an armistice : but Bonapartè refused to ratify it ; and a battle ensued, which terminated in favour of the French. Prince Bagration was afterward attacked by a force which was sufficiently large to surround him ; but he cut his way through the opposing ranks with the most resolute intrepidity. Brunn was taken without a siege, while the confederates were hastening to Olmutz ; and, the farther they retreated, the more intent were the French upon a prosecution of their advantages.

An appearance of negotiation did not delay the preparations of the rival powers for a general engagement. When the presence of Alexander in the camp was reported, Napoleon sent one of his principal officers to compliment that potentate, as if peace prevailed between them, and to take every opportunity of artful and interested observation. As he proposed a conference, prince Dolgorucki was sent as the emperor's representative ; and, as the most presumptuous confidence was said to reign among the Russian officers, the French studiously encouraged the extravagant hopes of the enemy, by pretended fear and affected caution. The prince intimated that the allied sovereigns would not agree to a pacification, if Bonapartè should refuse to cede the Netherlands, and to resign the crown of Italy.

The confederate troops, particularly the Russians, were not in a state which seemed calculated to ensure victory, unless their feeble condition should inflame their courage by despair. Fatigue, hunger, and illness, had debilitated their physical powers, and the misfortunes of the campaign had depressed their spirits. Their number cannot be ascertained : but probably it did not exceed 75,000 ; and, of this force, the Russians composed the far greater part. The French army surpassed that calculation ; and a confidence in the talents and good fortune of Napoleon had indisputably an animating effect. When a battle was expected, he issued an *order of the day*, for the purpose of farther encouragement. “ Our positions,” he said, “ are formidable. I will myself

direct the operations of all the battalions, having my station at a distance, if your efforts should disorder the enemy's ranks, and being equally ready to rush into the midst of danger, if the event should be doubtful: yet victory cannot long be uncertain, as the honour of the French infantry will be interested in securing it." With the brutality of a military barbarian, he added, "Let not your ranks be thinned, under the pretence of carrying off your wounded comrades; and let each be convinced of the necessity of conquering the hirelings of England. The approaching victory will finish our campaign; and, when new armies shall have joined us, I will conclude such a pacification as will be worthy of my people, of you, and myself."

Following the old practice of extending the line, in the hope of turning the enemy, Kutusoff stretched the troops over a space of ten miles;—an imprudent disposition, which enfeebled their exertions against a force skilfully concentrated. He divided the army into five columns, beside the advanced divisions of Kienmayer and prince Bagration, the central body, and the *corps de reserve*, commanded by the grand duke Constantine. Bonapartè, foreseeing an attempt to turn his right, detached Davoust with a strong body in that direction: and he drew up the bulk of his force in three divisions, which he respectively placed under the orders of Bernadotte, Soult, and Lasnes, while he remained with an ample reserve, aided by the counsels of Berthier, Oudinot, and Duroc.

Imperfectly acquainted with the position of the French, Kutusoff fondly trusted to the success of his scheme of outflanking the right;—a *manœuvre* which, he hoped, would enable him to make a decisive impression upon the centre. From the heights of Pratzen, the first column advanced, preceded by Kienmayer, who was directed to assault the village of Telnitz, Dec. 2. which he forced after repeated attempts. He then passed the defile, and reached the plain of Turas. The second and third columns marched to Sokolnitz, and seized the post; but they did not fully co-operate with the first. Bonapartè resolved to profit by the distance of the left from the centre, which still remained upon the heights; and a vigorous attack, in which Bernadotte brought forward almost twice the number of the assailed division, menaced the allies with serious danger. While the three columns were wandering without knowing to what point their operations tended, the general summoned a part of the fourth to his aid; and, when the advanced guard, being quickly overpowered, had abandoned its post, other succours were anxiously ordered. At

the same time, the right of the confederates bravely contended with the division of Lasnes and the cavalry of Murat; and the grand duke, and the prince of Lichtenstein, distinguished themselves in this part of the field: but the former, in the pursuit of some retiring squadrons, exposed the Russian guards to the most alarming peril, from which they did not escape without severe loss. His imperial brother, who acted with the fourth column, displayed all the coolness of manly courage, and strenuously laboured to remedy the disorder of the centre: but he could not prevent the enemy from seizing the disputed heights. Even an impetuous assault with the bayonet did not check the advance of the compact columns, whose volleys of musquetry made great havoc. The right division being so far separated from the rest of the army, and so weakened by fierce attacks, as to be unable to co-operate with effect, the harassed centre commenced a retreat, but not with confusion or precipitancy. Bewildered in the search of the French right, the third column found itself surrounded; and 6000 men, to avoid destruction, prudently submitted to the disgrace of captivity. The first and second, diminished by assaults and by partial dispersion, retreated in disorder to Aujest; but they were not secured by this position; for the division of Vandamme rushed upon the village, and captured 4000 men, of whose associates a multitude escaped, while a considerable number¹ perished in a neighbouring lake, which, being frozen only in a slight degree, yielded to the weight of the unfortunate fugitives. The retreat now became general; and it was ably protected by the Austrian cavalry, amidst a furious cannonade.

We have no correct statement of the loss sustained by either army in this memorable conflict. In the short account published officially at Petersburg, it was affirmed, that, from the opening of the campaign, there was not a deficiency of more than 17,000 men. This calculation is apparently much too low. It is probable that 15,000 of the allies were made prisoners, and that not a less number than 10,000 were killed, drowned, or wounded. The French pretended, that the amount of those who suffered in their army did not exceed 2500; but they might more truly, perhaps, have trebled the estimate.

The allied emperors retired beyond Austerlitz, a village which had formed their head-quarters before the battle. The fortitude

¹ But certainly not 20,000 men, as the writer of the thirtieth bulletin has most absurdly and falsely asserted.

of Alexander was unshaken, and he would readily have continued the war; but Francis was so confounded at the disasters of the campaign, that he resolved to sue for peace. He ordered the prince of Lichtenstein to propose an armistice: and, when it had been adjusted, the vanquished and depressed potentate held a conference in the open air with the exulting victor, whose indulgence he courted by submission. It was stipulated, in the convention, that the Russians should quit Moravia within fifteen days, and Austrian Poland before the lapse of a month; and their sovereign, without expressly joining in the truce, acquiesced in this arrangement.

During these transactions, the king of Prussia, by irresolution and delay, lost an opportunity of action, which he would gladly have recalled. When the unpermitted march of the French through the territory of Anspach had roused his indignation, he ordered the baron Von Hardenberg to address a note of complaint to marshal Duroc, and to declare that he considered himself as released by such conduct from all prior obligations, imposed by the formality of treaties; but that he would still evince an habitual regard to the dictates of substantial justice. His only wish, he added, was to see Europe in the enjoyment of that peace, in which he endeavoured and hoped to maintain his own subjects; but, his views being obstructed, he found himself reduced to the necessity of ordering his armies to occupy such positions as might enable him to protect his dominions, and provide against hazardous contingencies. The bustle of military parade now enlivened the people; and it was supposed that the persuasions of the British and Russian courts would produce that complete effect which was earnestly wished by all the enemies of France. But the king had been so long inactive, that it required extraordinary exertion to shake off the enervating influence of passive neutrality. When he pronounced a vow of eternal friendship to the emperor Alexander at the tomb of the great Frederic, he seemed to have brought his mind to that degree of energy which the allied courts hailed as a decisive symptom of political convalescence; but the appearance of vigour yielded to a return of languor and inertness; and a jealousy of the Austrian power, habitually entertained by the house of Brandenburg, may be thought to have exercised its paralysing influence. Count Haugwitz, whose counsels were neutral and pacific, rather than bold and warlike, was sent to offer his master's mediation for such a peace as might restore the balance of European power, and secure the independence of the different states. He found Napoleon in possession of Vienna; and,

while he ostensibly negotiated, the armistice was signed. The king had previously adjusted at Potsdam a convention with Alexander, binding himself to a concurrence in the confederacy, if the terms which he should propose as a mediator should not be accepted; and, having requested pecuniary aid from Great Britain, he had received

Dec. 15. the promise of a considerable subsidy. But the count was easily persuaded to agree to a secret treaty, by which, in consideration of the exclusive possession of Hanover, until a future peace should decide the fate of that electorate, his master was bound to resign the duchy of Cleves and other territories, and to confirm such arrangements as might be stipulated in the ensuing treaty between France and Austria. Thus a prince, who might have turned the scale against Napoleon¹, meanly consented to be subservient to the base usurper, and permitted him to reduce the head of the empire to a state of comparative weakness.

The archduke Charles, who, during the negotiation for a definitive treaty, arrived from Italy with a considerable army,—and Ferdinand, who had defeated the Bavarian general Wrede on the borders of Bohemia—would gladly have co-operated with the Russians in a renewal of hostilities, if Francis had not persisted in his pacific determination: but this prince was inflexibly intent

Dec. 25. upon an accommodation. By the treaty which was concluded at Presburg, he was obliged to relinquish that valuable share of the territorial spoils of Venice, which he had for some years enjoyed; he agreed to the arbitrary arrangements respecting the principalities of Lucca and Piombino²; and acknowledged Napoleon, or his nominated successor, as king of Italy, with a proviso that this crown should speedily and permanently be separated from that of France. He also consented to the cession of the margraviate of Burgaw, the principality of Eichstadt, the county of Tirol, and other valuable districts, in favour of the elector (whom he considered as king) of Bavaria. To the elector of Wurtemberg, whose claim to the royal title he likewise admitted, he resigned a part of the Brisgaw, with other portions of territory; while the elector of Baden was gratified with the rest of the Brisgaw, the Ortenaw, and the city of Constance. The two kings were further gratified with the permission of seizing, respectively, the city and dependencies of Augsburg, and the

¹ According to the declaration of his Britannic majesty, Prussia had an army of 250,000 men, in the best disposition;—a force which, if employed with energy, might have "given repose to Europe."

² These territories were wrested from Tuscany, and given to Bonaparte's sister Eliza and her husband Bacciochi.

county of Borndoff; but, in return for the various grants, the king of Bavaria was required to surrender Wurtzburg, as the basis of an electorate, to the archduke Ferdinand, who engaged to resign Saltzburg to his imperial majesty.

To a prince who, though not enterprizingly ambitious, was fond of extended dominion, the defalcations ordained by this treaty must have given great disgust, even if no sense of humiliation and disgrace had attended the loss; and, when he reflected on that indiscretion which had not only precipitated the war, but had misconducted it in its progress, and on the loss or the decline of that high fame which his troops had formerly enjoyed, his feelings must have been wounded with aggravated poignancy. He severely blamed himself for yielding to the impulse of Great Britain, and for admitting too readily the delusions of hope.

The departure of the invaders filled the Austrians with joy. During the armistice, indeed, the troops did not behave with their usual arrogance; but their presence necessarily disgusted the people; and, in addition to the pecuniary demands and public requisitions, private acts of rapine were not unfrequent. Bonapartè kept his court at the palace of Schonbrun, and rarely showed himself to the citizens of Vienna, pretending that he was influenced by a sense of delicacy, which would not suffer him to remind them personally of his triumph, or to encroach upon their feelings of regard and esteem for their sovereign, with whom he wished to cultivate the relations of peace and amity. In his way to the Rhine, he stopped at Munich and Stutgard, the capitals of the two states which he had recently erected into kingdoms. At the former city he celebrated the marriage of Eugene Beauharnois with a Bavarian princess, who did not presume to object to this transfer of her hand from the prince of Baden, her acknowledged and more deserving lover.

LETTER VI.

A Survey of Politics and War, to the Rupture between France and Prussia.

POLITICAL life was the sphere in which Mr. Pitt was formed to move. Cold and stern in his demeanour, arbitrary and unbending in his disposition, and little affected by the mild sympathies

and feelings of ordinary life, he devoted his whole soul to the pursuits of ambition, or to the supposed interests of the state. He even injured his health by his anxious attention to those objects. His nerves at length became so weak, that he was incapacitated for the task of government. He had an hereditary gout, which, indeed, did not so violently torture or harass him as to produce frequent confinement, but which, operating on a debilitated frame, ultimately led to an accumulation of water in the chest. While he was in a state of depression, the late success of the French arms, and the abortion of his elevated hopes, gave him a severe shock. He reflected, with all the bitterness of disappointment, on the ruin of his schemes, and dreaded a decline of the power and prosperity of his country. His regret, perhaps, hastened his death; but, in the alarming progress of his indisposition, even the Jan. 23, joy of triumph would not have long extended the duration 1806. of his life. He died in the forty-seventh year of his age, leaving the political world greatly divided on the subject of his ministerial merits. None disputed his claim to the character of an able and masterly orator; but, while many regarded him as the skilful pilot who had weathered that storm which was excited by revolutionary phrenzy, others loudly blamed him for rushing into a war before it was necessary, and reprobated his encouragement of those partial and precipitate coalitions, which rather fanned than allayed the fury of the tempest.

The parliament had re-assembled before the minister's death; and, in the speech with which the session was opened, the prosecution of the war was declared to be necessary for the security of Great Britain and the continent. It was admitted that the misfortunes which had befallen the Austrian emperor, and his retreat from the contest, were injurious to the common cause: yet despondence, it was said, ought not to be entertained, as the zeal of the Russian potentate continued in full fervour, and as the resources of the British dominions were unexhausted. To the address of each house an uncourtly amendment would have been offered by earl Cowper and lord Henry Petty, if the lamented illness of the premier had not induced those senators to sacrifice their public feelings to private delicacy.

An early opportunity of testifying public respect for the deceased minister was taken by his parliamentary friends, one of whom proposed that his remains should be interred in the abbey of Westminster, and that a monument should be erected to the honour of "so excellent a statesman." This motion was strongly resisted by Mr. Windham, who, while he acknowledged the

talents and virtues of Mr. Pitt, did not consider him as entitled to a gratuitous funeral or monument, because such honours were only due to the most able and fortunate statesmen. Mr. Fox referred to the services of the late earl of Chatham, and contrasted them with those of his son. The memory of the father, he said, was embalmed by national gratitude, because he had aggrandized his country, and reduced the power of France; but a contrary effect had attended the rash measures of the son, whose eloquence was ill employed in concealing the deformity of that pernicious system of government which had characterized a great part of the present reign. Mr. Wilberforce did not regard success as the certain criterion of merit, or as the only ground on which it ought to be honoured or rewarded; and, therefore, even if the administration of his esteemed friend had been far less successful than it really was, he would readily agree to the proposal. A majority of 169 sanctioned the posthumous compliment; and the house, not content with this demonstration of respect, voted 40,000 pounds toward the liquidation of the debts of the prodigal minister.

The official vacancy would have been immediately supplied by lord Hawkesbury, who seemed to have an hereditary influence at court, if he had not declined the offered dignity. He was exceedingly fond of power and office; but, on this occasion, when a strong cabinet was particularly desirable, he exhibited a modest consciousness of his want of energy and influence. His disinterestedness was not equally apparent; for, as if his services had not been sufficiently remunerated, he accepted the lucrative post of warden of the cinque ports, which the defunct minister had enjoyed.

Failing in his application to the secretary, the king reluctantly solicited the return of lord Grenville into the cabinet, and even suffered him to include Mr. Fox in the new arrangements. His lordship assumed the direction of the treasury, and selected lord Henry Petty for the chancellorship of the exchequer; the three new secretaries of state were Mr. Fox, earl Spencer, and Mr. Windham; earl Fitzwilliam became president of the council; Mr. Erskine received the great seal, with a peerage; lord Sidmouth was declared keeper of the privy seal; Mr. Grey was placed at the head of the board of admiralty; and to the earl of Moira the mastership of the ordnance was given. The chief justice Ellenborough, without a strict regard to the spirit of the constitution, was also introduced into the cabinet. Mr. Sheridan was not for-

gotten in the distribution of inferior offices, for he was appointed treasurer of the navy.

This union of talent, although it was not so comprehensive as to include the abilities of Mr. Pitt's friends, apparently afforded the promise of vigorous measures, and of a judicious direction of all the powers of government. To say that the expectations were visionary, and that the prospect was delusive, may seem to betray a want of candour; but it is not unreasonable or unjust to affirm, that the administrative superiority of the new to the old cabinet was not very strongly marked.

The mode of improving the state of the army occupied the early attention of the new ministers; and, after long consultation, it was agreed that the service should not be extended by compulsion beyond seven years; that all who might wish to serve for a second septennial term, should receive a small addition to their pay; and that, by other arrangements, the military occupation should, if possible, be rendered so attractive, as not to require the temptation of a *premium* for enlistment. This scheme was brought forward by Mr. Windham, who coupled with it a proposition for the loose training of the popular mass, with a view to a speedy entrance into so desirable a service. Lord Castlereagh contended that it was imprudent to unsettle the minds of men in the army, in the midst of a dangerous war, and that the new scheme did not promise to be effective or beneficial. It was also, he said, rendered unnecessary by that increase which the army had received on the existing plan; for, in the last two years, the augmentation amounted to 49,800 men; and it was probable that, by the improved management of the act for an additional force, a farther supply would soon be obtained. The bill for the repeal of this act was warmly opposed in its progress by other friends of Mr. Pitt, but it passed by a great majority; and the new experiment was introduced, without being applied under the term of twenty-one years to the men who were already in the ranks.

The attempt of a young and inexperienced financier to elucidate the national accounts, and provide for the exigencies of the war, greatly interested the public curiosity. Lord Henry Petty acknowledged the utility of the sinking fund, and showed its progressive efficacy by stating, that the surplus of the consolidated fund, applicable to the gradual extinction of the national debt, then bore to the whole the proportion of one to sixty-eight, whereas, three years before, it was in the ratio of one to eighty-

two. He commended the practice of raising a great part of the supplies within the year, accompanied with only a small loan ; and said, that, before the adoption of this expedient, the annual increase of the debt was above twenty-five millions, upon an average of ten years, ending in 1803 ; but that, since that time, the yearly addition had scarcely exceeded twelve millions. He therefore proposed an augmentation of the assessed taxes, and of the customs and excise, and an extension of the impost upon property to a tenth part ; and thus the required loan was confined to twenty millions, beside the issue of exchequer bills. The aggregate supply of the year amounted to 67,800,000 pounds.

Willing to evince his zeal for official integrity, and for the prevention of fraud and embezzlement, his lordship brought forward two bills, one for expediting the adjustment of colonial accounts, the other for a more general settlement. He alarmed the public by affirming, that 534 millions, in different departments, remained *unaudited*, and that this amazing bulk of unexamined documents had long served as a shroud behind which the most shameful peculation might evade discovery, and, at the same time, hung like a gloomy cloud over the heads of upright servants of the state, who wished to be relieved from suspense and anxiety, by receiving a regular acknowledgment of the accuracy of their accounts. These observations wounded the feelings of Mr. Rose, who vindicated the honour and purity of the official dependents of the late administration, and maintained that nine-tenths of the alleged sum, or a larger proportion, had been already scrutinized, so as not to require inspection from the commissioners of accounts.

From the liberal mind of Mr. Fox, the advocates for the abolition of the slave-trade expected a strenuous effort in the cause which they had so long espoused. So powerful is the influence of prejudice, that it frequently perverts the minds and vitiates the reasoning powers of those who are otherwise acute and intelligent. Thus, an abominable traffic has found advocates and abettors even among men of acknowledged sense and general respectability, when it might naturally have been supposed, that none but the most unprincipled votaries of self-interest would have dared to utter a word in its defence. The allegations in its favour are so futile and absurd, as not to deserve the name of argument. As human beings, the negroes are equal in natural rights to any of their oppressors, and have the same claim to justice and equity. The pretence of an anatomical difference in the

cranium, as a proof of their intellectual inferiority to the generality of mankind, is an idle and wanton excuse for brutal tyranny; and it is scarcely more rational to argue, that they are in many instances saved from a greater degree of oppression in their own country, and even from death, by the seasonable interposition of foreign merchants and planters. The only motive by which these intruders are actuated, is self-interest, which would have prompted them to trample upon the rights of the poor *Africans*, even if they were, in their own regions, the happiest and best governed of mankind.

The highest praise is due to Mr. Wilberforce for his zeal and perseverance in promoting the abolition of an evil which was so incorporated with the commercial and colonial system, that it was extremely difficult to effect its separation and removal. He has been ridiculed as a fanatic, and censured as a subverter of acquired rights: but his enthusiasm arose from a regard to justice, and the pretended rights were unjustifiable usurpations. The concurrence of the two rival statesmen, who rarely agreed in any political concern or object of public deliberation, may also be mentioned to their honour. In this great question, they gave full scope to the operations of reason and the suggestions of humanity, without suffering the intrusion of prejudice or yielding to the bias of party. If Mr. Pitt had lived to see the accomplishment of his wish, it would have consoled him amidst the disappointment of his hopes of making a powerful and permanent impression upon France.

At the request of Mr. Wilberforce, the subject was proposed by Mr. Fox for renewed deliberation; and it was declared by a majority of ninety-nine, that the house, conceiving the slave-trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, would take effectual measures for its abolition. The peers concurred in the resolution; but it was not immediately carried into effect. Two bills of restriction were enacted; by one of which, all British subjects were prohibited from conveying slaves into the territories of any foreign power, or into any of the American islands or settlements which had been captured during the war, and no foreign slave-ships were allowed to be fitted out from British ports; while, by the other statute, no vessels were permitted to sail to the African coast for the purpose of procuring negroes, unless they had been previously employed in the same branch of traffic. The former bill was strongly opposed, on commercial grounds, by the dukes of Cla-

rence and Sussex, the lords Hawkesbury and Eldon; but the lords Grenville, Auckland, and Ellenborough, supported it with greater ability and success.

During these discussions, the trial of lord Melville was conducted with great spirit on the part of the selected managers; but the result was not such as might have been expected from the preparatory votes of the house of commons. On the first charge, which imputed to the viscount the illegal appropriation of 10,000 pounds, only fifteen peers pronounced him guilty, while 120 declared their conviction of his innocence. The third article, stating that he had permitted Trotter to apply large sums of the public money to the purposes of private emolument, was disallowed by a majority of thirty-one; and the investigation of the other charges also terminated in an acquittal. While the trial was in its progress, the commons voted thanks to the managers; and the speaker of the house, in communicating that vote, did not seem to expect such a decision; for he said, "We have witnessed that unwearied industry, and singular sagacity, with which you have pursued and *established the proofs*, and that powerful display of argument and learned eloquence, by which the *light of day* has been spread over, *dark, secret, and criminal transactions*."

The acquittal of the noble defendant did not seem perfectly satisfactory to the public; but, as it was pronounced by an august and honourable tribunal, an acquiescence in the verdict was a point of prudence and of duty. Lord Grenville did not, in this case, give that opinion which would have been most agreeable to his new associates; for he was not even present at the decision: but his general share in the administration was concurrent with the views of Mr. Fox, who, in return, relaxed the rigour of his disapprobation of the war, which was prosecuted with an appearance of zeal.

In the earlier part of the session, intelligence arrived of a colonial conquest. As it was known that the Cape of Good Hope was not in a very defensible state, a small fleet and army were sent for its reduction. When the armament approached the place of its destination, serious difficulties obstructed the descent. An attempt to disembark was baffled by the height of the surf; but, on another part of the shore, both that danger, and an attack from sharp shooters advantageously posted, were defied by the advancing troops. About 4000 men effected a landing, and proceeded to the Blue Mountain, from which some light troops were quickly dislodged. Janssen, the Dutch commander, endeavoured to turn the British right wing: but sir David Baird ordered such

movements as frustrated that intention, and, chiefly by the exertions of a Highland brigade, enforced the retreat of the enemy, whose loss was considerably greater than that of the invaders. The advance of the victorious army intimidated the commandant of Cape Town into an abandonment of all thoughts of defence; and a capitulation was adjusted, by which the garrison became prisoners of war. A detachment then marched in quest of Janssen, who, obtaining honourable terms, surrendered the colony and all its dependencies.

Jan. 18.

The continuance of the war would naturally have suggested the idea of this expedition; but it had been particularly recommended to Mr. Pitt, by sir Home Popham, who, being acquainted with Miranda, and having imbibed the zeal of that adventurer for making a forcible impression upon the Spanish colonies in South America, resolved that the conquest of the Cape should be a mere prelude to the seizure of some opulent towns on the Rio de la Plata. Before I state the result of this unauthorized employment of the national force, it will not be inexpedient to relate the most important incidents of a war which had arisen in the East, and which was brought to a close nearly at the time when the reduction of the Cape contributed so materially to the security of our Indian commerce and empire.

The British government not being deemed sufficiently strong or secure while Jeswunt Holkar possessed a high degree of power, the expediency of a new war suggested itself to the active mind of the marquis Wellesley. That chieftain had cautiously abstained from hostilities during the late war in India; but it was alleged, that he entertained unfriendly views, and had stimulated Scindiah to a renewal of opposition. It was also affirmed, that he was an usurper of the power which he enjoyed, being an illegitimate son of his predecessor; but the governor-general admitted that this consideration did not authorize or prompt him to interfere; he only wished to counteract the hostile aims of the ambitious chieftain. Charges of rapacity and cruelty were afterward adduced against him. He had levied tribute, said his accusers, in the territories of the company's allies, and had put to death three British officers in his service, on pretence of a treasonable correspondence. Finding himself an object of suspicion, he proposed an accommodation of all disputes; but, as he demanded the cession of some districts which, he said, formerly belonged to his family, his overtures were rejected with contempt, and he was desired to return within his own boundaries. He promised that he would comply with this requisition, after his

performance of a pilgrimage to Ajmir: but, as he avowed an intention of seizing that town and its dependencies, over which the authority of Scindiah extended, it was resolved that an expedition should be undertaken, without delay, for his ruin or his humiliation.

His domains, like those of other Mahratta chieftains, were not compact, in point of situation, but were dispersed over Malwa and Candeish, and among the territories of the nizam. General Wellesley was preparing to invade the Decan, when he was recalled to Calcutta by the governor-general. His place was supplied by lieutenant-colonel Wallace, who took Chandour and other fortresses. Lake, the commander-in-chief, marched in quest of Holkar, who, after a fruitless attack of Dehli, advanced to the fort of Deeg, near which he formed a strong encampment. Major-general Fraser, having stormed a village on the enemy's right flank, assaulted the whole line, but was so severely wounded in the action, that he was obliged to resign the command to colonel Monson, who, not long before, had nearly witnessed the ruin of a detachment which he led from Guzerat, in consequence of the defection of a considerable corps of the natives. Extensive ranges of artillery were silenced and captured; and troops far exceeding the number of the assailants were totally routed. Beside the havoc of the field, many were drowned in a pool which fronted the camp, and some, in the pursuit, were driven into the deep ditch that surrounded the fort. Holkar did not take a personal share in the battle; but, four days afterward, he was met at the head of his cavalry by lord Lake, near Ferruckabad and defeated with great loss. Deeg was then assaulted with the most resolute intrepidity; and its well manned works were completely forced, the defenders falling in heaps at every point.

As the rajah of Bhurtpoor had joined Holkar, that city was subjected to a siege; but so great was its strength, that it withstood every mode of attack for three months. An assault which immediately followed the discovery of the first breach, was repelled, because the opening was imperfect: a second attempt was rendered abortive by the width and depth of the ditch; and two others were equally unsuccessful, and more murderous than the preceding.

During the siege, major-general Smith was detached with a strong body of horse to repress the incursions of a Patan chief, who had entered into the service of Holkar. After a series of rapid marches, he encountered the predatory leader with success,

and then rejoined lord Lake, who, having twice endeavoured to surprise the Mahratta chief, and having driven him to a considerable distance from the besieged town, resolved to risk farther loss rather than submit to the apparent disgrace of a protracted siege. To avert the dreaded danger, the rajah proposed peace, which he purchased by pecuniary grants and territorial cessions.

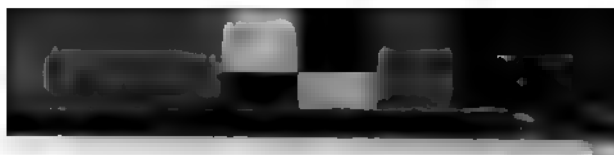
Holkar did not immediately follow the example of submission; and, in the meantime, he was gratified with the extinction of the power of the marquis Wellesley, who, being justly blamed by the directors for an assumption of inordinate authority, for an extraordinary prodigality of expenditure, and an aggressive spirit of ambition, resigned the supremacy of British India. The nobleman who had preceded him in that station was also his successor; and he endeavoured to restore peace, without compromising the dignity or the safety of the empire. Scindiah, as an ally of the company, had sent troops to serve in this war; but he was so discontented at the mode of executing some of the stipulations in the late treaty, that he detained the British resident, as a hostage for the satisfaction which he demanded. A new treaty was concluded with this chieftain, more favourable to him than the former agreement; and, on this occasion, sir George Barlow followed the instructions which had been given by the marquis Cornwallis, who did not long survive his return Dec. 24, to India. Holkar now procured better terms of peace 1805. than lord Wellesley would have granted to him. It was agreed that he should renounce all pretensions to various districts situated to the northward of the Boondi hills, and also to every part of the province of Bundelcund; that the company should disclaim all concern with the ancient possessions of his family in Malwa, or with the territories of any of the rajahs, to the southward of the Chamboul, and should immediately give up some lands of that description in the Decan, and (at the expiration of eighteen months, passed in amity and forbearance on the part of the contracting chieftain) restore Chandour and other districts now retained; and that he should never entertain in his service any British subjects, or other Europeans, without the company's consent. By a subsequent convention, the Boondi possessions were given up to him, and his friendship seemed thus to be secured.

When peace had been restored to the East, the enterprising rapacity of sir Home Popham disturbed the tranquillity of the West. Having procured a military force, both at the Cape and

at St. Helena, to the amount of about 1600 men, he sailed with major-general Beresford to South America. Near the point of Quilmes the troops disembarked without opposition, although their movements were watched by a body of cavalry¹, posted on an eminence. A morass retarded the approach of the invaders; but their firmness of countenance intimidated the enemy, who fled as soon as they were saluted with a brisk discharge of musketry. By destroying a bridge over the river Chuelo, which was not then fordable, the Spaniards and provincials hoped to baffle all attempts to cross the stream. Their efforts, however, were so feeble as to excite the contempt of their adversaries, who, by the use of boats and rafts, easily reached the opposite bank, and, on their advance to Buenos Ayres, were met by an officer commissioned to adjust a capitulation. The major-general cavalierly replied, that he had not time during his march to attend to the offered proposals; but he gave general assurances of protection and liberal treatment, and promised that he would agree to particular articles, as soon as he should have obtained possession of the city. No farther resistance being made, the troops entered the town on the following day. About June 28, 1806, 180 coasting vessels were seized, as legitimate objects of capture; but they were restored to the proprietors, with a view of impressing, upon the minds of the new subjects of Great Britain, a high idea of the national generosity. The treasures, exclusive of public stores and valuable merchandise, exceeded 1,290,000 dollars; of which sum a small part was readily given up, when it was claimed as private property.

A conquest so easily achieved was insufficient to satisfy the projectors of the expedition, as it was concluded that other towns might be taken with equal facility. But, before any other attempt was made, the disappointment of the citizens and provincials, who had entertained hopes of deriving freedom and independence from the aid and influence of the British arms, prompted them to devise the means of shaking off that yoke which the intruders wished to impose. In concert with the inhabitants of Colonia, they resolved to take arms, and a bold leader named Pueridon, advancing with 1500 men, hoped to retake the city by a *coup de main*. Being met by the major-general, he was repelled with the loss of his artillery: but, when

¹ The major-general was informed, that this force consisted of 2000 men. Sir Home Popham may be supposed to have made use of a *multiplying* telescope, as he gravely says, "We had the satisfaction of *seeing* from the ships, near *four thousand* Spanish cavalry flying in every direction."



he had been joined by Liniers, an enterprising native of France, who had conducted a considerable force from the northern side of the river, he made preparations for a vigorous attack. The cannon, planted near the entrance of the town, made some impression upon the approaching army: yet defence was found impracticable, as the roofs of the houses were covered with assailants, who maintained an incessant fire. Even the castle was commanded; and all the positions were insecure against such a mass of enemies. A capitulation was thus enforced by the dread of ruin; and those who lately exulted in their success submitted to the disgrace of captivity. The ministers, before they received intelligence of this misfortune, had sent an additional force to maintain the supposed conquest.

The British concerns in South America were far less interesting than the affairs of Europe, which, during the administration of Mr. Fox and his friends, exhibited a perturbed aspect. The king of Prussia, alleging that he could not depend upon the security of his own territories, while Hanover was involved in war, made preparations for the seizure or (as he termed it) *protection* of the electorate. He intimated, to the council of regency, that the few French who remained in the country would be ordered to depart, and that the exclusive administration would be assumed by his delegated subjects, during the war between France and Great Britain. As he at the same time stated the necessity of the speedy retreat of the whole allied force, general Don, who had ostensibly supported the interest of the elector without any active service, returned with the German legion and other troops to England; the Russians commenced their homeward march; and the king of Sweden, re-crossing the Elbe, undertook the protection of the dutchy of Lauenburg.

When Bonapartè had secured the acquiescence of Frederic in the humiliation of Austria, and had returned in triumph to Paris, he disavowed that modification which rendered the occupancy of Hanover only provisional, and insisted upon that permanency of possession, and that completeness of appropriation, which would provoke a rupture with the king of Great Britain; and to this requisition he added a peremptory demand of the exclusion of British vessels from all the Prussian ports. These acts of violence formed the basis of a new treaty, which count Haugwitz did not scruple to sign; and, as one of the articles provided for the immediate cession of the provinces which were to be exchanged for the electoral dominions, the French took quiet possession of Cleves, of Anspach and Bayreuth, of Neuf-

châtel and Valengin. The dutchy was transferred to Napoleon's brother-in-law Murat, who was also declared grand duke of Berg: the Franconian territories were given to the king of Bavaria, and the two Swiss counties to marshal Berthier. Frederic now announced himself as the lawful possessor of the ^{April 1.} electorate, which, he said, he had purchased by considerable cessions from that prince to whom it "belonged by right of conquest;" but this was a false pretence; for, before the Prussian seizure, the French had been constrained to abandon the whole, except the fortress of Hameln. The injured elector, in a spirited declaration, reprobated the injustice of the king and his base subserviency to those dictates which an independent monarch ought to resist; and declared, that no advantage, arising from political arrangements, much less any offer of an indemnity or equivalent, should ever induce him to consent to the alienation of his German dominions. Gustavus was equally animated in his condemnation of these proceedings; but his efforts in defence of Lauenburg were feeble and contemptible. When his troops had been driven into the dutchy of Mecklenburg, he resented the expulsion as an act of open war, and immediately subjected all the Prussian vessels in his ports to an embargo, ordering also a blockade of the harbours of his new enemy.

During the war with Austria, Bonapartè had withdrawn his troops from the kingdom of Naples, in consequence of a treaty of neutrality to which its sovereign had agreed. A British and Russian army, instead of disembarking on the Venetian coast, and co-operating with the archduke Charles, had landed at Naples; and, profiting by the favourable disposition of the court, met with a friendly reception, in defiance of the king's engagements with France. The queen, being an Austrian princess, was inclined to favour the cause of the allies; and, without fully considering the consequences of her conduct, she was ready to indulge her animosity against the enemy of her imperial relative. But, on the part of the combined powers, the expedition had no definite object, unless they wished to involve the feeble Neapolitans in a war which they were incapable of conducting with efficiency, and which threatened to revolutionize their country. The admission of the troops operated as a signal for the departure of the French ambassador, who retired to Rome in disgust. Bonapartè received, with marks of indignation, the intelligence of the expedition, and of the consequent military preparations of the court; and he arrogantly declared, that the Bourbon dynasty had ceased

to reign at Naples. This was the style in which he usually pronounced a sentence of dethronement.

Before the arrival of the French troops, sent for the execution of this arbitrary menace, the allied force had re-embarked. The Russian envoy vindicated the retreat of his countrymen by alleging, that they had landed merely with a view of creating a diversion in favour of the Austrian army, then contending in the north of Italy, and, when this step was no longer necessary, had restored Naples to a state of neutrality; hinting that, if the kingdom should be invaded, such an outrage would not be the mere effect of resentment at the appearance of the confederates within its boundaries, but the consequence of a previous determination, formed by the exorbitancy of ambition. While the Russians directed their course to the Ionian Islands, the British armament sailed to Sicily. The former seemed to feel no interest in the fate of Naples; and the latter, being aided only by the natives, had not sufficient strength to secure the kingdom.

Joseph Bonapartè, assisted by the advice of Massena and Regnier, made preparations for an expedition to Naples, which seemed to present an easy conquest. The people were not animated with that determined courage which would persevere in resolute opposition: they had, indeed, a remaining sense of patriotism, and they hated the French, but they were ill armed and undisciplined, and were unsupported by the generality of the nobles, who were so disaffected to the government, that they were ready to submit with abject tameness to the invaders. The inhuman tyranny of the queen had excited universal odium; and the popularity of a weak prince, who suffered such a woman to govern him, could not be expected to remain at its former height. Sensible therefore of the inutility of resistance, the court retired to Palermo with all the portable wealth which it could secure.

Denouncing vengeance against the king and his advisers for their violation of the late treaty, and at the same time promising protection to the people, Joseph advanced from Ferentino with an army which intimidated the Neapolitans. Capua was quickly surrendered, with Pescara, by a deputation from Naples; and the garrison of this city and the adjacent forts made no defence. Gratifying the popular superstition, Joseph, when he attended divine service, piously presented a diamond necklace to St. Januarius: but he soon repaid himself for this gift, by a seizure of all the public property which the fugitive king had left.

An appearance of royal authority was yet maintained by Ferdinand's eldest son, who, entering the province from which he drew his title, summoned the Calabrians to arms. Many flocked to his standard; but the amount was not adequate either to his wishes or his exigencies. Regnier defeated both the regular troops and their associates at Campo-Tenese, and vigorously pursued the fugitives, yet without precluding the escape of the prince, who, with a considerable part of his army, passed over to Sicily. St. Cyr took Tarento and other towns; and the whole country was apparently subdued, except the strong town of Gaeta.

When Napoleon was informed of the success of this invasion he bestowed the crown of Naples upon his brother, with a proviso that he should resign it, if he should at any time become emperor of France. But all the authority of the new king was insufficient to prevent insurrections in some of the provinces; and, in many of the towns, the animosity of revenge stimulated the adherents of the expelled family to acts of outrage and assassination. These attacks produced retaliation; and the utmost vigilance of the police, though its arrangements were decidedly preferable to those of the late government, could not effectually repress these enormities.

The patriots in Calabria and Abruzzo gave great disturbance to the partisans of Joseph. They gained the advantage in several conflicts, and were not reduced to submission while the persevering defence of Gaeta kept a great force in full employment. The garrison of this town, neglected by the court of Palermo, hoped for effectual relief on the appearance of a British squadron in the bay. Sir Sydney Smith found an opportunity of communicating with the commandant, the prince of Hesse-Philipsthal, and of introducing supplies for the prolongation of that resistance which he had so ably superintended. Leaving an officer to assist with the gun-boats in the *sorties* of the garrison, the rear-admiral sailed to the bay of Naples, with a seeming intention of attacking the capital, in which he could discern illuminations expressive of public festivity; but, as he had not the means of retaining the city, if he should reduce it, he was unwilling to expose it to the horrible mischiefs of naval hostility. He turned his attention to the island of Capri, and, having captured it, returned to Sicily to promote the views of the queen, who, finding him tinctured with a chivalrous spirit, gave him her whole confidence, and employed him in fanning the flames of occasional insurrection;—a desultory species of service for which he was



better adapted, than for the execution of comprehensive plans and momentous enterprises.

With a view of encouraging the Calabrian friends of the royal family, the queen and sir Sydney requested sir John Stuart, who commanded the British troops on the Sicilian station, to undertake an expedition against the enemy. With the small force which he could employ, he did not expect to meet with an opportunity of performing any important service: but, being repeatedly urged to make the experiment, he transported his army to the continent. As few of the natives joined him, he would probably have re-embarked without delay, if he had not received information of the march of Regnier to the vicinity of Maida, with 4800 men. Having about 4800 under his command, he hastened to meet the French general, whom he hoped to attack before the arrival of an expected reinforcement. In this respect he was disappointed; for the fresh troops reached the camp before the battle commenced, so as to swell the amount of the hostile force to 7000 men. Regnier had taken a position of such natural strength, that the difficulty of access would have precluded an effectual impression: but, trusting to the superiority of his number, to the valour of his infantry, and to the operations of his cavalry (of which species of force he did not observe the least appearance in the British army), he quitted his defensible station, crossed the Amato, and disposed his troops on a spacious plain. Soon were the fronts engaged; and after July 4. a short firing, the right of the British line charged with the bayonet. The French seemed ready to retaliate this attack in the same mode: but they suddenly recoiled, and sought in flight that safety which all could not obtain. Many were slain, and the extreme left was totally routed. The rest of that division, being vigorously assaulted, followed the example of retreat. A more spirited resistance was made by the right; and the cavalry, having tried the effect of several impetuous charges, attempted to turn the left; but a regiment, which had rapidly marched from the coast, seasonably took part in the action, and, flanking the equestrian assailants, compelled them to retire from the field. The infantry of the right then fled, and the victory was secured. Above 700 lost their lives; the prisoners, including the wounded, amounted to 1000; and many of the fugitives were afterward brought to the camp by the Calabrians. Only 327, according to the official calculation, were killed or wounded in the victorious army.

This victory tended to demonstrate the fallacy of the frequent

declarations of the French, who, while they acknowledged the naval eminence and maritime superiority of Great Britain, scornfully undervalued the merit of our soldiers. It appeared, from the conduct of the troops on the plain of Maida, that they were able, upon equal terms in point of position, and with the double disadvantage of a considerable inferiority of number and a want of cavalry, not merely to repel, but totally to defeat their opponents. The prevailing opinion of French invincibility was shown to be the offspring of vanity on the part of the enemy, and of delusion and credulity among other nations.

Encouraged by this success, the Calabrians rose in numerous bodies, and harassed the French with incessant activity. The vindictive foe, considering these hostilities as acts of rebellion, murdered many of the natives, and burned some villages: but, by the efforts of the English and their associates, the troops of Joseph, reduced to a small number, were driven from the province.

When the reduction of Gaeta, which was surrendered after a siege of five months, had furnished 16,000 men for other services, Massena undertook an expedition into Calabria. The opposition which retarded his progress so inflamed his anger and ferocity, that he surpassed Regnier in acts of outrage and cruelty, pretending that he was merely executing justice upon rebels and *brigands*. In the mean time, sir Sydney Smith hovered upon the coast, landing troops and supplies where they seemed to be most urgently required, storming forts and watch-towers, and obstructing in various modes the success of the French.

General Fox, who was promoted to the chief command, disgusted the Sicilian court by refusing to act upon the continent. He deemed it useless and wantonly mischievous to cherish hostilities which did not promise to be successful; and, being confirmed in this opinion by sir John Moore, whom he had sent to survey the state of affairs, he rejected every application for his active interference, and particularly opposed a meditated attempt upon Naples, the possession of which, said the minister Acton, if it could not be long retained, would gratify the king and queen with an opportunity of punishing those traitors who had eagerly transferred their allegiance to the usurper. The arbitrary and vindictive princess would have employed the Sicilian troops in such an expedition, if she could have depended upon their exertions: but her want of confidence in them, and the refusal of British association, constrained her to relinquish the scheme.

The vigorous efforts of the French at length prevailed over all the courage of the Calabrians, who suffered severely in several

conflicts: Abruzzo was also restored to tranquillity; and the intrusive king flattered himself with the prospect of permanent sovereignty. He exercised his authority in the seizure of church lands, the suppression of some monastic foundations, the revocation of particular grants, the confiscation of the property of the emigrant adherents of Ferdinand, and the abolition of all remains of feudality.

While Napoleon was thus procuring, by influence and by arms, an Italian kingdom for one of his brothers, he also directed his view to the opposite shore of the Adriatic. The territory of Cataro, of which the late treaty with Austria promised the cession, was not demanded by the French within the time prescribed: and the emissaries of Russia, hoping to profit by this neglect, assured the inhabitants, who were not desirous of falling under the Gallic yoke, that they were at liberty to make choice of new masters or protectors. Being supported by a Russian squadron, and by a large body of Montenegrins, the people resolved to oppose Ghisilieri, the Austrian commissary, who considered it as his duty to surrender the country to the French. When he arrived at the chief town for that purpose, he remonstrated against the mutinous spirit which prevailed; and the troops were ready to join in an attempt to quell this licentiousness: but he soon yielded to the wish of the insurgents, and consented to abandon the town and its dependencies. As his conduct compromised the honour of the court of Vienna, he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. For the disappointment to which the French were subjected on this occasion, the Ragusan territory seemed to offer a compensation; and it was therefore seized by general Lauriston, who quieted the inhabitants by declaring that the French intended to restore the independence of the state, whenever the Russians should retire from Dalmatia, and from the Ionian islands, over which they exercised a controlling sway. Ragusa was now exposed to a blockade and a subsequent siege; but it was so well defended by the garrison which Lauriston had introduced, and by the citizens, who detested the Montenegrin besiegers, that neither these barbarians, nor their northern associates, were able to reduce it. It was, however, involved in such danger by a furious bombardment, that the arrival of a reinforcement was necessary for its relief. General Molitor advanced with a competent force, stormed the positions of the confederates, and drove them respectively to their mountains and their ships.

If remote objects attracted the comprehensive eye of the

French despot, those of nearer concern could not be expected to escape his attention. The constitution lately framed for the Batavian state seemed, under a republican appearance, to be sufficiently monarchical to repress the spirit of freedom ; but, as the name of a king had the most imposing effect, and as it was the wish of Bonapartè to procure princely establishments for all his brothers, he resolved to erect in Holland the standard of royalty. He knew that the Dutch were so depressed and heart-broken, as to be ready to submit with uncomplaining patience to any act of oppression which, in the plenitude of his power, he might be disposed to order. Alleging that the constitution which he had granted to them did not appear to be so perfect as to preclude improvement, and that the disorders of the state required new modes of cure, he stated, to the leading men in Holland, his wish for the organization of a monarchy in their country. The consent of the most distinguished citizens, he said, would be sufficient for the accomplishment of this scheme ; it was not necessary that it should be submitted to popular deliberation. Arrangements were made for this change with little difficulty. If remonstrances were offered, they were not urged with manly freedom ; and it was agreed, in conferences between Talleyrand and some Dutch deputies, that the crown of Holland should be presented to Louis Bonapartè ; that the *independence* of the state should be *guaranteed*¹; that all its possessions should be preserved, and the liberty of the people maintained. In a ceremonious audience, the deputies requested, as the most signal favour that could be accorded, the transfer of a king to their country, in the person of Louis, who, under the protection of the greatest of monarchs, might elevate Holland to its due rank among nations, and restore its fame and prosperity. The grand pensionary Schimmelpenninck, declaring that his health was unsettled, resigned an appointment which was “ no longer beneficial to his countrymen or to himself ;” and the constable of France (for the favoured personage retained that office) announced himself as king of Holland, “ by the grace of God, and the constitutional laws of the state.” Thus the Dutch were reduced to the most degrading servitude under the professed slave of a despot.

By the constitutional code which accompanied this usurpation, the task of legislation was assigned, in concert with the king, to

¹ The meaning annexed to this phrase was, that its *dependence* upon France should be fully *secured*.

thirty-eight national representatives; and, to raise the former number to this amount, the existing deputies were allowed to nominate two persons for each seat or vacancy, and two other candidates were to be proposed by each departmental assembly: out of these four, one was to be selected by his majesty. The term for which they were chosen was extended to five years. All laws were to originate from the sovereign; and his power could not be effectually checked by the will of the deputies. It was ordained that he should enjoy, without restriction, the complete exercise of the government, and of all the powers requisite for the execution of the laws; and the representatives formed his council of state, rather than a controlling assembly.

When the ministers had governed for some time in his name, amidst general tranquillity, Louis presented himself to his subjects, and commenced his reign with plausible promises of good government. Being less unprincipled and inhuman than some of his brothers, he did not so much excite odium by his own tyranny, as by his subserviency to the oppressive mandates of his imperial patron. He seemed gradually to contract an attachment to the people whom he ruled, and to be desirous of tempering the rigours of stern authority. By this appearance of lenity he displeased his brother, who very rarely unbent the bow of tyranny.

An usurper who thus prospered in his enterprizes beyond all reasonable expectations, seemed to think himself destined for universal dominion. His courtiers were so overawed by the magnitude of his power, and so humbled by his arrogance, that they even compared him with the Deity. When Champagny, addressing the legislative body, spoke in high terms of the flourishing state of France, he seemed to attribute it, in every point, to the conduct of the emperor, rather than to the spirit of the people, and to consider that prince as an angel sent from heaven to bless mankind. Even amidst the toils and dangers of a distant war, his majesty, said the base adulator, entered into every detail connected with the internal administration of France, and attended to all the interests of his people, in the most minute particulars, with the same zeal with which he provided for the wants and comforts of his soldiers. He saw every thing, he knew every thing, like the great but invisible Being who governs the world, and who is only known by his power and his benevolence.

Notwithstanding these pompous boasts, it is well known that the government of Napoleon was tyrannical and oppressive. He

did not, like Robespierre, consign multitudes to the guillotine, under the forms of law; but he deprived the people of the just freedom of speech and of action, overawed and enslaved them by military terror, pillaged them without mercy, and sacrificed them by myriads to his insatiate ambition.

An opinion of the lightness of taxation in France, under his sway, prevailed among the lower ranks in this country: but the idea was erroneous. It was not a natural supposition, that a tyrant, who disregarded the murmurs of the nation, and who had no feeling for human life, would abstain from that financial oppression which, by the medium of a servile legislature, he could represent as absolutely necessary for the public service, and which, while he had a formidable army at his disposal, he could easily and promptly enforce. The taxes, indeed, were burthensome in themselves, and were collected with great rigour. An increasing land-tax, and a variety of other imposts, diminished the comforts of the people, checked the progress of internal improvement, and propagated poverty to a wide extent.

But, of all the enormities of Bonapartè's government, the military conscription was the most flagitious. It held the rod of terror over the bulk of the male population, from the age of twenty to that of twenty-five years, rendering young men liable to be called into the pretended service of their country, whenever a war was declared by the government to be just and necessary. It was proposed by general Jourdan before the erection of the consulate; and, being then sanctioned by the legislature, it became a favourite part of the usurper's system. He occasionally extended its provisions, and carried it into effect with merciless rigour. If an only son remained to assist and support his parents, he was cruelly compelled to join the ranks, and to render himself, in the field, an agent in rapine and murder; and, very frequently, a young husband was torn from the arms of his wife, for the same unjustifiable purposes. It was determined by lot, whether the conscripts should be in the class immediately required, or in the reserve; but both classes were occasionally called out; and even the supplies of a future year were sometimes anticipated. Substitutes were allowed: but the charges for this exchange of service were gradually swelled to a sum which few were able to pay without serious inconvenience. It may be supposed that many of the new soldiers were tempted to desert: of these the majority were substitutes, on whose disappearance the conscripts who had brought them forward were obliged to find others or to serve in person. Refractory indivi-

duals were either forced into the service by menaces of death, or declared unworthy of the military name, and sent in chains to different fortresses, to be employed in public works¹.

The same spirit of military oppression prompted the tyrant to attempt a revival of the national guard. It was ordained by the senate, that the emperor should be authorized to call out all the males from twenty to sixty years of age, for the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and the defence of the coasts and frontiers. He did not wish for a patriotic guard that would act in the cause of liberty, or sympathize with the general feelings: his only object was to strengthen and confirm his power and authority. In the execution of this scheme, he found greater difficulties than he apprehended. It was hinted to him that it might be unsafe to arm the people in the new departments, as they were not fully habituated to the French yoke: yet the measure was not relinquished; and attempts were made in some districts, but not with the desired success, to establish a mercenary guard, by exacting contributions from the inhabitants. In many of the departments companies of reserve had been previously formed on a similar basis; and some of these were obliged to take the field in the war with the Austrians. Whenever the sovereign undertook a journey he was attended by a guard of honour in the towns through which he passed; and this became, in several places, a permanent institution. His whole aim, indeed, was to render France a military nation, and to establish on that basis such a system of passive obedience, as might enable him to enjoy the undisputed pretensions and concurrent authority of a general and an emperor. But, while his martial zeal was unallayed, he pretended to lament the prevalence of war, and with that hypocrisy which could deceive none but idiots, frequently expressed a wish for a durable peace.

As Mr. Fox, from the commencement of his opposition to the American war, had been the constant advocate of peace, it was concluded that he would distinguish his administration by anxious efforts for procuring the return of that blessing. The overture, however, came from France. A stranger, having procured admission into the minister's closet, offered his agency for the assassination of Napoleon. It is supposed that he was an emissary of the French court, employed to sound the inclinations of the British cabinet on the subject of peace; but Mr. Fox, treating him as a vile assassin, sent him out of the kingdom in disgrace, and

¹ *Faber's Sketches of the Internal State of France.*

communicated the circumstance to Talleyrand: who, in his master's name, thanked him for the disclosure, and, in a subsequent letter, stated the emperor's wish for a pacification. Readily adopting the hint, Mr. Fox replied, that his majesty was also desirous of a reconciliation, and that the proper basis of a negotiation would be a reciprocal recognition of the necessity or expediency of concluding such a peace as would be honourable for both nations and for their respective allies, and might at the same time tend to secure the future tranquillity of Europe. Talleyrand, not objecting to the basis, proposed that plenipotentiaries should be sent to Lisle; but, when it was required that the Russian potentate should be admitted as a party in the negotiation, he protested against this interference, which, he said, was unnecessary, because that prince had no concern in the existing war, and injurious, inasmuch as it would derogate from that equality with which the discussions ought to be prosecuted. Mr. Fox could not concur in these sentiments; but he admitted, that his majesty would be content, if he could "only act so as not to incur the reproach of a breach of faith toward an ally who deserved his entire confidence."

It was evidently the wish of the ruler of France to excite jealousy and create a division between Great Britain and Russia, as a cordial union between those great powers presented a formidable obstacle to his ambitious projects. In some conferences with lord Yarmouth, who, without being empowered to treat, was regarded as a confidential agent, Talleyrand eagerly opposed the inclusion of Russia in the treaty as a principal, while he intimated the willingness of his imperial master to recede from various points upon which he had lately been disposed to insist, and gave hopes of an admission of the basis of present possession, as applicable to his majesty's conquests. The agent was now invested with regular negotiatory powers; but, in the progress of discussion, he was convinced of the difficulty of fixing the evasive spirit of the French minister, or preventing an artful change of ground and position. Sicily was a particular object of contention. At one time, Bonapartè seemed willing to leave that island to its legitimate possessor: but he afterwards declared it to be a necessary appendage to his brother's kingdom of Naples, condescending, however, to offer the Hans-towns, Albania, or other territories which he had no right to seize or transfer, as a compensation to Ferdinand.

In the mean time, he made proposals of a separate peace to Russia; and general Clarke had frequent conferences for that purpose with M. d'Oubril, who was determined (as lord Yarmouth

suspected) “ to make a peace, good or bad, with or without Great Britain;” and the result was a treaty too favourable to the French, who were allowed to possess the Bocca di Cataro and many other districts in Dalmatia, and to encroach on the independence of the Ionian islands, and were not debarred from the seizure of Sicily. Alexander, alleging that this agreement was contrary to the instructions which he had given, refused to ratify it: but, before it was disavowed, Napoleon, elate with the supposed adjustment of all disputes between France and Russia, insulted the British court by artifice and evasion, and, far from relinquishing the military July 12. intimidation of Germany, subverted the constitution of the empire by forming the confederacy of the Rhine.

This profligate attack upon the rights and interests of the Germanic body excited the indignation of Europe. For the ruin of a constitution which was cemented by a course of ages, and regarded with habitual reverence, it was only necessary for this powerful usurper to give instructions to his agents, and issue his mandates to the kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, the elector of Baden, the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, and other princes, who meanly consented to detach their states from the Germanic body, to renounce the laws of the empire, and, after new and arbitrary dispositions of territory, to ally themselves, federatively and individually, with the emperor of France. The two kings were respectively bound to furnish 30,000 and 13,000 men, and the other confederates a smaller force, for any war in which the dictator might be disposed to engage.

Before this treaty was signed, Talleyrand declared that the intended changes in Germany would be given up, if peace should be concluded with Great Britain; and Bonapartè seemed still to be so desirous of treating, that general Clarke was particularly authorized to confer with lord Yarmouth, with whom the earl of Lauderdale was associated as a plenipotentiary. As these negotiators found that the principle of *uti possidetis* (in every point except the case of Hanover), which had been seemingly settled as the foundation of a treaty, was disclaimed by the general,—and as the increasing demands of France were highly unreasonable and offensive,—a resolution of retiring from the scene of insult was adopted: but the desired passports were withholden, and Clarke and Champagny expressed a wish for a renewal of the conferences. The earl of Lauderdale continued to treat after the recall of his associate; and, when the disavowal of M. d’Oubril’s convention was known at Paris, he was flattered with the hope of obtaining more favourable terms. That temporary separation of

treaty, to which the king had agreed when he supposed that his northern ally had concluded peace, now gave way to a closeness of concert ; and the earl negotiated for both princes, on the supposition that Alexander would not reject the terms which might be procured for him by a friendly court, well acquainted with his views and interests. Champagne now declared it to be the emperor's will, that Great Britain should retain Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, the French settlements in India, and Tobago ; that Hanover should be restored to the elector ; that Corfu should be ceded to Russia ; and that, in return for the surrender of Sicily to the new king of Naples, the Balearic islands should be yielded to Ferdinand. These proposals, even if the sincerity and good faith of the French court had been undoubted, would not have been deemed satisfactory, as no security was promised to Portugal, no compensation offered to the king of Sardinia, no sufficient indemnity granted to the king of Sicily, and no prospect afforded of the discontinuance of usurpatory injustice in Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy. His Britannic majesty therefore ordered his representative to return to England, and, in a spirited declaration, stated the necessity of opposing, by vigorous hostilities, the injurious pretensions and despotic views of the enemy.

During the negotiation, that minister who was most desirous of its success, felt the ominous approaches of severe indisposition. He could not be insensible of the decline of his strength and the prevalence of morbid symptoms ; but he mistook the nature of his disorder, and, deeming it scorbutic rather than hydropic, rashly ventured to prescribe for himself. By the advice of his friends, he at length condescended to accept medical aid : it proved wholly inefficacious ; and he died in his fifty-eighth year. ^{Sept. 13.} A want of the vigour of health precluded that fulness of gratification which he would otherwise have derived from the enjoyment of political power ; and probably, if he had lived, he would not long have retained it.

The acknowledged talents and comprehensive mind of Charles James Fox raised him far above the ordinary class of men. At an early age, he displayed strong sense and a sound understanding. He imbibed instruction with readiness and facility : he was fond of rational inquiry, and observant of the characters of men and the nature of things. His propensity to licentious pleasure, his habitual dissipation, did not preclude his attention to the improvement of his mind. His eloquence was bold, impassioned, and vehement ; sometimes declamatory, occasionally argumentative ; and, without the elegant correctness of Pitt, the luxuriant

imagery of Burke, or the wit and pleasantry of Sheridan, it was generally interesting and impressive. To freedom of thought and of action, his politics were eminently favourable; and he was one of the few statesmen who have been friends of peace. His private and social character commanded the warm attachment of his friends: his manners were unaffected, and free from supercilious pride: he had a pleasing frankness and a liberal amenity of disposition.

It usually happens, that political orators, who are alternately in opposition and in power, forget, in one of these predicaments, what they have said in the other; and such instances of apostasy and want of principle are so common, as not to excite surprise. Mr. Fox was guilty of this deviation from strict honour and propriety. In his eagerness for ministerial pre-eminence, he did not scruple to coalesce with one whom he had loudly and repeatedly declared to be the most incompetent and pernicious of all ministers; and, when he had gained the object of his wish, he suffered the air of the court to relax the vigour of his patriotism. With regard to the tax upon income and property, his conduct was particularly objectionable. His great rival intended to raise that impost by *gradations* to its former unjustifiable and oppressive extent: but the new minister boldly overleaped the intervening space, and, without reflecting on his reiterated declarations of the predatory injustice of the former cabinet, at once demanded a tenth part, in addition to the numerous exactions which had long been very severely felt by the middle class of the community, and were yet endured with exemplary patience.

Mr. Grey succeeded his friend as secretary of state; Mr. Thomas Grenville became first lord of the admiralty; and Mr. Tierney was placed at the head of the board of control for the affairs of India. As earl Fitzwilliam, without resigning his seat in the cabinet, was disposed to relinquish his official station, lord Sidmouth was appointed president of the council; and lord Holland, nephew of the deceased statesman, was gratified with the custody of the privy seal. It was insinuated by the opponents of the ministry, that lord Grenville repented of his connection with the friends of Mr. Fox, and was willing to recall the chief partisans of Mr. Pitt into the cabinet: but this rumour was unsupported, as the harmony of the coalition appeared to be undisturbed. After these arrangements, the ministers, as if they
 Oct. 25. apprehended a decline of their popularity, advised his majesty to dissolve the parliament, in the hope of increasing their preponderance in the house of commons, while they had the means of powerfully influencing the elections.

After the death of Mr. Fox, the principles upon which he negotiated were still followed : yet Talleyrand insinuated, that the change in the cabinet had contributed to the frustration of the hopes of the friends of peace. Before the conferences were closed, the ministers, having reason to believe that the Prussian monarch would soon rush into a war, sent lord Morpeth to assure him of the king's wish for a reconciliation, and to promise speedy support.

When Frederic William discovered that the restoration of Hanover to its legitimate sovereign formed a part of the proposed treaty between France and Great Britain, he felt great indignation at the treachery of his pretended friend, by whom he had been encouraged to an unjustifiable act of ambitious rapacity : but, as he must have previously known the unprincipled character of the tyrant to whom he so imprudently resigned his freedom of will, he had great reason to blame himself for his base subserviency. He keenly resented the indirect endeavours of Napoleon to prevent the formation of such a confederacy in the north of Germany, as might counterbalance the association of the Rhine ; and he suspected, not without reason, that the dictator, in his secret negotiations with Alexander, had proposed various arrangements unfriendly to the interest of Prussia. The seizure of three abbeys and their dependencies by Murat, and the annexation of Wesel to the French empire, were sources of disgust and topics of complaint : the continual encroachments on the liberties of Germany were viewed with anxiety and alarm ; and even the less public concern of Palm and Schoderer, who were shot by the military ruffians of France for having circulated a supposed libel against the despot, had a considerable effect in rousing the indignation of Frederic and his subjects. Thus inflamed, and forcibly stimulated by the persuasions of his queen, who was distinguished by beauty, spirit, and talent, and by the suggestions of the baron von Hardenberg, he made preparations for vigorous hostility ; and no war was ever more apparently popular than that which he then meditated. But count Haugwitz, who was generally despised, was still suffered to act as the chief minister ; and, although he did not wholly neglect the organization of the means of hostility, he seemed incapable of giving an effective impulse to the general zeal.

While he was yet deliberating, the king ought to have been aware, that, without powerful assistance, he had not a prospect of success in a contest with France : but he did not sufficiently attend to this very important consideration. General Knöbelsdorff, who



was sent to supersede the marquis Lucchesini, when the zeal of the latter in support of the Prussian interest had rendered him an object of suspicion at Paris, declared, in reply to a demand from Talleyrand of the reasons of military equipment and organization, that his sovereign acted in this respect without the least concert, and that the intelligence of his arming must have reached Paris before it could be known to the courts which were supposed to have influenced him. As both envoys had remonstrated against the advance of troops to the Rhine, the French minister promised that they should be ordered to return, when the army already stationed in Germany should be no longer menaced; and he expressed his master's wish, that this singular misunderstanding, which had arisen, in the king's opinion, from sinister intrigues and false reports, might soon be cleared up. A letter, professing friendship, had been previously addressed by Napoleon to Frederic: but a contrast which soon after appeared, in the form of an acrimonious libel, was more indicative of his real sentiments and views.

During these reciprocations of policy, the king informed Alexander of the state of his affairs, and of the danger to which he was exposed; and he at length issued his manifesto, which was Oct. 9. a long and elaborate composition. It exhibited a view of the ambitious manœuvres and aggressive conduct of Napoleon, who, when it was in his power, after the treaty of Amiens, to maintain and consolidate the general peace of Europe, and to provide effectually for the particular prosperity and happiness of France, did not display either the moderation of a wise and just ruler, or the magnanimity of a liberal prince, but commenced, against other nations, a course of violence and outrage. Admiring the talents of that fortunate general and able statesman, and remembering the occasional testimonies of regard with which Prussia had been honoured by the French government, the king (said the writer of his declaration) long abstained from that resolute interference which a desire of preserving the balance of power seemed to prescribe, and rejected all applications for a discontinuance of neutrality. He wished for peace, and made great sacrifices to secure it to his subjects. Other courts were less patient, and were therefore involved in a new war, while, by his constrained conduct respecting Hanover, he seemed to act an unfriendly part toward the allies, however disposed he was to remain in a state of neutrality. Convinced of the inutility of forbearance, he at length took arms, that he might mediate a peace with efficiency; but his persuasions and expostulations could not procure a

desirable treaty. Against the confederation of the Rhine he loudly exclaimed, as an unprecedented act of despotism; and other acts of encroachment and usurpation he justly and strongly condemned. At length, a circle, which gradually became more narrow, was drawn around him by his artful enemy, who seemed to deny him even the natural right of moving within it. A continuance of injury and insult could not eternally be endured; yet his majesty did not assume a military attitude, before he was convinced of Napoleon's intention of overwhelming him with war, or of reducing him to a state of abject vassalage. Being again requested to desist from his preparations, he required that the French troops should retire without delay from Germany; that the confederacy formed in its northern division might not be obstructed; and that a negotiation should commence with the restitution of particular territories, seized after the treaty of Vienna. He fixed a term for the decision of the grand question, whether peace should continue, or a war should be risked; and, as the term elapsed before an answer was received, his preparations were prosecuted with doubled spirit. Napoleon's reply was given at the point of the bayonet. By desisting from his offensive and dangerous encroachments, and acting like a prince who united good sense with integrity, he might have secured peace with all the princes and states of Europe; but he was happy only when he could find employment for the *brigands* whom he called his companions in arms.

LETTER VII.

History of the new War upon the Continent.

THE awakened zeal of the Prussian monarch out-ran A.D. his prudence and discretion. He trusted to the greatness 1806. of his military force, and to the seeming eagerness of the soldiers for a collision with the French: but he did not sufficiently reflect on the gigantic power of the prince who wished to enslave him, or on the superiority of the modern *manœuvres* to the tactics of the old school. He did not wait for the establishment of a regular concert with the Russian emperor, nor did he adjust with any other powerful prince the means of combined hostility.

Before the Prussian declaration appeared, the disturber of Europe had crossed the Rhine with his usual alacrity; and, from

Bamberg, he despatched a letter to the senate, affecting to lament the folly and rashness of a well-meaning and upright prince, who had been impelled into war by mischievous counsels, and declaring, without regard to truth, that the approaching hostilities were not provoked by any aggressive acts or arbitrary pretensions of the French. From the same station he issued the first *bulletin* of the new war, in which severe reflections were thrown out against Prussia. That power, it was said, had acted injuriously toward France, Russia, and Austria;—in the first instance, by endeavouring to derive advantage from the disorders occasioned by the revolution; secondly, by neglecting the execution of the treaty of Potsdam, and superseding it by that of Vienna; and, in the third respect, by constantly evading the performance of express stipulations.

The army of Napoleon moved forward in three divisions to the Saal, with an intention of engaging the Prussians, and their Saxon associates, before they could receive any succour from the north. The king had made choice of the duke of Brunswick for the chief command of his troops;—an appointment which could not be considered as prudent or judicious, because the duke had never possessed those splendid talents or that consummate skill which the crisis required, and was at that time infirm in body and weak in mind. From Muhlhausen on the right, to Hoff on the left, the line in a military sense extended, but not without considerable interventions of unoccupied territory. The head-quarters were at Erfurt; and Meinungen was the station of the van-guard. So inconsiderately had the general advanced, that he afforded to the acute and observant enemy an opportunity of turning his left, seizing his magazines, and obstructing his communications with Berlin and Dresden.

It was concluded by the French leader, from the forward movements of his adversaries, that they intended to advance toward the Rhine, with a view of checking his progress by an early display of vigour: but, if their commander had entertained such an idea, he would not have so long remained quiet, while the French were advancing. The duke seems to have trusted to the strength of his central position, which, he thought, the enemy would not be able to force: or it may, perhaps, more justly be said, that he did not trust to any thing, being so confounded at the difficulties and dangers of his situation, as to be incapable of forming a regular plan of operations. All the schemes which were proposed to him were rejected; and he remained in a state of indecision, ignorant of the enemy's movements and positions.

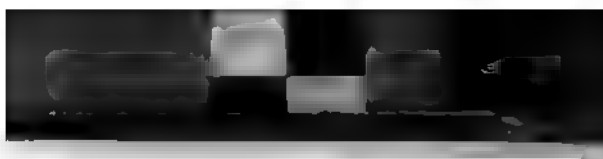
In a council of war, at which the king was present with count Haugwitz, no plan was adjusted ; and, while all the officers were in doubt and suspense, the marquis Lucchesini quieted their alarms, by declaring it to be his decided opinion, that Bonapartè would not act offensively in this campaign. The duke was pleased with a suggestion which relieved him from the torture of anxiety ; but, as intelligence of an attack upon Hoff soon arrived, his apprehensions recurred with aggravated force. He was not so deserted by his former courage, as to be afraid to face the enemy : but he seemed to dread the consequences of a general engagement.

When Soult, followed by Ney, menaced the Prussians at Hoff, general Tauenzien retreated to Schleitz, leaving a quantity of stores which he could ill spare. He was continuing his retrograde march when he was fiercely attacked. He ordered his troops to re-trace their steps to the town ; but, being severely harassed on their approach to the suburbs, they resumed their retreat with accelerated movements.

Louis, the king's cousin, conducted the van-guard of the left wing, under the prince of Hohenlohe, who had ordered him not to move before the arrival of general Blucher at Hochdorff ; and he was then expected to take a position at Auma ; but his zeal rose above control, and prompted him to a premature and rash attack. With about 6000 men, he advanced in quest of the enemy, whom he found in great force, occupying some woody hills. If he had stationed himself near the fortress of Schwartzburg, he might have checked the progress of the French, or have secured a retreat to Rudolstadt ; but he encountered them near Saalfeld in such a position as enabled them to outflank him. His men fought with courage, but could not effectually resist the numerical superiority of their foes. While they were retreating with precipitation to avoid ruin, the deserted prince, who was coolly marching from the field, was overtaken by a horseman ; and, after a furious combat, he fell by the stroke of a sabre. If he had surrendered, he might have saved his life ; but he disdained the thought of yielding to captivity¹.

This defeat greatly dispirited the whole army. The head quarters were removed to Weimar, and a new line was formed. Jena, being now evacuated, was quickly seized by the French, who also took possession of Naumburg, and deprived the retiring

¹ Cursory View of Prussia, from the death of Frederic II. to the peace of Tilsit.



troops of their magazines. As the enemy continued to advance, the general retired from Weimar, and approached Auerstadt.

About 110,000 men composed the Prussian and Saxon armies, while Bonapartè's force nearly amounted to 150,000. The troops of Frederic were ill supplied with ammunition, and had for some time been distressed by a scarcity of sustenance; and they did not evince that alacrity which might have been expected from the general eagerness of the nation for a war with France. They had not that confidence in their commander, which would have allayed their depression; and an unusual disorder and want of concert seemed to prevail among the different divisions. So hazardous was the situation into which the Prussians had been brought by the injudicious conduct of their general, that an engagement was apparently advisable, in the hope of avoiding ruin: yet the duke did not wish to accelerate the dreadful collision; nor did he expect so speedy an attack as that which he was compelled to resist.

Oct. 14. The French commenced the action, during a thick fog, with an assault upon Tauenzien's division, which they drove from its position near Jena. The prince of Hohenlohe thought that the firing which he heard was a mere feint; and, when he was convinced of his error, he declared that he would not suffer his troops to engage before the dispersion of the fog, as their ranks might be suddenly turned. When the enemy rushed from the hills, however, he gave the example of spirited resistance, and for some time stemmed the torrent. The Saxons under his command, though they complained of being ill-treated by their associates, displayed all the rivalry of courage; but all parts of his division were at length defeated with great slaughter.

The centre of each army contended near Auerstadt. An attempt to gain an elevated position near that town was anticipated by the French, who were far more alert and vigilant than their opponents. The duke and general Schmettau were wounded in the first attack, and borne from the field; and no officer then assumed the chief command. Frederic, who was not immediately informed of the fate of his general, continued to lead the nearest troops into action, and endeavoured to animate them by his example: but their efforts did not fully answer his expectations. Eager to make a powerful impression upon them, Napoleon ordered his left wing to join in the assault, as the Prussian right had not yet taken a share in the conflict; and, when the harassed

troops began to exhibit symptoms of disorder, he sent forward his reserve to secure the victory. If Ruchel had then appeared with the right, he might have prevented the defeat from being so disastrous as it proved : but, when he arrived, the fortune of the day was so far decided against the Prussians, that his division, after a short resistance, found its only hope of safety in retreat. For a short time, the troops retired without confusion. The approach of the cavalry, however, extinguished all remains of order ; and the most precipitate dispersion of the vanquished army ensued. About 20,000 were killed or wounded in the battle and the pursuit ; and the prisoners formed at least an equal number. The French who suffered are estimated at 4,100 by the partial fabricator of the triumphant bulletin : but a duplication of that amount may perhaps be more consistent with truth.

An immediate effect of this great victory was the separation of the Saxons from the Prussian interest. All the captive subjects of the elector were dismissed, under a promise of not acting against the French ; and assurances were given of the friendly intentions of the victorious emperor, who wished to secure Saxony from the Prussian yoke. The prince of Hohenlohe had retreated to a considerable distance from the plain of Jena, and had been obliged to sustain another conflict in his march, before he had the least knowledge or suspicion of the king's defeat ; and, when he received the melancholy intelligence, he was still in anxious suspense respecting the fate of his unfortunate master. At Sondershausen, however, he was gladdened with the appearance of the fugitive prince, by whom he was promoted to the chief command of that force which yet remained to retrieve the honour of the Prussian name. The king's fortitude was not so weakened by dejection, as to suffer him to court by abject submission the indulgence of a haughty conqueror. He declared that he would continue the war with vigour ; and having ordered the general to provide for the security of Magdeburg, he hastened to the Oder, to invigorate the defence of Custrin and Stettin. He had received a letter from his powerful enemy, written before the battle, recommending a negotiation, as the only step that could secure him from disgrace and ruin. It was answered, during the retreat, with a disdainful dignity, which produced an arrogant reply.

Success flowed upon the French with rapid tide. Erfurt was invested and reduced by Murat ; and the captors found in the place a considerable garrison, and a great number of wounded, beside a large addition to the artillery, which had been taken in the en-

gement. Among the prisoners were the prince of Orange and field-marshal Mollendorff. Soult, who was pursuing nearly in the same direction, hoped to increase the number of captives at Greussen, where he descried a Prussian column which had been formed by the re-assembling of the fugitives. Unable to procure by menaces the desired surrender, he gave directions for an attack, and chased the diminished and disordered division to the walls of Magdeburg. Bernadotte was still more successful. A body of reserve had arrived at Halle from the Oder, under the conduct of prince Eugene of Wurtemberg; and a battle ensued, in which the French captured about 4000 men.

When the prince of Hohenlohe reached Magdeburg, he augmented the garrison, and gave instructions for defence: but he could not rouse general Kleist, the intimidated and desponding governor, to that fervour of patriotic zeal which the crisis required. Finding that the army which he had collected could not be sufficiently provided with subsistence in that part of the country, he anxiously sought a more convenient spot, where inanition might yield to a renovation of physical strength. At Zehdenic, he was haranguing his discouraged troops, when he received information of the defeat of a strong body, which had been overtaken and driven to Prentzlau, and of the accelerated movements of the divisions of Lasnes and Davoust. Continuing his progress toward Stettin, he stopped at Prentzlau, where his troops were quickly surrounded by the enemy. In an interview with Murat he endeavoured to procure honourable terms: but he could only obtain permission for the guards to return to Potsdam, under a promise of not serving without exchange, while transportation to France was to be the fate of the rest of his force. About Oct. 28. 9000 men capitulated on this occasion, resigning their arms in sullen silence.

The weakness of Berlin rendered it an easy prey to the enemy. It was left by the garrison to the chance of war, and was preserved from anarchy by the superintending care of the prince of Hatzfeld, and the vigilance of an armed association. Davoust and his troops were received without opposition; and the invading chief entered with all the pomp of a conqueror, and behaved with all the arrogance of a tyrant. He banished the prince from the city, and was with difficulty induced to spare his life. The charge adduced against him was, that he had informed the Prussian general of the late movements of the French. Vengeance was denounced against those statesmen and officers who had recommended hostilities; and yet, if Napoleon did not, by secret artifice,

promote the very war which he ostensibly reprobated, his fondness for military glory, it might be supposed, would have prompted him to treat with lenity and indulgence those who had furnished him with an occasion of splendid triumph. But he pretended to be a friend of peace ; and in that assumed character, he condemned the conduct of the duke of Brunswick, not only for having formerly led an army into France, but for his recent encouragement of war in the Prussian cabinet. That unfortunate commander was obliged, on the approach of the French, to leave his dominions ; and, retiring to the vicinity of Altona, he died of his wound. His brutal foe would not even permit his lifeless frame to be deposited among the mouldering remains of his ancestors !

The people of Berlin treated their temporary sovereign, and his intruding troops, with the meanness of servility, and seemed to vie with each other in marks of respect and attention. He was so pleased at their subserviency, that he resolved to raise a regiment among them ; and they were encouraged to enlist by a proclamation resembling those addresses by which the recruiting officers in Great Britain allure the people into a hazardous service.

After the capitulation at Prentzlau, the chief army, to the westward of the Oder, was that which Blucher, a brave and skilful officer, commanded. It did not exceed the amount of 11,000, and the men were greatly weakened by hunger and fatigue. The division of Murat (far superior in number) being before him, and that of Bernadotte on his flanks and rear, he could not be insensible of his danger, and therefore eagerly endeavoured to effect a junction with the duke of Saxe-Weimar, who had crossed the Elbe with the van, which, becoming subsequently the rear-guard, had no participation in the battle of Auerstadt. He found the duke with above 9000 men at Dumbeck ; but he derived little benefit from the reinforcement, as a fresh division of the enemy, under Soult, threatened him with an attack. His troops suffered severely in partial engagements ; and when he had reached Lubeck, where he hoped to procure refreshment and repose for his men, Bernadotte commenced an assault. Having forced one of the gates, the enemy rushed into the city, and a very sanguinary contest arose in the streets. The public buildings and many private houses were occupied by the Prussians, who fired incessantly upon the French : but the latter at length overwhelmed their adversaries. Great was the loss sustained on this occasion by death and captivity : and, as a considerable number of the

harassed soldiers had died during the march, or had been unable to keep pace with the rest, the retreating general, who had also lost the aid of fourteen squadrons by separation, found, on his arrival at Ratkau, that only 9400 men remained under his command. When the three marshals were preparing to
Nov. 7. attack him, the inutility of resistance constrained him to capitulate.

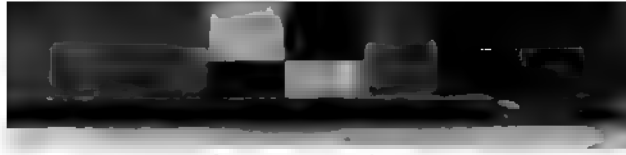
So paralyzing was the terror which had diffused itself among the subjects of the Prussian monarchy, that officers who had acquired the reputation of courage and loyalty, scarcely attempted to defend those fortresses from which the enemy might long have been excluded. The quickness of their surrender has been attributed to treachery or corruption: but it may rather be ascribed to the influence of the late victory, and the dispersion of the great army upon which the safety of the realm was supposed to depend. The governors of Spandau and Stettin readily capitulated, and gave up valuable stores at the first requisition. Custrin was taken with equal facility; and Magdeburg, after a short bombardment, was added to the French conquests. The pusillanimity of Kleist and other commandants, in these instances of base surrender, excited such a warmth of indignation in the royal breast, that, in a proclamation issued at Ortelsburg, one was condemned to death, and the rest were ignominiously dismissed from the service.

In this campaign, the king of Holland contributed, without involving himself in great danger, to the success of his imperial brother. He overran the western portion of the Hanoverian territories, while Hameln and Nienburg were reduced by Savary. He seized the Westphalian dependencies of Prussia, and extended the sway of France to the Weser. Mortier took possession of the principality of Hesse-Cassel, because the landgrave and his son were in the Prussian service; and he then proceeded to Hanover, where he enforced the submission of the administrative body to the will of his fortunate master. His subsequent advance to Hamburg intimidated that mercantile republic, and alarmed the British traders, many of whom were arrested and menaced with long confinement, if they would not disclose the extent of their funds and possessions. The greater part of their property, however, had been already conveyed down the Elbe, beyond the reach of French rapacity. They were plundered and released, while the feeble community submitted to military despotism.

The conquest of Silesia was reserved for the arms of Jerome, whose personal exertions, though not calculated to elevate his martial fame to the highest point, were more distinguished than

those of his brother Louis. He undertook the siege of Glogau, which the governor Reinhard would have immediately surrendered, if his officers had not insisted upon a defence. The siege was not prosecuted with murderous zeal ; nor was the place defended with the most vigorous pertinacity. It was taken in the fourth week from the investment. The garrison of Breslau sustained a longer siege, and harassed the enemy by spirited *sorties* : but, when an external attempt for relief had failed, a dread of the effects of a continued bombardment produced a desire of capitulation.

As Napoleon had frequently lamented, with hypocritical compassion, the oppression and slavery to which the Poles had been subjected since the partition of their country, it was expected that he would now embrace the opportunity of indulging them with that freedom which he was so fond of distributing. He ordered Davoust to cross the Oder, and offer them his protection ; and, after he had tyrannized at Berlin, he advanced to Posen, where he encouraged the formation of a patriotic army, which might shake off the degrading and burthensome yoke. A considerable force was consequently levied ; but it was far from being so numerous as he expected. While he was thus employed in weakening the power of Prussia, he was informed of the king's refusal of his assent to an armistice signed at Charlottenburg. As the terms of this convention were both disadvantageous and disgraceful, Frederic resolved to trust to the friendly and vigorous co-operation of the Russian emperor, who had long been preparing to assist him. A respectable army marched to the Vistula ; but, when the advanced guard had been repelled by Murat, a retreat was ordered ; and the French took possession of Warsaw, where they formed some heavy batteries, the fire of which drove their adversaries beyond the Bug. The passage of that river was long disputed : but, after the first parties which crossed it had severely suffered, the invading army gained the right bank. Near the Urka, the Russian entrenchments were forced after an obstinate conflict ; and general Kamenskoi then ordered Buxhofden and Beningsen to fall back to the Niemen ; but the latter of these officers ventured to disobey the command, and resolved, with three strong divisions, to take a position near Pultusk. The right wing, commanded by Barclay de Tolli, was thrown forward into a wood, which extended along the front of the whole line, but retired considerably near the centre : the left, under Osterman, rested upon the town, between which the wood and plain appeared, intersected with small defiles. Marshal Lasnes advanced



Dec. 26. against the central body, which was conducted by Sacken, and commenced a feeble cannonade. The left was soon after attacked with vigour; but the Russian infantry kept up such a steady and galling fire, that no impression could be made upon that division; and, as the attempt to pierce the centre proved also unsuccessful, almost the whole force of the enemy was thrown upon the right, which recoiled at the dreadful shock. Some of the batteries in the wood were carried by assault; and the French pressed forward, as to a certain victory. When they endeavoured to outflank that wing, Beningsen ordered the front to be changed to the rear, and detached a reinforcement to that quarter. Tremendous volleys from a long range of artillery now assailed the French, and spread confusion among their ranks. They were dislodged from the wood, and began to retreat from all parts of the field. About 5000 men were killed or wounded on the side of the Russians, and 8000 in the opposite army. The array of the former, at the beginning of the battle, exhibited 45,000 men, while the French army nearly amounted to 60,000¹.

At Golomyn, prince Gallitzin was exposed, on the same day, to an impetuous attack from the whole corps of Augereau and from Murat's cavalry; but his undismayed troops did not give way: and, when he was reinforced in the evening, he drove back the enemy at every point: but, in pursuance of the late order for a discontinuance of offensive operations, and in anxious doubt of the event of Beningsen's engagement, he marched to join that commander, after having sustained and inflicted considerable loss; and both generals retired to Ostrolenka, not (as the French affirmed) with the hurried and confused movements of a vanquished army, but with a firm countenance and a regular progress. About the same time, Lestocq, with a Prussian division, retreated in a less orderly manner, having been severely harassed by Ney in his march from Thorn.

The success of Bonapartè in this campaign encouraged him to attempt the enforcement of a new scheme of hostility against Great Britain. While he held his military court at Berlin, he denounced vengeance against a power which he considered as his most determined enemy. He not only accused the king of inflaming other princes against him, but inveighed in strong terms against the mode in which our monarch asserted his supposed

¹ Sketch of the Campaigns in Poland, in the years 1806 and 1807, by sir Robert Wilson.

maritime rights; and, in retaliation of this odious tyranny, he promulgated an unprecedented ordinance, declaring that the British islands were in a state of blockade (when he had not the means of enforcing his threats even against the Isle of Wight); prohibiting all commerce and correspondence with those territories; menacing with captivity all British subjects who might be found in the countries occupied by his troops, or those of his allies; commanding the confiscation of the property of those intruding strangers, and of every article of British or colonial produce or manufacture which his people might possess; and excluding from his ports all vessels which should come directly from Britain or any of its dependencies. Considering himself as master of the continent, he arrogantly gave to this scheme the appellation of the continental system. It was the project of a malignant statesman, the enemy of human comfort and amicable intercourse. Disappointed in his own wish for extensive commerce, he resolved to obstruct, to the utmost extent of his power, the mercantile pursuits of other nations, and particularly aimed at the ruin of that foreign traffic which Great Britain had long commanded. The people of Hamburg and Lubeck were immediately threatened with the resentment of France, if they should not strictly comply with the new edict; and the Danes were repeatedly desired, but without effect, to close the Sound against British vessels. The Dutch could not easily avoid an adoption of the rigorous system; and the Swiss had previously been called to a severe account for their encouragement of British manufactures.

Bonapartè continued to exercise the most unjustifiable authority over the feeble government of Spain; yet even his pliant tool, the prince of the Peace, displayed in one instance some degree of spirit. Hearing of the proposal of the French cabinet, in the arrangements with M. D'Oubril, for the transfer of the Balearic islands to the king of Sicily or his son, the Spanish minister was so incensed at this audacity and injustice, that he ordered an additional force to be levied for the defence of the kingdom. He was so humbled, however, by the triumph of the French in Germany, that, when he could no longer make use of the idle pretence of having raised the troops under the expectation of a war with the emperor of Morocco, he consented to detach a great part of the number, as an accession to the victorious army.

The known weakness of Portugal, and its contiguity to a

country in which the sway of the French seemed to be so fully established, naturally exposed it to their arrogance and tyranny; and the consideration of its intimate connection with Great Britain, gave additional asperity to the wantonness of insolence. They had compelled the regent, soon after the renewal of the war, to agree to a treaty, by which he bound himself to pay an annual subsidy for their forbearance. Their ambassador domineered over the court, and exercised a degree of authority which disgusted the nation. Not content with a dictation of their will, they at length threatened to invade and subjugate the realm, unless the British sovereign would assent to their terms of peace. Troops were assembled, apparently for that purpose; and the readiness of the Spanish court to concur in such an enterprise, while the prince of the Peace remained at the helm, was obvious and undoubted. In the event of conquest, that ambitious minister hoped to receive a share of the spoils.

Alarmed at the danger of Portugal, the king ordered the earl of St. Vincent to sail with a squadron to the Tagus, and, in concert with the earl of Rosslyn, to devise the best means of warding off the storm of invasion. It was difficult to persuade the Portuguese ministers of the existence of any serious danger. They denied that any preparations had been made for an invasion, and expressed their apprehensions of the ill consequences of the appearance of a British fleet in the Tagus, which might provoke the French to hostilities that might otherwise be avoided: at the same time, they expressed their gratitude for the offer of protection. After some delay, the two earls returned to Britain, as Bonapartè's views were directed to other objects. The prince's situation, however, still remained precarious. The storm was merely suspended; and neither the court nor the people possessed that energy which could save their country, without the strenuous aid of a more powerful nation. A sense of patriotism, and a detestation of the French, certainly existed; but the troops were undisciplined; there was no vigour in the government; and the prince was not sufficiently enlightened to rule with that wisdom which the emergency required, nor did he possess that determined courage which could undauntedly face a resolute enemy. The kingdom was destitute of able statesmen and experienced generals; and no individual appeared, who was capable of directing with due effect the resources which yet remained. If, under these circumstances, the nation should not rouse itself to action, but should quietly submit to the French, the earl of

Rosslyn gave notice, that Great Britain would secure the Portuguese fleet, and not suffer the colonies to follow the fate of the parent country.

LETTER VIII.

Continuation of the History to the Peace of Tilsit.

THE precipitancy with which the Prussian court had A.D. rushed into war, tended only to aggravate the misfortunes 1806. and increase the dangers of the continent. It gave an extraordinary advantage to the barbarian ruler of France, whom it enabled to dictate his will with more commanding effect. The Austrian emperor had so severely suffered by similar rashness, that he was unwilling to risk a renewal of the war; and the British ministers, while they viewed the storm with anxiety, were not prepared to resist its fury.

At the meeting of the new parliament, the lord chancellor, in the king's name, took notice of the "difficult and arduous circumstances" under which the two houses were assem- Dec. 19. bled, and deplored the calamitous events of that war which had been recently kindled by the "ambition and injustice of the enemy." Prussia, he said, had been constrained to adopt the resolution of resistance; but "neither this determination, nor the succeeding measures, were previously concerted with his majesty." Even the hostile demeanour of the court of Berlin, both toward Hanover and Great Britain, had not precluded the manifestation of a wish to afford every assistance that it could desire against the common enemy: but the rapid course of misfortune had "opposed insurmountable difficulties to the execution of this purpose." Amidst these disastrous incidents it was pleasing to observe the unshaken fidelity of the Russian emperor, with whom it was more particularly necessary to establish a cordial union, because such an alliance afforded the "only remaining hope of safety for the continent of Europe."

In the early debates the affairs of Prussia and the conduct of the ministry were discussed with freedom. The misfortunes of Frederic William were imputed to that narrow and selfish policy by which he had been guided. It was affirmed that he had illiberally consulted his own apparent interest, without regard to

the general welfare of Europe; that he had long been blind to the danger which threatened him; and that, when he at last roused himself to an appearance of energy, he acted without caution or judgment, and without even waiting for that success by which he might have been saved from ruin. The ministers were blamed for not having given a proper direction to his rising zeal, and for not checking his rashness by friendly expostulation, until a regular concert had been established. They were accused of being more disposed to resent his offence, than to assist him in his distress; and their pretence of being precluded from an opportunity of supporting him was declared to be evasive and unsatisfactory.

The late negotiation with France did not excite the warmth of debate, but was discussed with unusual temper. The assertion, that the French had agreed to the basis of actual possession, was

A.D. 1807. denied by some of the anti-ministerial orators, although lord Yarmouth, deceived by loose speeches, considered it as an admitted point. Mr. Whitbread differed from his friends in the cabinet in thinking that peace might have been obtained by a perseverance in the negotiation, as the French seemed to afford greater facility for it than on any other occasion subsequent to their revolution; and he therefore proposed, that the king should be requested to promote a renewal of diplomatic communication, rather than avoid it under the pretence of that unbounded ambition which prompted the enemy to baffle all conciliatory endeavours. But his amendment was deemed unseasonable; and both houses thanked his majesty for having offered every sacrifice for peace that the interest and glory of his people would allow. It was the general opinion, that Napoleon and Talleyrand had no other view, in proposing a treaty, than to amuse the British government, while they were artfully goading Prussia into premature hostilities.

For the vigorous prosecution of the war, which was thus destined for a long continuance, the commons readily voted large supplies; but the amount did not equal that of the preceding year, although 10,000 more seamen were allowed. The chancellor of the exchequer proposed such a plan, as might provide for an indefinite protraction of the war, and yet relieve the public from the heavy pressure of taxation. The measure was grounded on the flourishing state of the permanent revenue, on the great produce of the taxes which had been appropriated to the war, on the progressive amount of the sinking fund, and on the cessation of annuities granted for a limited term. If the annual war loan

should be twelve millions during three years, fourteen for another year, and sixteen for each of the ten following years, so much of the war taxes (said the grand financier) as would be sufficient to meet the charge, would be pledged, at the rate of ten *per cent.*—and a sum would thus be raised which would not only defray the interest of the loan, but would contribute to the formation of a separate sinking fund. By the operation of this fund the pledged portion of the taxes in question would respectively redeem their loans within fourteen years from the date of each; and, if the war should not then be closed, the liberated parts might be again pledged in the same mode. It might be necessary, even after the return of peace, still to exact some of these imposts; but the property tax was not intended to be continued beyond the first month of April from the termination of the war. As the eventual charge for the interest and new sinking fund would necessarily create a deficiency in the temporary revenue applicable to the immediate purposes of the war, supplementary loans would be requisite; but the united loans would not, even if hostilities should be prolonged for twenty years, be more than five millions in any one year, beyond the amount to which the combined sinking fund of that year would rise. For the present and two next years no additional imposts would be necessary; and, for seven subsequent years, less than 300,000 pounds would be annually required, beside the existing taxes. If the war should unfortunately continue beyond that term, the excess of the established sinking fund might be applied, without a violation of the true principles of Mr. Pitt's system, to the alleviation of the public burthens.

The most pleasing feature of this scheme was the promised exemption, for three years, from a continuance of financial rapacity. An Hibernian orator objected to the details, and disputed the result; and he offered a *contre-projet*, which, as might have been expected, was even less luminous than the plan of lord Henry Petty. Neither of these financiers made a proper allowance for accidents and contingencies; and the schemes of both were more delusive than substantial.

Having thus pretended to settle the complicated affairs of finance, the ministry proceeded to a redemption of the pledge which had been given for the abolition of the slave trade. Lord Grenville ably supported the bill which he introduced for that laudable purpose; and when some eminent professors of the law had been heard at the bar of each house against it, it was confirmed by the royal assent. Lord Percy, being

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of opinion that the same principles which condemned the traffic in slaves were equally hostile to slavery itself, proposed a bill for its gradual extinction; but, as the point which had been already gained was deemed, for the present, a sufficient victory over prejudice, obstinacy, and injustice, the question of emancipation was indefinitely postponed by general consent.

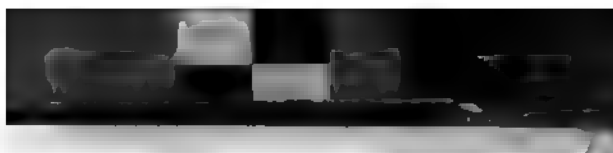
A desire of favouring the catholics, or (in their own language) of granting that complete participation of the rights of citizens, which no government could justly withhold, had long been entertained by many distinguished members of both houses, while others were only inclined to remove all restrictions with regard to the army and navy. The leaders of the administration were of opinion, that this point ought to be immediately conceded, at a time when the increasing power and aggravated enmity of France demonstrated the necessity of an augmentation of the national force, and of an exertion of all the energies of the empire. The consideration of the disordered state of Ireland rendered such a measure more particularly expedient, because it would tend to allay the discontent of the catholics, who were the chief disturbers of that country. When his majesty was informed of the intention of proposing to the parliament the admission of the complaining sectaries to the highest stations in both services, he expressed his disapprobation of the indulgence; but, when it was strongly urged in a memorial from the cabinet, he assented to the proposal. A correspondence ensued with the viceroy of Ireland, who, having desired an explanation of some parts of the scheme, received an unequivocal answer, in which the king acquiesced. Some doubts, arising in the royal breast, were seemingly removed by a written statement of the clauses which would be introduced into the annual bill against mutiny, in pursuance of the new scheme; for the account was sent back without comment or objection. While the bill was in its progress, however, a learned lord and other secret advisers had interviews with a great personage, who, in consequence of their suggestions and his own more deliberate examination of the subject, declared himself hostile to the proposed concessions. The ministers humbly offered modifications of the scheme; but his majesty's repugnance induced them to relinquish it. They were willing to yield to the conscientious feelings of their sovereign, yet declared their sense of the expediency and policy of gratifying a loyal portion of the community. Not content with the present abandonment of the intended grant, the king insisted upon a promise, in writing, that they would never renew the

same proposition, or bring forward any measure tending to favour the catholics. They properly refused to submit to this arbitrary restriction; and the offended monarch demanded their retreat from official power: but he dismissed them without asperity, and acknowledged, to some of the number, his high sense of their general merits.

During the transient sway of these ministers, though they did not distinguish themselves as able conductors of the war, some temporary additions were made to the dependencies of Great Britain. Captain Brisbane, with four frigates, undertook the conquest of Curaçoa. The task was hazardous, for the harbour was apparently secured by works of regular construction, the narrow entrance was defended by armed vessels, and a commanding height exhibited well-furnished batteries. A fierce cannonade harassed, but did not discourage, the intruders, who boarded the opposing ships, stormed the works and the town, and intimidated the commandant of the principal fort into a capitulation. Valuable spoils accrued to the captors of the island; and the victorious officer assumed the government, which he exercised with prudence and vigour.

The partial success which had attended the British arms in South America in the preceding year, encouraged the ministry to a renewal of hostile attempts upon the Spanish colonies. Miranda had solicited aid for an expedition to the same part of the globe; but, as his object was to erect the standard of independence, his application was unproductive of any direct assistance. He merely procured some small vessels and a few men from admiral Cochrane, in addition to the scanty force which he had obtained at New York; and, when he had made a descent upon the coast of Caracas, he in vain endeavoured to draw the inhabitants of Coro into his views. Thus disappointed, he retired with his adventurous party to Trinidad.

Rear-admiral Stirling having superseded sir Home Popham in the command of the squadron upon the South American station, and the troops (which had found refuge at Maldonado) being subjected to the command of sir Samuel Auchmuty, who had landed with a reinforcement, an attempt was made with 4000 men for the reduction of Monte Video. The invaders met with little opposition in their advance to the town; but when they had reached the suburbs, a body of infantry engaged the British left with such vigour, as to disorder some of the battalions. A column of cavalry anxiously observed this conflict without venturing to assist, and retreated as soon as it appeared that a sud-



den attack upon the flank of the infantry had secured the victory to the enemies of Spain. Preparations were now made for a siege; and not only land batteries were opened, but the frigates and smaller vessels approached so as to cannonade the town. On the eleventh day of the siege, a breach was reported by the engineers to be practicable, and arrangements were made for an assault. In the meantime the opening was so far barricaded by hides, that, amidst the darkness of the night, it could not for some time be discovered. Captain Rennie, having pointed it out, fell in the act of ascending. The first party eagerly mounted, rushed into the town, overturned the artillery which had been planted at the entrance of each of the principal streets, and forced a passage with the bayonet. A regiment which had been desired to wait until the foremost assailants should open one of the gates, felt all the impatience of zeal, and scaled the walls with undaunted alacrity. The citadel did not long resist the bold intruders: and, soon after day-break, all resistance was subdued. So small a stock of ammunition then remained to the besiegers, that, if the breach had not been so seasonably made, they would have been obliged to relinquish their enterprise.

An expedition, from which the friends of the ministry expected great success, was also directed against the Spaniards; but, as the military force sent out did not exceed the amount of 4200 men, it could not reasonably be expected that great or extensive conquests would accrue from the enterprise. Brigadier Crauford, who commanded this army, was ordered to make a descent in Chili, and, on the acquisition of any part of that province, to take every step that might tend to conciliate the inhabitants, who, without any arbitrary change in the form of their government, were to be placed under the protection and authority of Great Britain. With regard to that support which the provincials might expect at the conclusion of a peace, no positive or determinate promise was to be given: he was merely directed to assure them, that they should have no cause for apprehension. It was, indeed, the wish of the ministers, that the conquests should be retained, rather than that any hopes of independence should be encouraged.

Before the armament left the Cape of Good Hope, its destination was altered by new orders, in consequence of the loss of Buenos Ayres; and its direction was fixed for the Rio de la Plata. To direct the efforts of all the British troops on that station, lieutenant-general Whitelocke, who was recommended by

interest, not selected (as a commander ought to have been) for ability and merit, sailed from England in the spring with an additional force. Leaving garrisons at Monte Video and Colonia, he passed up the river with about 8000 men, well supplied with the apparatus of a siege. Finding, after his disembarkation, that the opposite banks of the Chuelo, near the ordinary road, were defended by formidable batteries, he marched to a secure part, and proceeded to the vicinity of Buenos Ayres. He was aware of the intention of annoying the invaders from the flat roofs of the houses; yet he prohibited his men from firing, until they had advanced through the town to the proposed points of attack. The vigour of these reserved assaults would then, he thought, effectually subdue the spirit of resistance. The troops, in their progress, were severely harassed by the firing of small arms from the parapets and windows, by showers of stones and bricks, and by effusions of grape-shot from cannon planted in the ditches which intersected the streets. Two regiments, conducted to the left by sir Samuel Auchmuty, attacked a strong post, which they gained by vigorous exertions. Another detachment moved forward, and seized a defensible church and monastery. The hostilities of the defenders fell with particular weight upon that division which brigadier Lumley commanded: and, while one of his regiments passed unbroken through the ordeal, the other, weakened by the death of many brave men, could not reach its destined post, or prevent itself from being totally overpowered. Four troops of carabiniers, moving along the central streets, suffered great loss; and Crauford's brigade, after a fruitless attack upon the Jesuits' college, and a spirited defence of a convent which that officer had seized, reluctantly submitted to captivity, when all hopes of support or relief were found to be fallacious. At the close of the day the commander-in-chief could only boast that two of his divisions had gained a post on the right and another on the left; while he "occupied an advanced position toward the centre;" and these trifling and transitory advantages were purchased with the death, wounds, or captivity of 2500 men¹.

This serious disappointment, and the consideration of the determined enmity of the Spaniards and provincials, induced the general to relinquish his hopes of success in this part of South

¹ *London Gazette* Extraordinary of September 13.—Of the loss of men in this ill-conducted attack, he speaks with a remarkable want of feeling: "in an instant the greater part of the company, and major Trotter, were killed; but *the gun was saved*."

America. He found that two parties divided the town and its dependencies, one consisting of the adherents of the Spanish government, who bitterly resented the hostilities of the English; the other, of the advocates of independence, who apprehended that the invaders would retain their conquests during the war, and leave the inhabitants, on the restoration of peace, to the mercy of an offended court. Reflecting on these circumstances, he acquiesced in the proposals of Liniers, the governor of the town; and a convention was signed, importing that hostilities should cease on both sides of the Rio de la Plata; that all prisoners should be restored by both parties; that Monte Video might be retained for two months, but should then be given up to the Spaniards, and every part of South America be evacuated by the British troops.

By the same ministers an armament was sent to the East. Between the conflicting intrigues of the French and Russians at Constantinople, the divan seemed not to know how to act. The reluctance of the grand signor to an acknowledgment of the imperial title of Bonapartè, and to the reception of his representative, had yielded to those impressions of terror which the victory of Austerlitz was calculated to produce; and each court sent an ambassador, one for the purpose of congratulation, the other for the artful promotion of political objects. Sebastiani, who was deputed on this occasion, declared to the sultan's ministers, that his august sovereign was earnestly intent on securing the independence and promoting the glory of the Turkish government and nation; that all the resources of France should be employed for the interest of Selim; and that a large army, now stationed in Dalmatia, would act with energy for the defence of his highness, unless an impolitic condescension toward Russia and Great Britain should compel his imperial majesty to withdraw his support. He not only recommended, but required, the exclusion of Russian ships, laden with the means of hostility, from the entrance of the sea of Marmora and the passage to the Mediterranean; intimating, that any encouragement given to the adversaries of France would be deemed an act of enmity, and would produce vigorous measures of counteraction.

This declaration being communicated to the Russian and British envoys, with a view of learning their sentiments, the insolence of the demand was censured, and the impropriety of acquiescence was stated in strong terms; yet the sultan, overawed by the resolute tone which Sebastiani had assumed, gave notice that the exclusion would be enforced. Italinski announced his inten-

tion of returning into Russia, if the Porte should persist in this mean submission to the dictates of France ; and he peremptorily demanded the reinstatement of the hospodars of Walachia and Moldavia, who had been removed from their stations at the desire of Sebastiani. After a delay of three weeks, those princes were restored, notwithstanding their alleged delinquency or disaffection. This tardy compliance gave offence, rather than satisfaction, to Alexander ; and the promise of leaving the navigation unrestricted did not allay his desire of intimidating the Porte, by hostilities, into a rupture with France, or of profiting in point of territorial acquisition by the weakness of the Turkish government. He sent an army into Moldavia under the command of Michelson, who, in an absurd manifesto, stated frivolous pretences as grounds of hostility. In the invaded province all opposition was quickly subdued : the defenders of Walachia made a feeble resistance ; and Bessarabia also submitted to the Russians, who advanced to the Danube with hopes of ulterior conquest.

An invasion so unprovoked inflamed the Turks almost to phrenzy. They imprecated vengeance on the daring infidels, and eagerly desired to be led into the field. But the court did not readily imbibe the furious zeal of the people. Harassed by insurrections of the fanatics of Arabia, of the oppressed Christians in Servia and Bosnia, and of the provincials in various parts of Albania, Selim was confused and distracted. Amidst these various contests he was inclined to preserve peace with a nation whose power he dreaded : but, when a Russian vessel had attempted to enter the Constantinopolitan strait with dispatches for Italinski, which, on the appearance of opposition, were thrown into the sea, he yielded to the national wish, and declared war against Alexander. A great force was levied for the defence of the empire ; and even the pasha of Widin, who had so frequently acted the part of a rebel, led an army against the sultan's enemies.

So desirous was the Russian emperor of humbling the Turks, that he courted the aid of Great Britain against them, alleging the necessity of annihilating the French influence over the divan. The king, unwilling to disoblige so powerful an ally, whose friendship he wished to secure, ordered sir John Thomas Duckworth to enter the Dardanelles, and offer terms to the Porte at the cannon's mouth. The admiral approached the strait with seven ships of the line ; and, in passing the two first castles, he made no return to the hostile fire, wishing (he

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says) "to preserve every appearance of amity;" but, as this forbearance did not conciliate the Turks, he returned with great spirit the heavy cannonade of the interior forts. Observing a small squadron near Point Pesquies, he ordered an immediate attack, as if the two nations had been long at war. The leading division of his fleet fired as it passed; and sir Sydney Smith completed the confusion of the Turks, who were compelled to witness the destruction of one ship of the line and four frigates. This outrage excited, among the subjects of the Porte, all the warmth of indignation; and it convinced the world, that even those governments which make the loudest boast of their adherence to justice, are sometimes disposed to follow that course which they would strongly reprobate in the practice of others. Proceeding through the strait, the fleet reached the Prince's islands, and anchored at the distance of about eight miles from Constantinople. Mr. Arbuthnot then proposed a negotiation, in which the Porte acquiesced; and thus an insulted nation gained time for those defensive preparations which had been hitherto neglected.

While the grand signor professed a desire of peace, the people loudly called for war; and the zeal with which batteries and other works were raised could not be exceeded. Some French engineers and officers of artillery directed these necessary labours; and a well-fortified coast defied all attacks from a squadron which had no land force to invade the country.

The proposals of the British envoy were not the most reasonable that could be offered to an independent power: but the supposed imbecility of the Turkish cabinet encouraged an attempt to enforce submission. It was required, as a pledge of amicable intentions on the part of the grand signor, that all his ships of war should be delivered up with their stores, and that he should enter into such engagements as might secure the influence of the British court over the divan; and it was announced that a non-compliance with these terms would expose his vessels and his capital to the risk of destruction. The imperious demands were not immediately rejected; but, after six days of negotiation, they were declared inadmissible.

If the admiral had been inclined to cannonade or bombard the Turkish capital, it appears, by his own account, to have been out of his power. The strength of the current from the Bosphorus, and the circuitous eddies of the port, rendered a commanding breeze a necessary prelude to the dispositions for an attack; but such a wind he had not the good fortune to obtain. Indeed, he

was pleased at the distant position which he had been obliged to take, as "a nearer approach might have given cause for suspicion and alarm, and have cut off the prospect of an amicable adjustment." But he had no reason to expect a speedy accommodation, after he had roused every man in the empire against the bold intruders by the destruction of the squadron in the Dardanelles.

When the negotiations were broken off, a retreat was absolutely necessary, as, in addition to the number of well-manned batteries, twelve ships of the line and nine frigates were apparently ready for action, with a multitude of smaller vessels. The vice-admiral therefore weighed anchor, and, unattacked by the fleet, sailed toward the strait. The forts harassed the retiring squadron with a spirited fire; and it was apprehended that the granite shot, some of which (it is said) exceeded the weight of 800 pounds, would have greatly injured the ships: but the damage inflicted in that respect was not very severe. In the advance and retreat, however, 277 men were killed or wounded.

This expedition was no proof of the judgment or ability of the ministers. It served only to expose the public character of Great Britain to reproach for the injustice of the attempt, and to ridicule for the mode in which the scheme was conducted. If intimidation was the only object, the commander proceeded too far, as he converted terror into rage; and, if a serious impression upon Constantinople was intended, the vigour that was exercised was insufficient and inadequate.

Instead of sending powerful aid to Prussia, the court being inconsiderately and unjustly intent upon the new war, sent an armament to Egypt. Major-general Fraser sailed from Sicily with all the troops that could be spared from the defence of that island; but, the greater part of the transports being separated from the rest, not many more than 1000 men disembarked near Marabout. Major Misset, the British resident at Alexandria, had already exerted all his endeavours to promote the surrender of the town to the English, while the French consul was employed in stimulating the governor to resist the intruders with the utmost vigour. Having forced an entrenchment under a heavy fire, the troops marched toward the city, and, by menacing the inhabitants with a furious assault, procured from the feeble garrison a promise of capitulation. The terms were quickly adjusted; and thus a considerable town was obtained, beside two frigates, with the loss of only seven men. Sir John Duckworth soon after arrived with his squadron; and, the rest of the transports having

also reached the coast, the new conquest seemed to be secure. When it was represented by the resident and the chief magistrate, that the Alexandrians and their new masters were in danger of famine, unless Rosetta should be seized, the commander-in-chief sent a detachment, which easily took possession of the heights of Aboumandour. Without a previous examination of the town and its means of defence, major-general Wauchope and brigadier Meade rashly entered with the whole party, and were exposed to an incessant firing from the houses, by which above 460 men were killed or wounded. The leader of the detachment was one of the victims, but his associate escaped with only a wound. Another attempt was made with a more considerable force, which, it was expected, would be joined by a strong body of Mamelouks. Brigadier Stewart, who was the commanding officer on this occasion, invested the town as far as the number of his troops would allow, and commenced a bombardment and cannonade, which the Albanians and the armed inhabitants answered by discharges of musquetry through innumerable apertures in the walls. After a fortnight's siege, the approach of a reinforcement to the enemy occasioned a retreat, during which some attempts were made to surround the invaders, who rescued themselves, however, with great spirit and alacrity. In this imprudent enterprize, above 900 men were killed, wounded, captured, or reported to be missing; and it was afterwards demonstrated, that the alleged motive for the attempt rested on misinformation. Alexandria was at length surrendered to avoid a ruinous attack, which could not be withstood without a fresh supply of men; and the troops, after the liberation of their captive comrades, returned to Sicily. The public murmured at the misfortunes of this unnecessary war; while the new ministers were not displeased at an opportunity of censuring the folly and rashness of their predecessors.

During this war, the prince, whom the domineering allies wished to reduce to full submission, lost his throne by his partiality to European tactics. The preparations which he made to resist his enemies had an unfortunate effect, by calling the attention of his people to his zeal for the new discipline. When prejudices are obstinate and deeply-rooted, attempts for their removal are highly dangerous, unless the greatest delicacy and caution be used. Selim had long evinced a partiality for the arts and customs of the polished nations of Christendom; and he particularly wished to improve the military discipline of his people. He had therefore equipped and trained a numerous body of his subjects in the modes and forms of those who were hated as

infidels; and this innovation excited such disgust and alarm among the rigid votaries of the Koran, that prudence seemed to dictate its temporary discontinuance. Trusting, however, to his long establishment on the throne, and to the dignity of his character and station, he did not relinquish his scheme; and he even dismissed the Janisaries from their attendance at court. Those arrogant bigots denounced vengeance against him. One of their number having, in a quarrel with a soldier of the new institution, dared to animadvert upon the conduct of his sovereign, Halil, the commandant of Cavac, sharply reproved him for his freedom of remark; and, between the supporters of the old forms and the advocates of military innovation, a conflict arose, in which that officer and Mahmoud, the inspector of the fortifications, lost their lives. This was the beginning of an insurrection, which soon proceeded to the height of treason. A considerable number of the people, complaining of the scarcity of provisions, were ready to join the discontented soldiers, as soon as they heard of the mutiny. Another officer, who favoured the military reform, was murdered at Buyukdere, with some of his attendants, by the fury of the insurgents, who then repaired to the capital, and received such accessions of force as swelled their number to a great army. The chief Bostangi was sent by the sultan to appease their wrath by the mildness of persuasion, and to allure them to submission by pecuniary offers; but he withheld the money, and failed in the object of his commission. To convince the government that they were actuated only by public motives, they punished two of their associates with death for acts of depredation; and, affecting a high regard for the laws of the empire, they declared that they would not prosecute their enterprise, unless the mufti should honour it with his sanction. Their leaders stated two questions for his decision. One was, whether a prince who had introduced among true believers the manners and customs of infidels, and manifested an intention of subverting that military establishment which combined the defence of the state with the support of law and religion, ought to retain his exalted dignity. The other interrogatory related to the invalidity of Selim's continued pretensions to the throne, as he had reigned without issue beyond the limited term of seven years. Over-awed by the firm countenance and stern demeanour of the malcontents, the mufti gave such answers as they wished to receive. This encouragement prompted them to demand the exemplary punishment of the sultan's chief advisers. Several members of the divan were immediately decapitated, and their bleeding heads were sent to

May 29.

the rebels, who, still dissatisfied, insisted upon the deposition of Selim. The unfortunate prince, despairing of the retention of his throne, visited his imprisoned cousin Mustapha, whose claim to the succession would, he thought, be acknowledged; and, having warned him of the danger of making great changes, abdicated the sovereignty. He then took a cup of sherbet, into which poison had by his order been infused, and would have closed his life and reign at the same time, if the young prince had not dashed the cup from his hand, and, by assurances of protection, recalled him to fortitude and to hope. When a party of Janisaries, deputed by the insurgent leaders, reached the palace with an intimation of the popular will, Mustapha had already assumed the imperial dignity; and, being proclaimed sultan, he repaired to the principal mosque in solemn procession, to confirm the political appointment by the awful ceremonies of religion.

The new emperor annulled the offensive military regulations; and, as the French influence prevailed so strongly in Europe, he was more disposed to listen to the insinuations of Sebastiani, than to yield to the menaces of Russia and Great Britain. He therefore suffered the war to be continued; and, as a Russian fleet, commanded by Siniavin, blockaded the entrance of the Dardanelles, and intercepted the supplies intended for Constantinople, he ordered the capitan-pasha to attack the enemy, who had already taken possession of several islands in the Archipelago. An engagement ensued near Tenedos, to the great disadvantage of the Turks, who, in opposing a superior force, lost seven ships by capture and destruction, and witnessed the death of 1000 of their associates. The war was, at the same time, prosecuted by land; but the Russians did not materially add to the success of the preceding campaign.

While Alexander endeavoured to impress the Turks with a dread of his power, he directed the greatest share of his attention to the war which he waged against the French. He encouraged the king of Prussia with the hope of better fortune, and made arrangements for a vigorous campaign. His Britannic majesty, having re-established the relations of peace and amity with Frederic (who renounced all pretensions to Hanover), invigorated the exertions of this prince by pecuniary grants and large supplies of arms and stores. He also continued to subsidize the king of Sweden, who, by keeping an army in Pomerania, occasioned a diversion of the French force.

Military operations, after a short respite, were renewed even in the winter. The hostilities of small detachments, and the in-

cursions of dispersed parties, are unworthy of specification in the general narrative of an extended war: but the affair of Mohrungen claims notice. Major-general Markoff assaulted a strong post, and was repelled by a gradual increase of the hostile force. Being encouraged by an accession of cavalry under Anrep, he renewed the attack with success, but lost his brave and esteemed associate. At the same time, a party of dragoons assaulted the town, and brought off many prisoners and the whole baggage of Bernadotte, including money and many valuable articles, said to have been purloined in Germany. On both sides, the killed and wounded nearly amounted to 4000.

Weary of that repose which the winter seemed to enjoin, Bonapartè made preparations for a grand attack. Beningsen, who obtained this unexpected information from a captive officer, drew up his army in array of battle in a very unfavourable situation; but, making a second choice with less constraint, he endeavoured to anticipate the enemy in the seizure of Allenstein. In advancing to this post, the leading troops were exposed to a severe fire from a wood in their front; and the left wing obstinately contended at the bridge of Bergfried with a superior force. Failing in his immediate object, the general summoned Lestocq to his aid, and retreated to the neighbourhood of Prussian Eylau. The rear-guard seemed to be in danger of being overwhelmed in its march: yet it found an opportunity of taking a position at night. Near Landsberg, it repelled the encroaching enemy; but, by pursuing the advantage, involved itself in great peril, until a reinforcement enabled it to check and confound the efforts of its numerous assailants.

It was an object of earnest deliberation, whether the Russians should continue their retreat, or risk the consequences of a general engagement. Beningsen was disposed to think that an avoidance of the offered battle would be much more prudent and advisable than the risk of a calamitous defeat. There was a probability of support from Austria and Great Britain; and a length of time was required for a complete organization of the means of hostility,—a full development of the Russian resources. But the idea of retreating was so offensive to the feelings of the officers, and of the army in general, that their commander resolved to put their courage to a renewed test. Being particularly desirous of saving Koningsberg, he selected the country about Eylau as the scene of action. By a misapprehension of his orders, that town was suddenly evacuated; and it was instantly seized by the enemy. The captors were soon dislodged

by a fierce attack ; but another party took possession, planted artillery in the streets, and defended the place until the redoubled vigour of the Russians drove out the intruders with great slaughter.

The Russians, to the amount of 85,000 men, were drawn up in an open space of uneven ground, bounded for the most part by woods. Some heights, on which batteries were placed, appeared in their front. The first line consisted of four divisions of infantry, in small columns, and the second of one compact mass; the wings were protected by the cavalry, some parts of which were also arranged in the line. The town was not included in the points of defence, having been quitted by the troops, when Barclay de Tolli had received a severe wound amidst his efforts for the preservation of the post. Apprehending an attempt to pierce the centre from the town, the general strengthened his reserve ; and, while he in some measure weakened his right by his new dispositions, he trusted that the arrival of the Prussians would secure him on that side.

The ground which the French occupied was so far elevated as to command the position of their adversaries ; and it also favoured them by affording intermediate spaces of shelter and concealment. About 85,000 men composed their force. Their first object was to turn the Russian right ; but the troops employed in that service met with such strenuous opposition, that they fled in great disorder ; and, from a village which they had seized, they were driven with loss and disgrace. An assault upon the centre was equally unsuccessful ; but the enemy took revenge for these repulses by a heavy fire of artillery, which made great havoc among the exposed ranks of the Russians. Serpallen, a village that fronted the left, was attacked by several strong columns ; and its defenders, being constrained to retire, set fire to it, and rejoined the rest of their division. Amidst the obscurity produced by the smoke of the burning houses, and by a heavy fall of snow, six columns advanced toward the Russian line, and had almost reached it, when the returning light became sufficient for a display of their movements. Beningsen immediately advanced to meet them ; and so resolutely did his men sustain the assault, that the intimidated foe retreated in confusion. During the storm, a regiment of cuirassiers had penetrated between the centre and the left ; but they were encountered in their bold career by the Cossacks and hussars, and only eighteen of the number escaped. The left wing still contended against a superior force, and could not avoid the danger of being turned ; and the

centre, being subjected to a renewal of attack, gave way in disorder. This unexpected transition from the hopes of victory to the prospect of defeat, alarmed the general and his officers, who anxiously deliberated on the means of stemming the torrent.

When the flying artillery had been brought forward with some effect, the long desired appearance of Lestocq removed all apprehensions. He advanced with his particular division and two Russian regiments, and reached the right wing, with which he had been ordered to co-operate : but, receiving new instructions, he hastened along the rear to the left, and found the enemy in possession of a village, which it was necessary to storm before he could effectually relieve the harassed wing. All who occupied this post were killed or taken ; and the confederates, marching in two lines against a numerous column, and reserving their fire for a close conflict, poured such effective volleys, that 3000 of the enemy, dead or wounded, soon covered this part of the field. The left had by this time resumed a bold attitude, and repelled the troops which had nearly triumphed. But the battle was not yet closed : for the general was so unwilling to suffer the hostile occupancy of Schloditten, a post on his right, that he ordered it to be attacked at night with the utmost vigour ; and his wish was speedily accomplished. Both armies now desisted from action, after a lavish waste of blood. About 20,000 of the allies, and probably 25,000 of their opponents, were killed or wounded ¹.

In a council of war, it was debated whether the Russians should keep the field, endeavour by another attack to secure the victory, or retreat toward Koningsberg. The last proposition was adopted, not because it was the wish of the majority, but in consequence of the scarcity of ammunition, and also of that want of sustenance which had concurred with fatigue to leave the troops nearly in a state of exhaustion. The retrograde march commenced during the night ; but, after a short respite, hostilities were resumed, and Murat's cavalry suffered a repulse. So severely were the French harassed by the light troops, that they requested an armistice, which was refused. A separate pacification with Prussia was also proposed ; but no attention was paid to the insidious offer.

The leader of the invading host had conceived the hope of precluding the return of the Russian army within its frontiers ; but he had exposed himself to such loss in the attempt, that he

¹ Wilson's *Sketch of the Campaign of 1807* ; and the *Appendix*.

retreated to the Vistula, abandoning a part of his artillery and baggage. Advancing as he receded, the allies continued to molest his detachments; but they were sometimes in danger of being overpowered. At Ostrolenka and Braunsberg, obstinate combats took place: in one of these actions, the Russians sustained a rude shock; in the other, the Prussians were repelled with considerable loss. During these partial contests, Bonaparte prosecuted the war in Silesia with less vigour; sent orders to France, and to the dependent governments, for considerable accessions of force; and directed his attention to the acquisition of Dantzic, which he ordered marshal Le Fèvre to invest.

While one great division, consisting chiefly of foreign troops, conducted the siege, the principal army formed, as it were, a distant investment of the besieging force, which, being thus watched, did not presume to neglect its duty. To the ordinary operations of a siege, a bombardment was at length added. The defence was animated and resolute, and some spirited *sorties* inflicted mischief on the enemy, whose vigour and perseverance, however, threatened to frustrate the hopes of the garrison. A holm, or small river-land, which was occupied by the Russian troops, harassed the besiegers by the fire of its redoubts: but the defenders were surprised by colonel Aimé, and overpowered.

Kamenskoi, son of the field-marshal, was detached by sea, with a select body, to prevent the ill consequences which might arise from the capture of the holm. Landing near the fort of Weichselmunde, the troops advanced along the right bank of the Vistula and stormed a triple line of entrenchments in a wood; but, when they had passed though it to a plain, their progress was stopped by the exertions of a superior force, which received continual accessions from the opposite bank. They commenced a retreat, when the assaults of cavalry were added to those attacks which had already made a serious impression. They rallied at the wood, and checked their pursuers. Being again driven back, they were followed into the wood, but cleared it by the use of the bayonet. They were finally repelled by a furious cannonade, which they had not the means of returning.

Having made gradual advances, and taken menacing positions, the besiegers made preparations for an assault: but, to avoid the extremity of outrage, general Kalkreuth and the garrison
May 20. consented to a surrender. The troops were allowed to retire with their arms and baggage, under a promise of not serving against the French for one year. As Le Fèvre calculated that

the place might still be defended for some weeks, he condescended to grant a capitulation which was deemed honourable by military men.

The loss of Dantzic was a serious misfortune to the allies, by whom more vigorous measures of relief ought to have been pursued; but it seemed rather to animate than to repress their subsequent efforts. General Beningsen, directing his view to the position of marshal Ney, entertained the hope of defeating him, and of attacking Davoust in the sequel with equal effect. Feints were made at Spanden and Lomitten, against Bernadotte and Soult, whose attention was engaged for many hours, while the real attack was pointed at Gutstadt, Wolsdorff, and other posts. An impression was so far made upon the troops of Ney, that they were driven from the Aller; and, on the following day, they were encountered at Deppen, in the front by prince Bagration, and in the rear by Platoff, whose active and intrepid followers, swimming across the Parsarge, confused the enemy by an impetuous charge: but the result of the whole scheme was not so advantageous as might have been expected: and, in leading to a general engagement, which might more prudently have been avoided, it was highly injurious to the cause of the confederate princes.

As soon as Napoleon was informed of the repulse of Ney, he resolved to advance with a great force; while the Russian commander retired toward Heilsberg, his march being protected by prince Bagration on the left, and by the Cossack chief on the right. The light troops fiercely contended in their progress; and all the efforts of the French could not defeat the rear-guard. In moving toward the Russian entrenchments, the enemy attacked the prince's division with such impetuosity, that it would have been crushed without the arrival of succour: but he was enabled, by seasonable aid, to make an orderly retreat. The French left took possession of a wood; and batteries were planted, which began to play upon the whole extent of the lines. Advancing at all points to meet the storm, the Russians and their associates resisted a most formidable force with all the vigour of habitual courage. They lost an outwork, but quickly recovered it, and maintained, at the close of the battle, their extended position: but 7000 of their number were killed or wounded. The French suffered far more severely ¹.

Notwithstanding this gallant defence of the lines, Beningsen

¹ *Wilson's Sketch*.—Sir Robert calls this defence a *victory*; but, by admitting that it “had not an influence beyond the moment,” he annihilates the claim. A victory implies much more than a repulse or a momentary prevalence.



was diffident of his security in that position, in which the French, by constructing bridges over the Aller, might encompass his army, and preclude the means of supply and subsistence. Apprehending that Koningsberg was threatened by a particular movement which a reconnoitring party discerned, he strengthened Lestocq's division, and sent it to protect that city. The French endeavoured to intercept this detachment; and some battalions and squadrons were destroyed or captured by the vigilance of Soult; but the town was for a time secured. In the mean time the army proceeded to Schippenbeil; whence, as it did not afford the capability of a position, a forced march was made to Friedland. This town was also occupied by a body of French cavalry, whose retreat was the immediate consequence of a brisk attack.

In the late battle, the corps of general Oudinot had suffered greater loss than any other grand division of the army. As the remains of his force were reported to be at a short distance, June 14. unsupported, Beningsen sent a detachment, soon after day-break, to obtain (as he imagined) an easy victory. Only a small force at first appeared; but gradual accessions swelled it to a considerable army; for the divisions of Lasnes and Mortier, and other troops, added their strength to the assaulted body. Speedy support was therefore required, to rescue the endangered corps; and the greater part of the Russian army successively reached the scene of action. The French were more advantageously posted; and the seizure of Heinrichsdorff gave to their left a prospect of turning the opposite wing: but an attempt for that purpose was so vigorously resisted, that the advancing columns fell back in confusion. In a contest with the Russian left, also, the French were warmly pressed: and many of their battalions took refuge in a wood, from which a fruitless effort was made to dislodge them.

Although Beningsen had too small a force to oppose with effect the increasing army of Napoleon, who was advancing (as he said) to put an end to the war, he ordered 6000 men to cross the Aller, and seize Allenburg, that his retreat to Wehlau might not be intercepted. The separation even of that small number materially diminished his hopes of success in the dreadful collision which he expected on the arrival of the celebrated warrior, who, when the early cannonade reached his ears, exclaimed, "This is an auspicious day; for it is the anniversary of the battle of Marengo." For thirteen hours the battle had raged with little intermission: and, when he brought up his aggregate force, he made new arrangements. To Ney he assigned the command of the right

wing; Mortier conducted the left; and Lasnes communicated his master's orders to the central body. The first of those generals began his operations by opening a formidable battery. He quickly silenced a small battery, which had been planted on the opposite bank of the river; and repelled, by a reserve of dragoons, all the attempts of the cavalry to turn his wing. The Russian guard, boldly moving forward in defiance of his artillery, endeavoured, by the forcible impression of the bayonet, to shake the firmness of his leading column: but the troops, with the aid of a part of his powerful reserve, repelled the attack with great slaughter. As the town was unfortified, it was quickly forced; and the streets were covered with victims. The Russian centre, however, for some time withstood the impetuosity of the enemy, who, animated by the advantage of a commanding superiority of number, rushed to the charge with eager alacrity.

If the leader of the French had taken a comprehensive view of the situation of the adverse army, he might, in the opinion of some experienced officers, have involved it in total ruin. He might have sent a strong division to the right bank, which was so defenceless, that a retreat might thus have been rendered impracticable; and a renewed attempt to turn the right would probably have been successful, when that wing and the centre were insulated by the capture of Friedland. But he was content with the efficacy of direct assaults and obvious hostilities, which at length enforced the retreat of the whole Russian army. It was conducted with a degree of order which could hardly have been expected under such discouraging circumstances. "The rear-guard (says the general) checked the career of the foe, until all the troops had crossed the Aller¹."

The first consequence of this defeat was the surrender of Königsberg. Lestocq had defended the town against some fierce assaults; but, when he received intelligence of the disastrous conflict, he left the inhabitants to their fate, and, retiring with small loss, joined the unfortunate commander on his way to Tilsit. The next result of the battle was an application for an armistice,

¹ He adds, that the army filed off over a bridge, which was exposed to the hostile fire; but sir Robert Wilson says, that the Russians destroyed the bridges during the battle, and, after marching along the left bank until the pursuers had desisted from action, discovered a ford, which allowed a difficult passage. The fact seems to be, that the general passed over the ordinary town-bridge with his left wing, and that the rest of the troops forded the river.—Speaking of the number of killed and wounded, the military author limits it to 10 generals, 500 officers, and 12,000 men, on the side of the Russians; while the French who suffered were at least 7000, beside officers. Both parties could boast of prisoners. The Russians, by his account, lost only 17 pieces of cannon, instead of 80, the number stated in the 79th French bulletin.

with a view to a speedy pacification. So severe was the shock of misfortune to the feelings of the king, that his faculties seemed to be suspended. He struck his forehead in silent despair, and paced the streets of Memel, unconscious of public observation. The queen felt an equal acuteness of anguish; but, being more collected, she gently took his arm, and withdrew him from the anxious gaze of the sympathizing throng.

When the French had reached Tilsit, an armistice was readily granted at the request of the Russian general, who consented that the Niemen should be the boundary between the armies during the intended negotiation. A separate truce was adjusted with the Prussian monarch, whose fortresses of Colberg, Graudenz, and Pillau, not being yet taken by the besiegers, were to remain in the same state. On the invitation of Napoleon, who wished to exert all his address for the seduction of Alexander from the paths of honour and political virtue, an interview took place between those potentates upon a raft in the middle of the river.

June 25. Each prince, accompanied by five generals and courtiers, reached the raft from the opposite bank at the same moment; and those who had so lately aimed at the ruin of each other, embraced with an appearance of cordiality. They conversed for two hours in a pavilion; and the artful ruler of France displayed, in such glowing colours, the joys of extended power, and held out such an attractive prospect of the advantages which might be derived from an union of counsels with the great empire, that Alexander, who, in his attack upon the Porte, had shown himself not destitute of ambition, listened with pleasure to his new adviser, and was ready to rush into an odious and disgraceful alliance.

For twenty days, the two potentates resided at Tilsit, where they were occasionally visited by the king of Prussia, who, when he objected to some parts of the proposed treaty, was insulted with a hint of his not being entitled to the honour of consultation, as he had been so completely conquered. He replied, that he was not fairly conquered, but was betrayed by reputed friends, and abandoned by perfidious subjects. The treaty with Russia was

July 7. first signed. Alexander consented to the spoliation of his Prussian ally, to the erection of the kingdom of Westphalia, and the augmentation of the dominions of the Saxon elector, in the settlement of whose frontiers he received an accession of territory, which, however, was not very considerable. He acknowledged the confederation of the Rhine, and the royal titles of Joseph and Louis Bonapartè. He promised to withdraw his

troops from Moldavia and the neighbouring provinces, and to accept the mediation of France for a treaty of peace with the grand signor. He also agreed to some secret articles, by which he connived at the usurpations and encroachments of Napoleon, from the Atlantic to the Vistula, and from the Mediterranean and the Adriatic to the British Ocean, and allowed himself to domineer over Sweden, to influence the politics of Austria, and direct an ambitious eye to the imbecility of Turkey.

In granting peace to the king of Prussia, the conqueror deprived him of more than a third part of his dominions, transferring his provinces between the Elbe and the Rhine to Jerome Bonapartè, to whom the territories of the elector of Hanover, the duke of Brunswick, and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, were also assigned, with the title of king of Westphalia. To the elector (or the king) of Saxony, the greater part of Prussian Poland was given, with the title of duke of Warsaw; and the city of Dantzic was restored to nominal independence under the protection of that prince and of the Prussian government. As a proof of the humiliation to which Frederic was reduced, the free use of a military road was granted, through his remaining possessions, to the Saxon prince. The dukedom of Warsaw was to be governed according to a constitution which should “secure the liberties and privileges of the people, and be not incompatible with the tranquillity of the neighbouring states.” A code was soon framed in pursuance of this stipulation. It provided for the establishment of a general diet, consisting of a senate and a representative assembly. The king was authorized to nominate the senators, to the number of thirty, if he should be so disposed; but at least eighteen were to be appointed; while the nobility and the towns were to elect 100 deputies. All religions were declared to be free, under the predominance of the catholic faith. Individual slavery was abolished, while the king and his ministers were slaves to the great Napoleon.

Peace was not yet fully restored to the continent. The Swedish monarch did not act with the martial vigour of the twelfth Charles; but his zeal, in some measure, supplied the place of talent. Stralsund was defended against the efforts of the French, who were harassed by spirited *sorties*; and, when the siege was raised with a view of strengthening the army employed in the reduction of Dantzic, the Swedes molested the retiring troops with considerable effect. But when, by too wide an extension of their line, they had furnished the enemy with opportunities of seizing various posts, and capturing a multitude of men, their commander agreed

to a truce, which the king, on his arrival in Pomerania, did not strictly observe, because it was not adjusted with his consent. In a conversation with general Brune upon this topic, he stated the necessity of opposing the aggressive violence of Napoleon, who acted as the scourge of Europe. He animadverted upon the illegality of the existing government of France, and forcibly recommended the interest of the lawful king, whose standard, he said, the people were bound both by duty and interest to follow. When Brune asked, where was that standard, Gustavus replied, "You will always find it with me." He advised the general to adopt the cause of legitimacy and justice, and spoke of the glorious opportunity, which had been offered to Bonapartè, of acquiring immortal fame by the restoration of Louis : but he could not expect that the officer whom he addressed would yield to his remonstrances, or desert, without strong hopes of success, the usurper to whom he had sworn allegiance.

The zeal of Gustavus was so fervent, that he even proposed to the Russian minister an expedition to France, with a great army of confederates, for the re-establishment of the house of Bourbon ; a suggestion which only excited ridicule, as at that time even his Britannic majesty disclaimed the idea of contending for the interest of the exiled family. He was so unwilling to suspend hostilities, that he exposed his troops to great danger by a rash attack : but they effected their escape to Stralsund, after sustaining and inflicting great loss. He rejected, after the peace of Tilsit, the offered mediation of Frederic, and expressed his conviction, that, in signing a treaty with Napoleon, he should subscribe his own ruin both in this world and in the next. In defending the town, after the renewal of the siege, he pretended to rely upon supernatural aid, which, he said, he was persuaded to expect by Jung's explanation of the Apocalypse : but notwithstanding the spirited exertions of the garrison, his confidence was shaken by the dread of a bombardment or an assault ; and he retired with his army to the isle of Rugen, leaving a confidential officer in the town, not to dictate his will to the ruling council, but to assist in procuring favourable terms for the inhabitants, who were content, however, to surrender at discretion. He left the island, also, to hostile occupancy.

The treaty of Tilsit led to an armistice between Russia and the Porte, but not before another naval engagement had occurred, in which the Turks severely suffered. It was agreed, that prisoners and captured ships should be mutually released ;
Aug. 24. that the Russians should relinquish all their conquests ;

and that, if peace should not result from the depending negotiations, hostilities should not re-commence before the ensuing March.

By an article of the late humiliating treaty, the Prussian ports were closed, not only against all British vessels, but even against neutral ships sailing from the ports of this island or of the colonies: and no subjects of Frederic were allowed to send merchandize to Great Britain by any mode or channel whatever. This and other acts of compliance and subserviency were requited, on the part of France, by insult and injury. Troops were left in the territories which the king was permitted to retain, and military arrogance, rapine, and outrage, convinced the unfortunate Prussians that they had been conquered by the basest of mankind. Fortresses which ought to have been restored were still occupied by the perfidious captors; and pretended friends, acting as determined foes, exercised the most abominable tyranny. Such were the effects of imprudence and precipitancy, in the conduct of a monarch whose general character was respectable: but no other enemy than Bonapartè would, in the midst of civilized Europe, have thus treated a vanquished prince.



LETTER IX.

Survey of the Affairs of Great Britain, including a War with the Danes, and a Contest with the United States of North America.

No ministers, perhaps, ever more disappointed the public expectation than the statesmen who lost their power by their zeal for the support of the catholic interest. They had long been considered by the public as men of talent and ability; and some of them, by a part of the nation, were believed to be patriots, because they boldly claimed that praise for themselves, and freely censured the conduct and system of the court. Like Pulteney and other apostates of the preceding reign, Mr. Grey (or lord Howick), and his chief associates, except the Grenville party, recanted their popular tenets, and became converts to the established creed of ministerial policy. They abandoned all thoughts of that reform which they had pronounced to be necessary for the welfare and security of the country; they rendered still more oppressive that

odious impost which had alarmingly increased the difficulty of procuring ordinary support by honest industry; they extended, beyond all bounds of moderation, the chain of patronage, and wantonly encouraged the claims of rapacity; and, by their parliamentary tone and manner, they insulted the feelings of those who suffered under their sway. The expeditions which they ordered were ill-judged and ill-conducted: they had no regular plan of action; and their boasted talents were unaccompanied with political wisdom. Yet, for the chief feature of their administration, the abolition of an infamous traffic in human blood, they deserve high praise.

A. D. The chief successors of the retiring ministers, in the 1807. treasury and admiralty, were the duke of Portland and lord Mulgrave: Mr. Perceval, a barrister, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; the secretaries of state were the lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh, and Mr. Canning; lord Eldon again became chancellor; and the other members of the cabinet were the earls Camden and Bathurst, the earls of Westmoreland and Chatham. Some of these courtiers were qualified to shine in parliamentary debate; some did not even possess that capability; and, perhaps, not one of the whole number could be justly considered as an accomplished statesman. Yet, as they filled the places of men who had forfeited their popularity, their administration, however faulty and imperfect, however courtly and corrupt, seemed to content the majority of the nation.

As the pledge which the king had demanded from his late ministers did not appear to be strictly constitutional, one of their friends took an early opportunity of submitting it to parliamentary consideration, by arguing that an acquiescence in such a restriction was contrary to the first duties of the confidential servants of the crown. The question was warmly debated; and the proposition was so plausible, that the new directors of the national affairs could only procure a majority of thirty-two votes against it. In another trial of strength they had a greater preponderance; but they were so apprehensive of being checked and thwarted in their operations, that they advised their sovereign to exercise his prerogative in a dissolution of the parliament, as

Apr. 29. they confidently expected to obtain a signal triumph by such an appeal to the sense of the people. The renewal of contests and commotions, so soon after a general election, drew acrimonious animadversions from the disappointed party; but the measure was far from being unjustifiable, and was by no means displeasing to the public.

In the short session which followed the new elections, nothing memorable occurred: but the new ministers soon excited the public attention in a remarkable degree, by an expedition of an extraordinary nature. In the speech by which the two houses were prorogued, a hint was given of the expediency of counter-acting "the undisguised determination of the enemy to employ the means and resources of those countries which he possessed or controlled, for the purpose of effecting the ruin of this kingdom." Upon what country the storm of British indignation or policy would first fall, the public could only conjecture; for the object of the new armament was studiously concealed by the ministry, until the ships of war and transports had made a considerable progress in a northern voyage. It was then discovered by political inquirers, that Great Britain intended to exercise its mighty power against the feeble resources of Denmark.

In justification of the proposed enterprise it was alleged, that his majesty had "received the most positive information of the determination of the ruler of France to occupy, with a military force, the territory of Holstein, for the purpose of excluding Great Britain from all her accustomed channels of communication with the continent; of inducing or compelling the court of Denmark to close the passage of the Sound against the British commerce and navigation; and of availing himself of the aid of the Danish marine for the invasion" which he had long meditated. But, as these assertions were not established by proof, mere surmises and suspicions could not justify that outrageous assault which inflicted all the horrors of war upon an inaggressive nation. This resort to sanguinary extremities could only have been excused, if the addition of the means of annoyance, possessed by the neutral state, to the force of the enemy, appeared to be so important and powerful, as to menace the third state with total ruin: but even the most sensitive and timid politician could not apprehend that result from the incorporation of the Danish navy with the reduced marine of France. The attack was so unjust, that no high-minded statesman would have listened for a moment to that sophistry which could only throw a flimsy veil over the deformity of the scheme. It was, however, not merely vindicated, but even applauded, by courtly senators; for such is the modern degradation of the logical science, that it is more frequently exercised in confounding virtue and vice, and in palliating immorality and injustice, than in enlightening the minds of men; and political logic and mo-

ality are very different from correct reasoning and legitimate ethics.

Of the formidable armament which was prepared for this enterprize, lord Cathcart and admiral Gambier were invested with the concurrent command. The troops made a descent, without the least opposition, between Elsinour and Copenhagen; and, as the proclamation which the invaders issued did not either soothe or overawe the Danish court into implicit acquiescence, hostilities arose as soon as the enemy approached the capital. The Danish government, referring to the menaces thrown out by Mr. Jackson, the English envoy, and to his demand of passports, declared its intention of resisting all attacks, and ordered the seizure of British ships and property. The fire of gunboats did not materially obstruct the progress of the troops along the coast, or the preparations for a bombardment; and the occupants of different posts near the city did not act with vigour or success. At length the town was invested both by sea and land; and general Peymann, the governor, was summoned to surrender the fleet, after the defeat of a body of Danes at Kioge, by sir Arthur Wellesley, who captured above 1100 men. The request of a short delay, that the king and his son, who were then on the island of Funen, might be informed of the requisition, was treated with contempt; and the pretended friends of Denmark commenced a furious bombardment of the city, which was soon perceived to be on fire. During four days these violent operations, sometimes indeed intermitted from an affectation of lenity, marked the hostile spirit of the English. A desire of capitulation was then manifested by the Danes, who did not wish to see the destruction of their metropolis. About 2000 persons had already lost their lives, and 500 houses were reduced to a ruinous state; and the flames were rapidly spreading, when the
Sept. 7. governor proposed a negotiation. It was agreed that all the Danish ships of war¹, and the naval stores belonging to the king, should be delivered up to the associated commanders; that the citadel should be occupied by a British garrison, until the removal of the vessels; that the property sequestered by the Danes should be restored; that the citizens should not be in any respect injured or molested; and that the civil and military officers should retain their authority. Content with the possession of the chief fortress, lord Cathcart, who observed

¹ Namely, eighteen sail of the line, and fifteen frigates.

that the people were in a state of high irritation, promised that his troops should not be quartered in the city, and left the gates in the custody of the Danish soldiers. After a delay of six weeks, during which the popular ferment did not seriously explode, the ships and stores were brought away; and another power was thrown into the arms of France.

The expedition to the Baltic accelerated the effect of the treaty of Tilsit. Alexander issued an acrimonious declaration, accusing the British monarch of neglecting the interest of Russia, of molesting her commerce, and harassing a friendly power ^{Oct. 31.} with unprovoked hostilities; and he renounced all connexion with a court which could be guilty of such injustice, intimated the revival of the armed neutrality, demanded satisfaction both for himself and the Danes, and desired that a speedy pacification might be concluded between Great Britain and France. Our sovereign, in return, displayed equal *hauteur* and asperity. Having declared war in form against Denmark, Tuscany, Naples, Ragusa, and the Ionian islands¹, he vindicated his conduct by contrasting it with that of the emperor, who, instead of prosecuting that course which his honour and interest pointed out, had degraded himself by a mean subserviency to France. He re-proclaimed those principles of maritime law which he had formerly enforced; and, while he wished for the preservation of peace with Russia, he defied her animosity and indignation.

Another power to which the royal speech referred, as being too weak to preserve its independence, or maintain a dignified neutrality, was Portugal; but such circumstances occurred, as rendered it unnecessary, even in the opinion of the ministry, to seize the navy of that realm. As it was the object of the treaty of Tilsit to reduce all the powers, except the contracting parties, to a state of submission, arrogant menaces were thrown out against those states which seemed unwilling to adopt the continental system, or to comply in every respect with the will of Napoleon. It was required from the prince regent of Portugal, that he should exclude all British vessels from his harbours, arrest the subjects of our sovereign, and seize their property. He readily promised to enforce the first demand; but objected to the other points, because a sense of honour, and a regard to the law of nations, forbade the exercise of such injustice. Arguments, drawn from systems which had been exploded by

¹ These, with the Bocca di Cataro, were surrendered to the French after the treaty of Tilsit.

Napoleon, were not calculated to dissuade him from his purpose; and he peremptorily renewed his arbitrary requisitions. The prince, having in vain endeavoured to procure a modification of the demands, seemed disposed to yield; but he privately gave notice to British subjects of the danger to which their continuance in Portugal would expose them; and the majority took an early opportunity of retiring with their property. A transfer of the court and government to the Brazilian territory, in the case of extreme danger, had long before been an object of anxious consideration¹; and the prince, being apprehensive of the seizure of his person, if the French should invade the realm, was disposed to listen to the advice which had been repeatedly given to him, and to emigrate to a distant province, which, he trusted, would afford him repose and security. Lord Strangford, the British minister at Lisbon, had acquiesced in the prohibition of commerce; but he opposed all farther compliance with the “unprincipled demands” of Napoleon; and, when the orders of detention and confiscation were issued by the prince, who then seemed more inclined to unite himself with the continent of Europe, than to retire to South America, sir Sydney Smith instituted a rigorous blockade at the mouth of the Tagus, after the retreat of the offended envoy to the squadron. Concluding that this act of hostility would intimidate the prince, his lordship returned to Lisbon, and proposed the alternative of a surrender of the Portuguese fleet, or of employing it in the conveyance of the most distinguished part of the nation to a Brazilian port. He easily persuaded the regent to abandon all thoughts of continuing in the peninsula. A French and Spanish army, commanded by Junot, had already entered the kingdom. Bonapartè had declared that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign; and, as the prince did not wish to provoke the English by conciliating the tyrant, he announced his intention of keeping his court at Rio de Janeiro, until a general peace should be concluded. Having nominated a council of regency, he prepared for his departure. His fleet consisted of eight ships of the line and four frigates; a number of armed mercantile vessels also attended the retiring court; and the British squadron escorted the whole armament. The scene was interesting; it was viewed with regret

¹ The idea was not altogether new. Dr. Smollet, the historian, formerly recommended to the British nation, if the danger of ruin should arise, a retreat to its colonial territories in North America; and the Rev. Mr. Boucher, during the war with revolutionary France, pointed out the eventual expediency of taking refuge in the East Indian dependencies of the state.

by the natives, who were at the same time pleased to find that an asylum was open to the endangered family and its faithful adherents; while the invaders, posted on the hills, observed the retreat with joy, considering the kingdom as left to their mercy.

The conquest of Portugal was an easy task. Junot took quiet possession of the capital; and this base adventurer, who had risen from the lowest rank, began to act as sovereign of the realm. He practised tyranny in every form; but plunder was his chief object. By his own unsanctioned authority, he exacted from all prelates, beneficiaries, and monastic superiors, a contribution of two-thirds, and, in some cases, three-fourths of the produce of their lands and funds; seized the church plate, and sent it to the mint; ordered all householders at Lisbon and Oporto to give up a moiety of their rents to the state; required, from the owners of land, a duplication of the tax which they annually paid for that species of possession; and insisted upon the redemption of all British property. Of these and all other spoils he reserved a twentieth part to himself, not for the immediate purposes of splendour, luxury, or comfort, but as the foundation of future opulence. To avoid or diminish the danger to which these injuries and insults exposed the invaders, he sent into France a considerable part of the Portuguese army, and disbanded the rest, even prohibiting the occasional use of fire-arms. For disobeying this arbitrary order, many of the natives were imprisoned, and nine were put to death at Caldas.

While the remains of the family of Braganza sought refuge beyond the Atlantic, the head of the house of Bourbon found protection in Great Britain. Alarmed at the confederacy which had been organized at Tilsit, he despaired of security upon the continent; and therefore resolved to retire to an island which he had reason to deem impregnable, and in which the known character of the people ensured to him a friendly reception. He landed at Yarmouth from a Swedish frigate, with his two nephews and other persons of hereditary distinction, and fixed his residence at Hartwell, in Buckinghamshire. He styled himself the count de Lisle; and, although the king of Sweden had treated him with the honours due to royalty, he modestly declined, in this country, any other respect than that which was due to a private nobleman. His hopes of actual sovereignty were then faint or visionary; but amidst the varied contingencies of life and fluctuations of fortune, even that consummation of his wishes did not appear absolutely hopeless.

In this critical state of affairs, the British parliament re-assem-

Jan. 21, bled. The speech with which the session was opened, was 1808. unusually long; and it may readily be supposed that it excited extraordinary attention. It gave a sketch of the political history of the period which had elapsed from the prorogation. The violence which had been exercised against Denmark was declared to have been solely dictated by views of self-defence against eventual hostilities, as it was the object of the ruler of France, when the result of the negotiations at Tilsit had confirmed his influence and control over the continental powers, to employ in the invasion of this kingdom the naval force of those states which did not presume to resist his arbitrary will. To prevent the execution of such a scheme, said the framers of the speech, became the indispensable duty of his majesty. In the case of Denmark, it was a painful service; but the fleet of Portugal was happily secured from the grasp of France without the intervention of force.—The recall of the envoys of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, the repugnance of the Porte to a pacification, the refusal of the American president to ratify a commercial treaty which had been regularly concluded, and the general attack upon the British commerce, were noted with displeasure and regret, but without that intemperance of resentment which the sovereign of France would have evinced on similar occasions.

It was reasonable to expect, that the expedition to Copenhagen would be severely condemned by different speakers. In both houses, its injustice was strongly exposed; but the ministerial orators eagerly defended the measure, and some of them were not ashamed to ridicule the application of the rules of morality to the course of public affairs. They wished to explode the old maxim, that honesty is the best policy, and seemed to think that whatever is apparently expedient is necessarily just. This corruption of principle was deplored by Mr. Windham as a strong symptom of national degeneracy.

Warm debates also arose from the orders which the council had issued with regard to trade and navigation. Napoleon's ordinance against the British commerce had not been generally enforced for many months after the denunciation: but, when he had triumphed over Prussia, and, on pretence of sharing power with the emperor of Russia, had in a great measure reduced that prince to a state of subserviency, he resolved to carry the continental system into full effect. The British government had taken an early opportunity of retaliation, by ordering, that no vessel should be permitted to trade from one port to another, belonging to France or its allies, on pain of seizure and condemnation.

This prohibition being frequently evaded, the council issued a new order, when the French had for some time enforced the decree of Berlin. All neutral traders who intended to proceed to France or to a dependent or subservient country, were required to stop at a British port, and pay a duty proportioned to the value of the cargo; and to retaliate that menace of blockade which the French had not the power of executing, all the ports and places in Europe, from which the British trade was excluded, and all the colonial ports of the enemy, were subjected to the same restrictions, as if they were actually blockaded. It was also ordained, that such neutrals as should be found to have accepted, from French agents, *certificates of origin*, declaring that the articles which composed the cargo were not British produce or manufactures, should be punished with the loss of the vessel and its contents; and another order imported, that the practice of transferring ships by pretended sales to neutrals should not secure them from capture. Nov. 11.

The rage which the enemy of our commerce felt at these proofs of British spirit, could not be restrained within the bounds of princely decorum. He compared the council to an Algerine divan, and exclaimed against that insolent injustice which dared to overawe and plunder independent nations; and he declared, in a decree which he issued at Milan, that all ships which should be searched by a British vessel, or should pay any tax whatever at the requisition of our government, were *ipso facto* denationalised, and having thus forfeited their original and distinct character, might be lawfully captured wherever they could be found. This species of hostility could not be exercised without an injurious effect upon our commerce: and, as the neutral powers were in a great measure deterred from external traffic, the merchants loudly expressed their discontent. Dec. 17.

The president of the United States of North America complained, more acrimoniously than the rulers of any other neutral state, of the *orders in council*, as the new regulations were styled. Between that republic and the British court, for many years, little harmony had prevailed. Mutual jealousy had marred the friendliness of intercourse. The English imputed to the Americans a predilection for the French, and were in their turn suspected of arbitrary views of an encroaching spirit in the assertion of their supposed maritime rights. After frequent disputes, a new commercial treaty had been signed¹, allowing greater favours to the

¹ On the 31st of December, 1806.

Americans than any former convention had secured to them ; but it was previously declared, that, if Bonapartè should enforce his scheme of blockade, and a decree "so novel and monstrous in substance" should meet with acquiescence on their part, the concessions would probably be revoked or altered. As this agreement did not adjust every disputed point, and as the qualifying declaration left an opening for evasion, it was not ratified by the president. Amidst other causes of disgust, an attack, provoked only by the refusal of the captain of a frigate to submit to a search for deserters, roused all the warmth of indignation, not only for the supposed affront, but for the loss of lives by repeated broadsides ; and a proclamation was issued, commanding the immediate retreat of all British armed vessels from the harbours and waters of the United States, and prohibiting future entrance, with an exception of cases of distress, arising either from the dangers of the sea or from hostile pursuit. Whether the embargo, which was the next effusion of discontent or of resentment on the part of the Americans, *preceded or followed* their knowledge of those orders which the new cabinet sent forth, has been doubted. The opponents of the ministerial system maintained the latter point ; and, indeed, there seems to have been a sufficient interval for the notice of those anti-neutral edicts. However that may be, a bill received the sanction of the congress¹, calculated to prevent the departure of any mercantile vessels from the ports of the republic, and to exclude all foreign traders.

This was the state of the contest, when the orders in council were loudly condemned by the lords Erskine, Auckland, and Grenville, by Mr. Whitbread, and other able speakers, who argued that the pretended submission of neutrals to the decree of Berlin had not been proved ; that it was unjust to punish them, as if they had grossly violated the law of nations ; and that the effect would be as injurious to Great Britain as to any other state. On the other hand, the regulations were plausibly defended by lord Castlereagh and sir John Nicholl, as politic measures of retaliation, necessary for the maintenance of our maritime rights, and conducive to the serious distress and probable humiliation of the enemy ; and they were legalized by an act, which, however, was not destitute of various exceptions and modifications.

The return which the court had made to the mediation of Austria and Russia, formed another topic of debate. Francis, in the preceding spring, had addressed a note to each of the belligerent

¹ On the 22d of December, 1807.

powers, recommending a reconciliation with apparent earnestness; but he only received evasive answers. He repeated his solicitations in the autumn, as far as Great Britain and France were concerned; yet the effect was nugatory. Between these powers, the mediation of Russia was offered, in consequence of the treaty of Tilsit, which, the French pretended, had been concluded with the most sincere views of universal pacification. Alexander declared, that he would not have agreed to a separate peace, if he could have procured the co-operation of Austria in the war, and have depended on that assistance which his British ally could so easily have afforded; but, as the promised diversion upon the continent had been neglected for enterprizes which had no reference to the common cause of Europe, and as even a loan which he wished to negotiate at London had not been facilitated by the government, which, after long hesitation, only offered a very inadequate subsidy, it only remained for him to look to the glory and security of his empire; and, as he had adjusted all his disputes with Napoleon, he hoped for an opportunity of re-establishing a maritime peace upon equitable principles, promising the support of his whole force for ensuring the due performance of the eventual stipulations. His Britannic majesty expressed his readiness to avail himself of the offered mediation, if it should seem probable, from an inspection of the treaty, and from a knowledge of the principles upon which France was inclined to negotiate, that a secure and honourable peace might be obtained. As the desired communication was not afforded, no negotiation arose from the delusive overtures of Russia; and, when the Austrian court proposed that plenipotentiaries should be sent to Paris, the request was not productive of any favourable result, because it was not stated that the ruler of France had authorized such a proposal, or that he had any intention of admitting the allies of Great Britain to a participation of the treaty.

It was contended, by Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Sheridan, that the conditions stipulated by the ministers for the acceptance of the Russian and Austrian mediation were inexpedient and impolitic, and that nothing which appeared in the existing circumstances of the war ought to preclude his majesty from commencing a negotiation on a basis of equality; but all suggestions of this kind were treated with contempt; and, indeed, the late conduct of the French despot did not countenance any strong hopes of negotiatory success.

Near the close of the sessions, the affairs of Spain attracted the notice of the orators of both parties, and excited unusual interest

among the people : but, as the subject merits distinct consideration, I shall reserve it for another epistle.

LETTER X.

History of Spain.

WHILE the nations of the continent were insulted with the most arrogant tyranny, and degraded by the most ignominious servitude, no immediate hopes of rescue or relief were generally entertained; yet, to the discerning few, a glimmering ray appeared in the western horizon, which seemed to penetrate through the gloom, and to hold out the prospect of a renovation of light.

It was the earnest wish of the French emperor, not only to extend his personal influence, but to aggrandize his family in every possible mode. The languor and imbecility of the Spanish government, and the evident decline of the power and vigour of that monarchy, suggested to him the idea of an usurpation, and seemed to ascertain the facility of its accomplishment. If he had been as prudent as he was ambitious, he would have remained content with the power of dictating to the court of Madrid, in the great points of war and policy : but he wished to secure a more complete and permanent sway, by the erection of a new dynasty. With this view, he studiously fomented the dissensions in the Spanish cabinet, and encouraged the animosities of party; and the artful activity of his emissaries, aided by the intrigues of mal-content natives, at length produced a crisis which favoured his insidious and malignant purpose.

The exorbitant and mischievous influence which Godoy, the prince of the Peace, had acquired over the weak mind of the king, disgusted Ferdinand, the heir apparent; and this prince more particularly resented his exclusion from all concern in the administration. His discontent was inflamed by the insinuations of the French ambassador Beauharnois, by whose advice he rejected the proposal of the court for his marriage with one of his relatives, the minister's sister-in-law, and secretly addressed a letter to Napoleon, offering his hand to any disengaged lady of the imperial family of France. This clandestine correspondence, and the nomination of the duke Del Infantado as chief com-

mander of the army in the event of the king's death, furnished Godoy with a pretence for accusing Ferdinand of treasonable machinations, and the prince was arrested, imprisoned, and menaced with a criminal process; but the rising indignation and murmurs of the people, and the submissive behaviour of the royal prisoner, prompted his father to order his liberation ¹.

To secure the subserviency of Charles and his favourite, and facilitate the seizure of the monarchy, Napoleon concluded, Oct. 27, at Fontainebleau, a treaty for the dismemberment of the 1807. adjoining realm. It was stipulated that the northern division of Portugal should be transferred to the king of Etruria, and the southern part to the prince of the Peace, under the guarantee and protection of his catholic majesty; that the middle portion should remain in sequestration for future disposal, and that the colonial territories of the same crown should be divided between France and Spain. By a separate convention, 28,000 French were permitted to enter Spain, under the pretence of proceeding to Lisbon; but a much greater number, commanded by Murat, embraced the opportunity of intrusion, and obtained admission into some of the strongest towns. These movements filled the king with apprehension; and his fears were not removed by the progressive disclosure of Napoleon's views. His envoy Isquierdo informed him, that he was expected by his powerful ally to resign, for the benefit of the French empire, the provinces situated between the Pyrenees and the Ebro, in return for a more commanding influence in Portugal than the late treaty allowed him. The emperor hoped to intimidate the feeble prince into a retreat from his kingdom to his colonial dominions, and Charles seemed to be disposed to follow the example of the prince of Brazil; but the people so loudly exclaimed against his supposed intention, that he promised to remain with them and share their fate. Not satisfied with this assurance, the malcontents of Aranjuez resolved to wreak their vengeance upon the obnoxious minister, whose life, however, they spared at the intercession of Ferdinand. When he had been deprived of his power, and imprisoned, his harassed sovereign became dejected and despondent, and, not expecting to reign in tranquillity, declared his intention of resigning his crown. His son did not dissuade him from his Mar. 19, purpose, but readily accepted the offered royalty, and was 1808. proclaimed king by the designation of Ferdinand VII ².

¹ *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la Révolution d'Espagne*, par M. Nellerto.—Paris, 1814.

² *Mémoires*, par Nellerto, chap. i.

Murat, who had concluded that the royal family would speedily retire from the kingdom, was advancing to Madrid, to take a decisive advantage of a conjuncture which was apparently so favourable to the views of his treacherous employer, when he received the unwelcome intelligence of the elevation of Ferdinand to the throne. Continuing his march, he entered the capital before the arrival of the new king, whom, without the formality of acknowledgment, he amused with a demand of the sword of Francis I. By procuring from Charles a declaration of the invalidity of his resignation, which, he said, had been extorted from him by the dread of personal violence, he endeavoured to propagate discord in the state, and to arm against the son the friends of the father; and, amidst the eventual confusion, he hoped to draw into his power every individual of the unfortunate family. He advised Ferdinand to send his brother, Don Carlos, to meet Napoleon, who was daily expected in Spain; and general Savary, assuming the character of an accredited envoy, exhorted the young king to take the same step, assuring him that he would be immediately recognized by the gratified emperor as the lawful monarch of Spain. Yielding to artful importunity, Ferdinand left the administration to his uncle, Don Antonio, and repaired to Vittoria, whence he dispatched a letter to the arrogant master of his fate, complaining of the disrespect with which he had been treated, and requesting a removal of all doubts with regard to the intentions of his imperial majesty. The answer to this epistle was evasive and unsatisfactory; but, as the dictator expressed a desire of being acquainted with all the particulars of the late abdication, Ferdinand, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Don Pedro Cevallos, and other prudent and cautious advisers, resolved to proceed to Bayonne. The loyal inhabitants of Vittoria in vain endeavoured to prevent his departure, which, they apprehended, would lead to misfortune and ruin. He blindly pursued his course, and found the emperor ready to receive him.

The result of this imprudent journey was such as the credulous prince might have expected. After an entertainment, which was preceded and followed by exterior marks of friendship, Savary intimated to him the emperor's irrevocable determination, that the Bourbon family should no longer reign in Spain, and insisted upon his renunciation of all pretensions to the crown, in consideration of an indemnity which would be provided for him in some other country. Disgusted and incensed at the insolence of the general and the injustice of the treacherous Corsican, Ferdinand declared, that nothing but the will of his father and of the nation

should induce him to relinquish his claim. The kingdom of Etruria was now offered to him ; and his refusal of the contemptible exchange was pronounced to be a sufficient ground for his exclusion from every inheritance and from all territorial advantages. He still remained firm, and was therefore watched and guarded as a prisoner of state.

In the mean time, Murat domineered over the Spaniards with all the arrogance and cruelty of a low-bred adventurer. He insulted Don Antonio and his political associates, encouraged his soldiers to acts of outrage, and imputed to the natives all the guilt of unjustifiable aggression. Being ordered to send Ferdinand's brother Francis to Bayonne, he prepared an escort for that purpose ; and, when some of the inhabitants of Madrid had merely cut the traces which fastened the horses to the carriage, the French brutally fired upon the crowd. In the progress of the tumult, according to the lowest enumeration, May 2. 104 Spaniards lost their lives, and 54 were wounded ; but it is more probable that the number of victims rose to 1700.

Being allured by promises of favour and friendship, or intimidated by menaces, Charles and his queen presented themselves before the emperor at Bayonne. They expressed their displeasure at the conduct of their eldest son, whom they ordered to renounce all the rights which he had claimed on pretence of the king's resignation. Ferdinand promised that he would obey this command, if his father would return to Spain, and govern without the advice of ministers whom his people detested. When Charles had answered this intimation by severe reproaches, rather than by rational arguments, his son proposed a reference of the dispute to a national assembly ; and, as the father had devoted himself to the French interest, all true patriots, and the majority of the nation, favoured the son's pretensions. The senior prince, declaring that he was still the lawful king, commissioned Murat to act as viceroy ; and the council of Castile sent orders into every province, superseding the authority of Ferdinand.

The weak prince who thus pretended to resume his power, soon after disgraced himself by renouncing the sovereignty of Spain in favour of Napoleon, who engaged to pension the fugitive family, to preserve the indivisibility of the kingdom, and May 5. not to allow any other religion than that of Rome. The prince of the Peace, whom Murat, in opposition to the popular wish, had restored to liberty, was the negotiator of this treaty, by which he procured for himself an asylum in France.

Ferdinand's courage and resolution at length gave way to the terrors of tyrannic power. He had sent instructions to his ministers to commence hostilities against the French, as soon as intelligence of his forcible removal into the interior of France should reach Madrid: but, when he was informed of the late massacre in that city, he unconditionally resigned the royal dignity, first to his offended parent, and afterward to the vile oppressor of his family¹.

Exulting in this success, Napoleon proceeded to the completion of his atrocious scheme. Treating with contempt the remonstrances of the council of Castile against the validity of extorted cessions, he desired the members to select a king from his family. In compliance with his well known inclinations, they made choice of his brother Joseph. The administrative *junta*, and the municipality of Madrid, concurred in the nomination: the cardinal-primate, nephew of Charles III., promoted with base servility the degrading appointment; and many reputed friends of the excluded family were equally ready to yield to the torrent. Thus encouraged, the emperor declared Joseph king of Spain, and summoned to Bayonne the principal subjects of the monarchy, for the adjustment of a constitutional code. Ninety-one persons of distinction obeyed the arbitrary mandate, and, at their first meeting, acknowledged the new king with apparent cordiality. He gratified some of the late ministers with re-appointment; and even Cevallos consented to act in the new cabinet.

The new constitution, as might have been expected, left too great a degree of power in the hands of the king. The ministers were declared to be responsible for the execution of the laws, and of the royal commands. Persons of distinction nominated by the sovereign, from the number of thirty to sixty, were to compose the council of state; and twenty-four, selected from that body and from the official departments, were to form the senate. It was determined that the *cortès* should consist of 150 members, one-third being spiritual and temporal peers, named by a writ under the great seal, and two-thirds being popular representatives, who were to be deputed by the provinces, the universities, the principal towns, and the merchants. The elections for the first class were to be in the proportion of one to 300,000 inhabitants; and it was ordained, that the assembly should have at least one session in three years, but might be dissolved at the king's discretion.

¹ *Nellerto*, chap. v.

All its deliberations were to be private ; and no votes or opinions were allowed to be published either by the whole body or by individual members. Alterations in the civil or criminal code, or in the financial system, could only be proposed by the orators of the council of state. If the majority should disapprove the conduct of the court, they were permitted to petition the king for the punishment or dismissal of evil counsellors ; but this privilege was of little moment, as the investigation of the imputed delinquency was to be referred to twelve courtiers, who would rather favour than condemn an accused minister. The provincial privileges of Navarre, Biscay, Guipuscoa, and Alava, were allowed to subsist, until the *cortès*, at the first meeting, should order some modifications. With these exceptions, it was decreed, that the civil code should be uniform over the whole kingdom, and that all exclusive or peculiar jurisdictions, and all privileges contrary to the general law, should be abolished. It was declared, that personal liberty should be respected, and that no person should be confined without the authority of a legal warrant, stating the reason of the arrest. But the benefits of these and other regulations, however imperfect, were not to be immediately enjoyed by the people ; for the various edicts were to be successively promulgated in the course of four years.

The article which declared the crown hereditary in the family of Bonapartè, was a gross and unpardonable insult to the nation. He who derided such a claim, when it was advanced by the descendant of a long line of princes, could not, without the most glaring inconsistency, demand an acquiescence in the incipient pretensions of his own race. On what ground (it may be asked for the sake of argument) was the claim urged in this case ? The answer is,—on the basis of a formal renunciation from Charles IV. and the heir apparent. But those princes had not even a shadow of right to consider the monarchy as a private estate, or transfer the people, like cattle, to the government of a stranger ; or, even if they were justified in such conduct, their renunciations could not in any respect bind their posterity. The national will alone, expressed without the influence of force or terror, could sanction a change of dynasty or of system. To say that the partial and irregular assembly at Bayonne had a right to order so fundamental a change, is an assertion which no just reasoning can verify or establish ; and to represent the general submission of the constituted authorities as a confirmation of the claim of Napoleon or of Joseph, is almost equally absurd. The intimidated assembly at Bayonne merely submitted, with exterior formality,

to the will of a tyrant, who had a powerful army ready to perpetrate every atrocity. For the honour of Spain, the same meanness of submission was not exhibited by the great body of the nation. The nobles who remained at home, and persons of the middle class, confounded at the late massacre, did not, indeed, immediately venture to oppose a numerous horde of ruffian intruders, whom they were unprepared to resist with effect, but they manifested their sentiments before the usurpation was fully organized at Bayonne; and the populace and peasants also endeavoured to repress the indignation which arose in their minds, while they waited for an opportunity of vigorous exertion: but this acquiescence, extorted by temporary intimidation, was merely a calm before a storm. It did not bear the marks of that content which usually accompanies the exercise of legitimate authority; it concealed angry passions which struggled for vent, and to which a casual check gave additional fervency and strength.

That patience, which the natives evinced for some weeks after the massacre, at length yielded to a general burst of indignation. The people rose in various parts of the country, imprisoned many Frenchmen, and put some to death, and murdered several provincial governors and magistrates, who did not appear to be sufficiently zealous in the cause of national independence. When this rage had subsided, the desire of a regular administration was manifested; and all who had good sense and moderation wished for such a settlement as might remedy the disorders of anarchy, direct and concentrate the efforts of the nation against the daring and inhuman enemy, and secure the throne for Ferdinand, or some other prince of the house of Bourbon. On this memorable occasion, as the means of defence were more abundant in Andalusia than in any of the other provinces, the magistrates and principal inhabitants of Seville took the lead. They made choice

May 29. of a *junta* or council for the government of that division of Spain, proclaimed the sovereignty of Ferdinand the Seventh, and declared war against Napoleon and the French. The example was speedily followed in all parts which were free from the terrors of a foreign army; but, although its good effects were generally acknowledged, the want of a supreme junta for the whole kingdom was felt as a serious inconvenience; for the influence of the council of Seville, even while it conciliated the frequent acquiescence of other administrative bodies, could not be deemed equivalent to the regular authority of an united or general government.

At this critical period, when the Spaniards, apparently without a directing head, and in a state of federalism which did not promise a strict unity and concert, were contending with the uncontrolled master of a powerful empire, who could add, to the great resources of his own nation, the armies and treasures of dependent states, the war seemed to assume an unpromising aspect, unless powerful aid should be afforded to the menaced patriots. They stated their danger and their exigencies to the court of London¹, to the Portuguese, Swedes, and Austrians; and the zeal which animated the subjects of Great Britain, in favour of a nation struggling for liberty, held out the prospect of friendly interposition and effective succour. Lord Collingwood offered the aid of his fleet for the capture of five French ships of the line at Cadiz; but his assistance was declined by don Thomas Morla, the governor, who, knowing that his countrymen were capable of this enterprize, ordered an attack with a *flotilla*, supported by batteries, and compelled the French admiral to surrender his squadron.

In those provinces which were not occupied by French troops, a great part of the adult population eagerly offered military service to the different juntas. A supply of arms and money, transmitted from England, proved very useful on this occasion; and a multitude of Spanish prisoners of war, released and sent back by the indulgence of our government, seasonably reinforced the patriotic armies. The regular troops were not so numerous as the conjuncture required; but it was hoped that the deficiency would be amply supplied by new levies, and by the gradual extension of discipline. Partial conflicts occurred in various scenes of action: the enemy waged war with the most malignant ferocity; and many French stragglers were killed by the peasants. An attack of Valencia, directed by marshal Moncey, was repelled by general Caro, with a great slaughter of the assailants. The Spaniards were less fortunate in the battle of Medina del Rio Seco, being defeated with considerable loss by the superiority of the hostile cavalry: but their success at Baylen inspired them with the most lively joy. Dupont, who had 8000 men at Andu-

¹ The first application to this court came from the principality of Asturias; and the address stated, that the representative assembly, to which the entire sovereignty had devolved, lamenting the captivity of Ferdinand, and disdaining the idea of submitting to the yoke of a foreign tyrant, had taken up arms in defence of the country; and expressed a firm hope, that a consideration of the dreadful consequences which would flow from the unbounded ambition of the ruler of France, if he should be suffered to usurp the throne of Spain, would concur with a spirit of generosity to produce the speedy transmission of succours from Great Britain. It was dated from Oviedo, May 25, 1808.

jar under his command, had retired to Baylen to effect a junction with Belliard, who had an equal number. Castanos, with an army chiefly composed of Andalusians, amounting to 25,000 men, of which only one half could be denominated a regular force, obstructed the views of the French general, who, thus provoked, rushed upon the natives with the most furious impetuosity. They firmly sustained the shock, and drove back the disordered foe: they withstood other assaults with equal vigour, and, by reducing the French to the danger of destruction, drew from their discouraged commander the proposal of a capitulation. During the conference Wedel, who came up with 6000 men, attacked a Spanish division which had not yet participated in the action, and made some impression; but the continuance of the battle was prevented by the assent of Dupont to a demand of unconditional surrender. Wedel's corps did not incur the same disgrace, being favoured with the permission of a speedy return to France by maritime conveyance.

On the day of this defeat, the usurper entered Madrid with all the pomp of royalty; but he was not saluted by the people with those acclamations or marks of respect which they would gladly have given to Ferdinand, or to any prince who had been the object of national choice. He seemed, however, to think that he was securely established upon the throne, as his knowledge of the mighty power and influence of his brother would not suffer him to apprehend that the Spaniards would dare to depose him. The lustre of the great empire, and the fame of its fortunate ruler, would, in his opinion, dazzle their eyes, and excite that awe and reverence which would ultimately ensure submission. But he had not long indulged these contemplations, when the intelligence of Dupont's surrender reached his court. Being menaced with a visit from the army of Valencia or of Andalusia, and hearing of the determined spirit of the Arragonians, he resolved to retire from the capital. He plundered the treasury, seized the crown jewels, and robbed the palaces of the most valuable part of their portable contents, and then retired to Burgos.

As the captain-general of Arragon, either being a traitor in his heart, or despairing of the success of defensive efforts, had attempted to disarm the people, he was seized and imprisoned by the indignation of the citizens of Saragossa; and they conferred the chief administration and command upon don Joseph Palafox, who, although he had no military experience, was known to possess courage, and supposed to be capable of governing. The

soldiers whom he found in the city did not, it is said, exceed the amount of 220, and the provincial treasury was nearly exhausted; yet trusting to the spirit and energy of his countrymen, he ventured to declare war against the invaders of Spain. The inhabitants and the neighbouring peasants, ill provided with arms, were hastily initiated in the discipline of the camp; but they were unsuccessful in several conflicts which they risked with a superior enemy. Not discouraged, the citizens resolved to persevere in their patriotic efforts; and they so bravely defended the outposts and the town itself, that the assailants were repelled, and those who had forced their way within the walls were massacred. During the respite which was procured by this success, the governor made the best dispositions for sustaining a siege that a total want of regular fortification would allow, and wandered over the province in search of regular troops. He found some parties of militia, and about 1300 soldiers who had escaped from Madrid; but, being met by a greater force, he was exposed to the danger of ruin, which he escaped by the prowess of his gallant band. The siege of the city was at length formed by general Le Fèvre, two eminences in the neighbourhood being seized by the enemy, who hoped soon to prevail over all opposition.

To maintain a place which had no admitted pretensions to defensibility, seemed to be a hopeless task; yet it was resolutely undertaken by the Arragonian patriots. Batteries and entrenchments were formed near the gates; holes were made for musketry in the mud walls, and in buildings which flanked the walls or supplied the deficiency in the circuit; and every arrangement that promised to be useful, however imperfect, was eagerly adopted. The monks manufactured gunpowder and prepared cartridges. Even the women cheerfully assisted in such labours as did not exceed their strength, and the children were not wholly unemployed. The explosion of a powder magazine made some havock in the town; but the cannonade and bombardment proved more destructive. A foundling hospital, full of the sick and wounded, caught fire; but this calamity, instead of producing dejection, only called forth all the exertions of sympathy for the rescue of the endangered inmates. A large convent was also fired; and such an opening was made as served to admit the besiegers, who, impetuously forcing their way, became masters of one half of the city. Of one of the widest streets, each party occupied one side, and the fire from the opposite batteries filled the intervening space with unfortunate victims. When ammu-

nition began to fail, a considerable convoy unexpectedly arrived, which was introduced by the governor's brother, who was accompanied by 3000 men. The defence was now continued with such spirit, that the French possessions were reduced to an eighth part of the damaged town. Appalled by this obstinate resistance, and by a report of the march of a strong body from the Valencian province, the enemy relinquished the siege ¹.

At the same time the spirit of self-defence animated the subjects of Portugal. Their zeal particularly displayed itself at Oporto, where the inhabitants rose *en masse*, seized and imprisoned all the Frenchmen whom they could find, and nominated an administrative body, of which the bishop was declared president. Lieutenant-colonel Brown, being ordered to procure the most correct information respecting the state of affairs in the north of Portugal, was highly pleased at the assurances, which he received from the patriotic prelate, of the effervescent zeal of the people, who were determined to expel their enemies from the country; and he, in return, gratified the bishop with a promise of speedy and ample succours from Great Britain. He was informed that the French force in Portugal did not exceed 15,000 men, exclusive of auxiliaries; and it was stated, on the other hand, that in the northern province, the defensive force amounted to 25,000, who were not, however, completely armed. While he was prosecuting his inquiries, a French division, under La Borde, advanced from Lisbon to the northward, and took a strong position at Roliça. Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had been sent to the Tagus with about 8000 men, and had been joined by major-general Spencer with 5000, soon found an opportunity of displaying his skill and valour. Being reinforced by Portuguese troops, he marched against the enemy; and, sending some brigades to fall upon the right, while the native soldiery endeavoured to turn the left, he more particularly superintended the attack of the centre. The mountainous passes, which were bravely defended, were all forced; but the French retreated in good order, the paucity of cavalry preventing a pursuit.

A more important conflict quickly followed. Sir Arthur had been joined by two fresh brigades, and Junot had collected his whole force. The first attack was directed upon the British centre, which was strongly posted on an eminence to the southward of Vimeiro. Both parties made great use of their

¹ *Vaughan's Narrative of the Siege.*

artillery ; but that of the defending party proved more effective and mischievous ; and the vigour of the bayonet at length repelled the assailants, who were at the same time flanked by a *corps* which then came up to its post. They were pursued in their retreat by lieutenant-colonel Taylor and his dragoons ; but they turned upon this detachment with such fury, that this officer and many of his men lost their lives. On the left the troops were exposed to a most impetuous attack, in which a large body of cavalry concurred. They firmly withstood the onset, and put their opponents to flight. A part of the retiring division, suddenly facing about, endeavoured to recover the artillery which had been seized ; but the attempt was fatal to many of the number, and fruitless to the rest ¹.

The French commander, aware of the approach of another army, resolved to propose a cessation of hostilities ; but, as he was too feeble to cope with his adversaries, it was their duty and interest to crush him, not to favour his escape. Lieutenant-general Dalrymple, however, who assumed the chief military command after the late victory, was so pleased with the opportunity of delivering Portugal from the ravages of the enemy, that he not only granted an armistice, but, by a subsequent convention, agreed to the unreasonable demands of the vanquished host. In vindication of his assent, he alleged his ignorance of the “ actual state of the French army, and of many circumstances of a local and incidental nature ;” but, as it was easy for him to procure information from sir Arthur Wellesley and other officers, that excuse was idle and frivolous. He also mentioned, in his own defence, the importance of gaining time for the prosecution of the war in Spain, which would have been neglected during the operations requisite for subduing the French in Portugal, as they possessed some strong posts which might have been long maintained. But the army, instead of profiting by the time which was gained by the convention, suffered three months to pass before any advantage was afforded, or even attempted to be given, to the cause of the Spanish patriots.

In the convention which was concluded between the opposite armies, it was stipulated, that all the places and ^{Aug. 30.} forts, occupied by the French troops in Portugal, should be surrendered ; that these invaders should quit the kingdom with their arms and baggage, be conveyed to France in British vessels, and be allowed to serve wherever their government might wish to

¹ Letter from lieutenant-general Wellesley, in the *London Gazette*.—*Letters from Portugal and Spain*, by Adam Neale, M.D.

employ them; that all subjects of France, or of powers in alliance with that nation, who were resident in Portugal, should remain unmolested in their persons and property; that none of the natives should be harassed or called to an account in consequence of political opinions or public conduct; that no arrears of contribution or requisition, pretended to be due to the French, should be allowed; that all the Spanish soldiers within the kingdom should be given up to the British general, who should endeavour to procure, in return, a release of all French subjects detained in Spain for political causes; that an immediate exchange of prisoners should take place between the French and Portuguese; and that the magazines should be applied to the use of the retreating troops. It was not intended that the departing soldiers should carry away the treasures of the churches or other ill-acquired spoils; and many, who attempted to bear off the fruits of their rapine, were obliged to resign them to the vigilance of the British officers. Even their leader, although he boasted of his elevated rank and splendid title, was not suffered to escape without such an inspection of his baggage, as exposed his villany to general notice, and led to a great defalcation from the stock of plunder which he was preparing to send on board.

This agreement was accompanied with another convention, by which nine Russian ships of the line and a frigate were surrendered, with all their stores, to sir Charles Cotton, and not to be restored to the emperor before the conclusion of a pacific treaty between that prince and the British monarch: but the seamen and marines were treated with the same indulgence which the French received, and gratified with a conveyance to their own country, unfettered by restrictions of service. In the preliminary armistice which Wellesley adjusted with Kellermann, the neutrality of the port of Lisbon had been stipulated with regard to this fleet: but the admiral, very properly, refused his assent to that article; yet he was too kind to the enemy in releasing such a multitude of effective men.

These conventions were not calculated to please a nation which looked with an anxious eye to the honour and dignity of the public service, and wished to see its resources usefully employed. Surprise, disgust, and indignation, were consequently excited; and the hopes of a strict inquiry were loudly and generally expressed. The corporation of London, partaking of the feelings which pervaded the country, stigmatised the military convention as disgraceful to the British arms, and injurious to the public interest; and, when his majesty had given a harsh answer to the

address which intimated that opinion, his displeasure did not check the freedom of remark. In compliance with the prevailing wish, an investigation was ordered; but the result was far from satisfying the public. Sir David Dundas, and six other field-officers, were induced, after an attentive examination of the disputed points, to declare, that no farther military proceeding was necessary on that subject, however some of them might differ in their sentiments respecting the “fitness of the convention” in the relative situation of the two armies.” A more explicit statement of their opinions being demanded by the duke of York, all, except the earl of Moira, intimated their approbation of the armistice; and four of the number decided in favour of the convention. The king, while he declined all ulterior inquiry, signified his disapprobation of those “articles in which stipulations were made, directly affecting the interests or feelings of the Spanish and Portuguese nations.”

After a long delay, the British army, which had been elevated to the amount of 30,000 men soon after the battle of Vimeiro, marched into Spain under the command of sir John Moore, while the French troops were chiefly stationed in the provinces of Biscay, Navarre, and Catalonia; and, in the mean time, the Spaniards gave a greater energy to their government by the erection of a central junta for the whole kingdom.

The council of Seville, without professing to take the lead, distinguished itself by the patriotic advice which it gave to the other juntas, and to the nation. With regard to the succession, no question, said the members, could reasonably arise, while they had a sovereign whose right was indisputable, and who had brothers to inherit after his decease. Another question had recently been agitated, which also seemed to them to be sufficiently settled by the very nature and origin of political communities. Doubts had been entertained, whether a necessity existed for the creation of a supreme civil government, which might unite the authority of all the provinces, until Ferdinand should recover his throne. The want of such a government would expose the nation to the miseries of anarchy, or to the rigours of military despotism; and due reflection, it was hoped, would soon convince every one of the necessity of speedy arrangements for the prevention of such evils. Many were of opinion, that the *cortès* ought to be immediately convoked by the council of Castile: but this was an act of authority which that body had no right to exercise; and its conduct, in encouraging the late usurpation, was no inducement for the people to invest it with extraordinary power. None but the king

could legally assemble the *cortès*; and, if any irregular or partial elections should take place, discord and division would be the result. The people had already acted in their general capacity, without regard to the particular towns which had long enjoyed the privilege of choosing representatives, and had created provincial juntas; but, as the authority thus granted required a superintending power, which might obviate the mischief of discordant measures, it was expedient that a supreme administrative body should be constituted; and the individuals who should compose it ought to be selected by the members of each junta from their own body. Two respectable persons might thus be chosen in each province; and these deputies might legitimately act as governors of the whole kingdom. A president might be appointed out of the number, not permanently, but for a very short term, that he might not have sufficient time for the acquisition of exorbitant influence or power.

These suggestions appear to have been the offspring of a laudable regard for the public welfare. But it may be contended, that a more constitutional mode of supplying the deficiency of the executive power, occasioned by the king's exile and detention, would have been afforded by the convocation of the *cortès*. The corporations which possessed the elective franchise might have chosen deputies; and the first step of the assembly thus formed might have been the appointment of a regent, or a supreme administrative body. The juntas, however, did not adopt this measure, being inclined to prefer the advice of the Andalusian patriots. When two deputies had been named by each junta, except where the capital of the province was occupied by the Sept. 25. invaders, the majority of the delegated number met at the palace of Aranjuez, and, after the solemnization of mass, took an oath for the maintenance and promotion of the catholic faith and system, the defence of the royal rights of Ferdinand, the preservation of established laws and usages, and the improvement of the general state of the nation. Advancing to the great gallery, the members then proclaimed the king amidst the most lively acclamations of the assembled people. A short speech from the count de Florida-Blanca, who acted as president, pointed out the path of duty; and the supreme junta began to exercise all the authority of the most regular government.

LETTER XI.

History of a War in the North of Europe, and of a Revolution in Sweden.

WHILE the unjustifiable confederacy between Napoleon and Alexander exercised its pernicious influence in Spain and Portugal, Sweden also felt its mischievous effects. Among other arbitrary stipulations, it was resolved that Gustavus should be compelled to exclude all British vessels from his harbours. This demand was declared by the Russian minister to be supported by former compacts among the northern powers, by which they had agreed to an union of strength in defence of the Baltic: but the king replied that these compacts had ceased to be in force; and he would only promise to prevent the British court from sending ships of war into that sea.

It was not merely the subserviency of Alexander to the views of his new ally, but also his desire of adding the whole province of Finland to his empire, that prompted him to order an A.D. invasion of the Swedish territories. For the defence of 1808. Finland against this powerful enemy, the king only sent 9540 men into the field, while 6000 garrisoned Sveaborg. Two of the frontier posts were not tamely yielded, even to the great superiority of the assailing force. The Russians endeavoured to prevent the northern troops from joining those of the south: but the valour of the Swedes so far prevailed as to effect the desired union, and to check the advance of the foe, whom general Adlercreutz engaged with success at Sikajoki. Keenly resenting those hostilities, which were not preceded by a declaration of war, Gustavus gave orders for the confinement of the Russian resident and consul, and threatened to banish from Sweden every subject of Alexander. As he suspected the intentions of the Danish court, he demanded from count Moltke an explanation of the views of his sovereign. The answer was a declaration of war, in which the king's base connivance at the attack upon Copenhagen was pointedly censured, and his renewal of alliance¹ with a power which could coolly perpetrate such outrageous injustice was severely condemned. He denied the former charge; yet he evi-

¹ By a new treaty, he was to receive 1,200,000 pounds for employing his whole army and a part of his fleet, during one year, against the French or their allies.

dently approved the aggression ; and he retorted the accusation of interested subserviency to Great Britain by a reference to the implicit dependence of Denmark upon Russia.

As the danger to which Sweden was exposed could not be effectually repelled by the unaided force of that nation, the king addressed a letter to his Britannic majesty, stating that he was attacked on every side because he was the friend of England, and requesting, in addition to the stipulated subsidy, speedy and powerful assistance. A promise of succour was readily given ; and it was resolved that 10,000 men should be sent, under the command of sir John Moore ; but the conditions annexed to this grant of aid were not altogether agreeable to Gustavus. They were to be recalled at pleasure, to have as little connexion as possible with the Swedish army, to be completely under the command of their own general, and not to go so far from the coast as to lose the means of communication with the fleet. Instead of confining their operations to the defence of Sweden, the king wished to employ them in the conquest of Norway, or in an attack upon Copenhagen ; but it was not thought necessary, by his more prudent ally, that his rash schemes should be adopted.

The campaign in Finland was unfortunate to the Swedes. After the reduction of inferior fortresses, the enemy obtained Sveaborg by the treachery of the commandant, who had all the means of protracting the siege. Even the galleys in the harbour were surrendered, on the condition of their being restored to the king at the return of peace, if the Danish fleet, seized in the preceding year, should then be given up.

Disregarding all remonstrances against the invasion of Norway, the king sent a part of the western army into that country ; but the troops only gained inconsiderable advantages, and could not long maintain themselves in that unproductive region. Being attacked by the prince of Augustenburg, they retired within their own frontier, and thought only of defence.

When the British army arrived, the zeal of Gustavus was re-animated, and he hoped to emulate the fame of Charles XII. He was now intent upon the conquest of Zealand ; and, finding that the British troops were not allowed to assist him in such an enterprise, he resolved to prohibit their disembarkation, with a view of subduing the reluctance of their commander to the expedition. Not prevailing in this instance, he proposed a descent in Russian Finland ; and, when sir John Moore refused his assent to the scheme, as it would only serve to give to Russia a

multitude of English prisoners, he reverted to the Norwegian project ; but the general condemned it as hopeless. The troops were still detained in the vessels, to their great inconvenience ; for the inflexible monarch had declared, that he would not permit them to land, unless they should be subjected to his immediate command. Disgusted at this absurd pride and contemptible folly, sir John threatened that he would return with the army to England, if a landing should not be allowed : but, in an interview with the king, he so far yielded to the royal wish, that he promised to wait for new instructions from his court. Being accused of an unwillingness to act, he was induced to give way, that he might have an opportunity of testifying his desire of co-operation ; but, having re-examined his instructions, he found that they did not authorize him to remain for so long a time as might elapse before fresh orders could arrive from Britain. This retraction of his promise so offended the king, that he commanded the general not to leave Stockholm without permission, or until the armament should be recalled by a particular order. A mandate so arbitrary, against an officer into whose conduct his sovereign alone had a right to inquire, roused the indignation of Mr. Thornton, the British envoy, who, in strong terms, complained to the president of the Swedish chancery, and demanded an instant revocation of the insulting order. On the other hand, an apology was required by his majesty ; but, instead of submitting to this disgrace, sir John took an opportunity of escaping to Gothenborg, whence he quickly returned to England ¹.

While Gustavus was yet indignant at the inactivity and the departure of the British general, the envoy ventured to propose a negotiation between him and his adversaries ; but the hint increased his displeasure. He even thought of proceeding to acts of violence against the English fleet in the Baltic. His ministers dissuaded him from such rashness, and reminded him of the subsidy by which the exigencies of the war were supplied. As it did not satisfy his wants, he resolved to solicit an augmentation of the grant ; but his application proved fruitless. In requesting the recall of Mr. Thornton, he was more successful ; for Mr. Merry was sent to supersede that obnoxious minister.

The war, in the meantime, was not wholly neglected. Attempts were made to dispossess the Russians of Abo and Vasa ; but the smallness of the force employed in these enterprises obstructed their success. Several conflicts occurred, in which the

¹ *Sketch of the Reign of Gustavus IV. Part ii.*

Swedes displayed all their national courage; and, if the army had been respectably reinforced and well provided, Finland might perhaps have been saved. When count Klingspor requested permission to retire with the remains of the army, before the enemy's increasing strength should overwhelm the defenders of the country, the king answered that the Russians must be driven out; but he did not supply the means which were calculated to produce that effect. By his innate obstinacy he was sufficiently encouraged to persevere, and he derived additional confidence from some instances of partial success, from the unimportant advantages obtained by his galleys, and the retreat of the Russian fleet.

An expedition which to none, except the king, seemed promising or auspicious, was undertaken for the recovery of South Finland. The troops, not exceeding the amount of 2600 men, commanded by count Lantingshausen, landed at Waranpa, and proceeded to Lokalax, intending, in the event of early success, to join the baron Vegesack: but, while, this officer was retreating with his corps, the count was attacked by the Russians; and, being incapable of maintaining his position, he was glad to find refuge in the ships. An armament which sailed from Gefle met with a variety of disasters. The vessels were dispersed by an equinoctial gale; and when the greater part had afterward re-assembled, confusion arose from a want of specific instructions, or from the contradictory orders which the king had given to different battalions. No portion of the army effected a descent in the southern part of the province; and, of the troops which reached the north, a great number perished in consequence of cold, hunger, and fatigue, while disease made dreadful havoc in the crowded transports.

The Swedes in North Finland, for some time, firmly resisted the torrent which threatened to overwhelm them; but the ample reinforcements which their adversaries received so effectually precluded their hopes of success, that, in a convention for an
Nov. 20. armistice, they yielded to the demands of the Russian general, when he insisted upon the surrender of important stations.

While Gustavus breathed resentment and defiance against the Corsican and his imperial confederate, he was not disinclined to a pacification with the Danish monarch, to whom he made overtures for an alliance, promising to procure a restitution of his fleet: but the agent whom he employed in this secret negotiation was dismissed with an unfavourable answer. When the pro-

posals of peace, emanating from the interview at Erfurt, were communicated to him by Mr. Merry, he declared his unalterable resolution never to treat with the ruler of France, whose conduct, he said, provoked and justified all the perseverance of hostility; and his resentment against Alexander was almost equally fierce and implacable.

As the continuance of the war menaced Sweden with subjugation or dismemberment, Mr. Merry was authorized to release Gustavus from every obligation which might seem to preclude a separate treaty, and to promise that, after the conclusion of peace with any one of his present enemies, his majesty would still remain his friend. This intimation roused the anger of the irritable king, who, without consulting his ministers, sent an order, subjecting the British vessels in the harbour of Gothenborg to an embargo. He soon revoked the rash prohibition: yet he resolved upon a rupture with Great Britain, if he should find an opportunity of accommodating all disputes with the king of Denmark, whom he hoped to allure into a pacific treaty by this disclosure of his altered intentions. He had not dispatched the letter which he had written to that effect, when he was informed of the transmission of proclamations, by means of balloons, from Zealand to Scania, inviting the Swedes by plausible promises to an incorporation with the Danes. Inflamed at this attempt to seduce his people, he tore the letter in a transport of rage, and offered a renewal of his alliance with Great Britain, on the same basis of subsidiary agreement.

The extraordinary conduct of this prince seemed to indicate mental derangement. He pretended to direct every branch of government, and yet could not properly regulate his own conduct, even in the ordinary concerns of life. He affected all the ardour of military zeal, without possessing a sufficiency of courage to face an enemy. Incapable of conducting the wars in which by his own zeal or the injustice of France he was involved, he idly wasted the resources of his kingdom, and was entangled in difficulties which his limited intellect could not surmount. In levying troops he thought more of the form and ornaments of the hat, the fashion of the coat, and other *minutiæ*, than of the most essential points. Inspired with all the pride of royalty, he exacted the most ceremonious observances and the most punctilious respect; and thus exposed himself to the contempt of the discerning, in the vain hope of maintaining true dignity. He boasted of his regard for justice and of the moderation of his sway, while

he wantonly harassed his soldiers, and impoverished and oppressed the people.

His misconduct was long attributed by the uninformed public to the incapacity of his ministers ; but the truth could not always be concealed ; and discontent at length pervaded the nation. When it appeared that no losses or misfortunes could abate his zeal for a continuance of hostilities,—that the most absurd schemes were proposed for another campaign,—that even reports of the intended partition of Sweden did not subdue his obstinacy,—and that misgovernment was still the order of the day,—insurrection began to be considered as a sacred duty, because it offered the only remedy for the disorders of the state. A party of malcontents, some of whom were men of rank and influence, held private meetings at Stockholm, to concert the means of rescuing the country from danger: and, after anxious consultations, it was resolved that Gustavus should be arrested, and lodged in a fortress, and that the duke of Sudermania should be requested to act as protector of the realm, until the states should be assembled. Notwithstanding the secrecy of the deliberations, it was soon known that an interesting scheme was in agitation ; and the prospect of a political change animated the hopes of the citizens. The king had no friend who would warn him of his danger ; even a regiment of his guard promised to join the disaffected party ; and it was not supposed that any part of the military force would resolutely act in his defence. Colonel Aldersparre harangued the troops of the west, and procured their assent to his proposal of employing them in an enterprise calculated for the deliverance of their country. The report of their advance filled the king with terror. He shut himself up in his palace, and ordered all the avenues to the capital to be strictly guarded.

Baron Adlercreutz undertook the hazardous task of arresting his sovereign. Count Klingspor, colonel Silversparre, and many other officers, were among his most zealous associates : and when Mar. 13, he had given proper directions, he entered the presence-
1809. chamber, in consequence of an order for his attendance. He found the king preparing for his departure from Stockholm with a view of opening the campaign ; and began to remonstrate against that conduct which had excited the indignation of the public. “ You are all traitors,” exclaimed Gustavus, “ and shall be punished.”—“ We are not traitors,” said the baron ; “ we only wish to save your majesty and our country.”—The king drew his sword, but was quickly disarmed. He raved with in-

dignation, and loudly called for succour. When some of the guards and domestics came to assist him, the baron overawed them by his authoritative demeanour, and, seizing the staff of office which the adjutant-general bore, enforced a speedy retreat. Leaving the king to the care of some officers, he ascended to the guard-room, and remonstrated against any attempt to rescue his majesty, as it would endanger his life, which otherwise was perfectly secure. The custody of his person being transferred at his request to the counts Uglass and Stromfelt, he silently took a sword from one of these courtiers, ran out of the room, and was supposed for a time to have effected his escape; but he was overtaken by the keeper of his game, whom he slightly wounded in his eagerness to reach the only gate which was left unguarded. He was overpowered by several of his pursuers, and carried into an apartment, in which he remained quiet during the rest of the day¹.

No commotion arose in the city on this remarkable occasion; nor did the intelligence of the king's arrest rouse his friends to action in any part of the realm. The necessity of a change was so evident, that a ready and general acquiescence sanctioned the schemes of the malcontents, and the revolution was tranquil and bloodless.

The enterprising baron and his two chief associates, in an interview with the duke, expatiated upon the helpless state of the kingdom, and conjured him to exercise the functions of government. He had not engaged in the combination against the king; and, as he was declining in years and in health, he was not eagerly desirous of undertaking the arduous task of political regeneration: but he yielded to the persuasions of the associated patriots, and issued a proclamation, stating that, as his nephew was incapable of conducting the national affairs, he was induced to act as administrator of the realm, and would endeavour to accelerate the revival of commerce, and promote the restoration of peace and prosperity.

After a short confinement at Drottningholm, the king was conveyed to the palace of Gripsholm, where he was treated with some marks of respect. As he found that the torrent ran strongly against him, and that all ranks aimed at his dethronement, he resolved to anticipate by abdication the vote of the states. He declared that the honour of the realm, and the welfare

Mar. 29.

¹ *Sketch of the Reign of Gustavus IV. Part iii.*

and happiness of a free people, had been the constant objects of his pursuit; but that, as he could no longer exercise the royal functions according to the purity of his intentions, or preserve peace and order in the kingdom in a manner worthy of himself and his subjects, he deemed it a holy duty to resign the crown, being desirous of devoting the remainder of his days to the honour of God. He hoped that all who had been under his authority might enjoy the grace and blessing of the Almighty, and that more auspicious times might gratify them and their posterity. Finally, he desired them to fear God and honour the king.

Peace was the first object of the new government. The Russians had received orders to cross the gulf of Bothnia, and dictate the terms of peace at Stockholm; but, when it appeared that the protector was disposed to listen to reasonable offers, they agreed to a cessation of hostilities. Bernadotte, in the name of the emperor of France, readily acceded to a similar request; and the prince of Hesse promised forbearance on the part of the Danes.

When the states of the realm assembled, baron Mannheim called their attention to the unfortunate effects of the king's passion for war and his political misconduct; and it was unanimously
May 10. voted, that he should be deprived of the crown, and never permitted to resume it. But this was not deemed a sufficient punishment for his mal-administration: and it was therefore resolved, that his posterity should also be excluded from the throne. He quietly submitted to his fate, and enjoyed, in comparative obscurity, the mild comforts of domestic life.

The duke of Sudermania was chosen king, with the designation of Charles XIII.; and, as this change afforded an opportunity of reducing and circumscribing the influence of the crown, a new constitution was granted to the people, in return for the ready transfer of their allegiance. By this code, the government was declared to be an hereditary monarchy, limited to the male issue. The king was required to profess the Lutheran or evangelical religion. The ordinary affairs of administration were to be submitted to the decision of his majesty, assisted by at least three out of nine counsellors of state; whose suggestions, however, he was not obliged to adopt. If his determination should be repugnant to the laws of the realm, the counsellors were bound to remonstrate against it, and to record their protest: but he was not responsible for any of his acts. Before he should de-

clare war or conclude peace, he was expected to state his motives to the council, and to hear the opinions which the attendant members were bound to deliver. Of the army and navy he was to have the supreme command; but, in the regulation and adjustment of the concerns of each service, he was to be assisted by the minister of the department; and, in his intercourse with other powers, it was required that the advice of his chancellor and of the minister for foreign affairs should be communicated to him. He was not allowed to deprive any one of his life, liberty, or property, without a legal judgment; nor was he permitted to arraign religious opinions, unless the dissemination of them should appear to be injurious to the public. The highest court of judicature was to be a council of justice, composed of six persons of distinction, whose continuance in their functions depended solely on their upright conduct. In this court the king would have two votes; and the prerogative of pardon, and of a mitigation or commutation of punishment, would also be conceded to him. The deputies of the states were to be freely elected, and to enjoy a freedom of speech during the deliberations. In every fifth year the states were to assemble in the capital, by order of the council of state; and the session was not to continue above three months, unless a multiplicity of business should demand an extension of that period. It was a part of the early duty of each diet to nominate a committee, for an inquiry into the conduct of the ministers and council. No taxes could be imposed without the sanction of that assembly; nor had the sovereign the privilege of negotiating a loan, of altering the value of the coin, or of selling or alienating any part of the Swedish territory.

As the wish of the new king to preserve a friendly intercourse with Great Britain gave offence to the Russian emperor, a treaty of peace was not immediately concluded; and hostilities were renewed, but without producing any memorable incident. Charles at length consented to an exclusion of British vessels from his ports; and he was also constrained to cede Finland to his powerful adversary. This treaty was not altogether ^{Sept. 17.} honourable to the nation; but it was considered as a necessary act of submission to an arbitrary confederacy.

LETTER XII.

View of the Progress of the Spanish War, and of the Concerns of Great Britain, to the Commencement of a new War in Germany.

THE great cause in which the Spaniards were engaged, had A.D. roused them from their indolence and torpor, and called 1808. all their faculties into action. They were convinced of the necessity of extraordinary exertion, to avoid, on one hand, the danger and degradation of a foreign yoke, and, on the other, the miseries of anarchy. Amidst the animating contest, the intellects of the ordinary people seemed to be invigorated, and the literary genius of the higher and middle classes to revive. The addresses of the juntas afforded favourable specimens of reasoning and eloquence: and other effusions of this tempestuous period were marked with spirit and vigour.

In a proclamation addressed to the whole Spanish community, and in a decree transmitted to the provincial councils, the supreme junta explained its sentiments and evinced its zeal. When a tyranny of twenty years, exercised by men who were the most unqualified for the task of government, had reduced the country to the verge of ruin, the oppressor of Europe, said the new administrators, hoped to take a decisive advantage of the dissensions in the royal family, the disorganization and dispersion of the military force, and the decline of the national resources. He was suffered by the favourite to introduce a great army into the kingdom, for the evident purpose of giving law to the people, who suddenly, however, roused themselves from their slumber, annihilated the power of the minister, and placed a beloved prince on the throne. By the most abominable act of treachery that ever disgraced a tyrant, they were deprived of their new king; and, by the most diabolical inhumanity, the citizens of the capital were massacred for daring to oppose the base invaders of their country. This horrible treatment of an unoffending nation tended rather to provoke resentment than to produce submission. The enemies of Spain, concluding that the people would be intimidated and even paralysed by such an act of violence, spread themselves over the country, in the hope of enjoying the fruits of their perfidy. Rash and blind idiots! they knew not that they were rushing upon their own ruin. The crisis was unexampled in the history of Spain; but the energy of the juntas established mutual con-

fidence, and gave a proper and legitimate direction to the public mind. To preclude a want of concentration and of unity, a sovereign junta was at length formed by the general wish; and thus the divisions which the French pretended to foresee, were effectually obviated. The car of the state moved upon one axis, and pursued a steady and uniform course. Some military advantages had been obtained, and the capital had been recovered: but the increasing force and obstinate perseverance of the enemy rendered the task of resistance difficult and arduous. The oppressor of public freedom lulled the rest of the continent into peace, that he might not be diverted, by any other enterprise, from the prosecution of his views in the peninsula. Anxious and apprehensive, the powers of Europe studiously observed the progress of this contest, all being interested in its event. Indeed, the only prospect of a preservation of the balance of power was to be found in a general confederacy, which would certainly take place at no very distant period, as it was recommended by interest, and required by necessity. He who had shaken off all the obligations of humanity, honour, and virtue, would then be reduced to the alternative of having greater power than the whole confederacy of his adversaries, or of being buried under the mountains raised by the frenzy of his ambition. The exertions of the Spaniards, it was hoped, would pave the way for this glorious result; and, in the mean time, it was their best policy to employ all the means of defence which they possessed, as if they were to sustain alone the whole force of France. An army, amounting to 550,000 men, ought, if possible, to be levied: three great divisions might provide for the security of the frontiers; and the rest of the national force might be ready to act in various directions, as occasion might require. All the resources of the country ought to be called forth, to oppose the gigantic power of the foe: but, as the rashness of enthusiasm might overshoot the mark, even the most vigorous measures ought to be accompanied with judgment, and qualified by prudence and circumspection. At the same time, the junta would reform the administration, correct abuses, encourage useful institutions, and, as far as the general danger would allow, promote individual happiness and national prosperity.

In the decree which was sent to the other juntas, a spirited sketch of the history of Spain, from the year 1795, was given, with a view of exhibiting a strong contrast between the friendly demeanour of the king toward France, and the illiberal and tyrannical conduct of the successive rulers of that country: the

shameful misgovernment of Godoy, who connived at every indignity and outrage that the French dared to offer or commit, also received just censure. Against the infamous contriver of the late conspiracy, the anathema of an injured nation was fulminated; and vengeance was denounced against the profligate marauders and vile assassins who fought under his ensanguined banners. From the day on which the freedom and sovereignty of Ferdinand, and the rights of an independent nation, were insulted and violated at Bayonne, all the ties between the French and Spanish governments were declared to be broken, and all treaties annulled. All captures, and other acts of hostility, which had occurred since that time, were legalized; and that such a war was sanctioned by justice, no reasonable person could deny. The members finally protested, that no overtures of peace or reconciliation would receive the least attention, unless their king should be restored to his throne, and the realm and its dependencies be secured from dismemberment or diminution.

The preparations and menaces of the Spaniards did not dispirit Napoleon, who resolved to support his brother with a powerful accession of force. By the way of Bayonne, and other passes, he had opportunities of promoting his great object; and thus the usurper was encouraged to remain within the boundaries of the kingdom. The terror inspired by the enemy repressed the rising zeal of the Biscayans, who did not, however, tamely suffer their chief town to be seized, and to endure the enormity of outrage. To robbery and violence, insult was added; for a pretended general assembly was convoked at Bilboa, in the name of Joseph, whose representative, Massaredo, endeavoured to inspire the deputies with high ideas of the beneficent views of that prince, and exacted from each an oath of submission and allegiance. General Blake repeatedly attempted to dispossess the enemy of this important station, and it was at length re-occupied by Spanish troops; but, on the approach of marshal Ney, it again changed
Oct. 31. its master. Having re-taken it, the Spaniards seemed to threaten Le Fèvre with an attack. He advanced with alacrity to meet them; and, in the battle which ensued near Durango, the victory was obstinately disputed. The right wing was first attacked; and a Catalonian regiment particularly distinguished itself in resisting this assault. The division of general Mendizabel also acted with such vigour, as to occasion a recoil of the enemy. Blake, who assumed the immediate direction of the centre, animated the troops by his exhortations and example: but they were opposed by superior force and discipline; and, at

the close of the day, the apprehension of being surrounded induced him to retreat, that he might form a junction with the marquis De la Romana, who had been enabled, by British aid, to escape with a strong body of his countrymen from the French service in Holstein. Another engagement, between the same generals, took place near Balmaseda; and the result was unfavourable to the troops of Galicia and the Asturias. Those of Estremadura were still more unfortunate, being more completely vanquished near Burgos¹. On these occasions the patriotic cause was injured by want of concert, and by that impolicy which neglected the appointment of a chief commander of the whole military force.

The French prosecuted their advantages with their usual eagerness and promptitude. They rushed upon Blake's army near Espinosa, where its right occupied a wood, and its ^{Nov. 10.} left had taken a commanding position. By repeated assaults, the Spaniards were dislodged from the wood; but they re-advanced, and repelled their adversaries. The approach of night put an end to the engagement: and, when the French, who were before too numerous, had been reinforced, they obtained the victory on the following day, and, by seizing a height which overlooked the course of the retiring army, they were enabled to convert the retreat into a disorderly dispersion. Blake, however, with all the fugitives whom he could collect, ventured to face his pursuers at Reynosa; but the strength of this post did not protect him against the powerful phalanx that endeavoured to crush him. Being defeated, he fled toward the coast; and of the 35,000 men who were recently under his command, few remained embodied. Yet the people were not discouraged: they applauded the courage of their defenders, and looked forward with hope to a favourable change.

The enemy's next object was the ruin of the army of Castanos, posted near the frontiers of Navarre and Arragon. That commander, being informed of the approach of a numerous host, retired to a position which seemed advantageous to those who were to be attacked; but his divisions were not sufficiently close for regular co-operation. His right wing was stationed near Tudela, and his left at Cascante. Marshal Lasnes, by the vigour ^{Nov. 23.} of a compact body of infantry, broke the centre, and made

¹ This division of the Spanish force was nearly ruined, if we may give credit to the writer of the second bulletin, who adds, that not more than fifteen of the French were killed, and fifty wounded. The falsehood of this account is self-evident; for no one can suppose that 12 or 13,000 men, of whom favourable mention is made by British officers, would suffer themselves to be massacred, captured, or dispersed, with *the infliction of such trivial loss or mischief upon the enemy.*

an opening for Le Fèvre and his cavalry, who, wheeling to the left, and aided by a charge in front, took measures for surrounding the Spanish right. In the mean time, La-Pena so warmly received the division which assaulted the left, that he obtained a manifest advantage, and pursued the retiring enemy to some heights, which, to his great surprise, he found already occupied by another part of the French army. He immediately checked himself, and retreated to Borja; whence, with the greater part of the army, he marched to Calatayud. Palafox, with the Arragonians, retired to Saragossa, to assist in the renewed defence of that city.

During these operations, insincere overtures of peace had been made to the chief protector of the Spanish nation. The artful Napoleon, in a succession of conferences with the Russian emperor, at Erfurt, had apparently secured the friendship of that prince, and obtained his acquiescence in the oppression of the Spaniards; and, at the same time, to add weight to his pretended desire of peace, he persuaded Alexander to concur with him in an application to the king of Great Britain. A letter was written in the names of these confederates, stating, that it was their anxious wish to yield to the desires and wants of the harassed nations, and to seek, in a speedy pacification with his majesty, the best remedy for the calamities with which Europe was afflicted; that the long continental war was at an end, without the possibility of renewal; that many changes had occurred, and many states had been overthrown, chiefly in consequence of that agitation and misery in which the suspension of maritime commerce had placed the greatest nations. As more important changes, by which the people of Great Britain might be seriously affected, might yet take place, it was as much their interest, as it was that of the continent, to promote the restoration of peace. "We therefore unite (said the politic despot and his subservient friend) in entreating your majesty to obey the dictates of humanity, and no longer yield to the impulse of passion; to adopt conciliatory measures, and thus preserve the existing powers, and secure the happiness of Europe."

This communication was introduced by a letter from M. De Champagny to Mr. Canning, intimating that French negotiators were already nominated, who would repair to that city to which the British prince and his allies might be disposed to send plenipotentiaries; and that the state of present possession, or any other basis sanctioned by justice and the reciprocal rights of great nations, would be accepted by the two emperors, as the foundation upon which a treaty might be framed. In an official note,

a temperate reply was made to the delusive application. The king, said the minister, had continued the war, because no secure and honourable means of terminating it had been afforded by his enemies; and, if he should agree to a negotiation, he thought it his duty to attend to other interests beside the immediate concerns of his own dominions. In addition to those princes with whom he had contracted a regular alliance, the Spanish nation claimed his aid and support; and he had a right to conclude, that no treaty could be seriously desired by those who ostensibly proposed it, unless the ruling power, acting in the name of Ferdinand, should be admitted to a participation of the conferences. Romanzoff, the Russian minister, protested against this admission, as a point to which his master, who had acknowledged Joseph as king of Spain, could not agree; and Champagny, in an insulting tone, derided the idea of treating with insurgents, and warned the king of the danger of opposing on the continent the powerful and united arms of France and Russia. Mr. Canning rejoined with spirit, and animadverted on the mean subserviency of the Russian potentate, and the gross injustice and infamous treachery of Bonaparte.

When the ruler of France joined his army in Spain after his German tour, he found himself at the head of 150,000 men. He did not personally act in the late battles; but, when the Estremadurans had been defeated, he fixed his head-quarters at Burgos, where he proclaimed an amnesty in favour of those insurgents who should speedily submit to the authority of his royal brother. He then turned his thoughts to the reduction of Madrid, and intended to march in the sequel against the British army.

While sir John Moore was preparing to execute the instructions which he had received from his court, he found considerable difficulty in communicating to his troops that primary impulse which was necessary to put them in motion. He complained, that he had not the means of enabling them to act; but he promised to use every exertion for surmounting the obstacles which delayed his advance. His uneasiness was not removed by the information which he received from lord William Bentinck, importing that, as far as could be judged from an intercepted official letter, above 70,000 men would speedily arrive from France to join the army near the Ebro. Sending the artillery and cavalry toward Madrid, he marched to Almeida without securing a continuance of supplies; and proceeding to Salamanca, endeavoured to expedite a junction with sir David Baird, who had landed at Coruña with a reinforcement. He was still at

this station, when intelligence of the defeat of Castanos arrived ; and this disaster induced him to recall the advancing division, to send an order for the retrograde march of Baird, and retreat with the rest of the army to the Portuguese frontier. Subsequent accounts from Madrid, stating that the French had been repulsed, and that the inhabitants, animated with patriotic zeal, were employed in the labours of fortification, occasioned a suspension of the retreat, and encouraged the general to meditate an advance to Valladolid or to Burgos. But an officer whom he sent to procure accurate information of the state of affairs, found that the French had reached the capital ; that the duke of Castel-Franco had capitulated in the name of the junta ; and that, although the chief military officers refused to concur in the convention, and the people remained in arms, there was no prospect of maintaining the city. The defence, indeed, was short and spiritless, as the inhabitants probably concluded that a protracted resistance would provoke the ferocious enemy to a demolition of the city. Hasty barricades were formed, and batteries erected ; but, when the Buen-Retiro had been stormed, and a general assault was expected, a regard to personal safety dictated submission, and the invaders again became masters of Madrid.

Dec. 4. Hearing of the advance of Soult with about 16,000 men, the British commander moved forward to attack him before he could be reinforced ; but he was not gratified with the desired opportunity ; and, indeed, he did not expect that an incidental advantage over the marshal would have any effect in rousing the Spaniards to a display of that zeal which alone could save them from ruin. It was his opinion, that they would make no strenuous efforts to favour the cause in which the English had taken so active a part, and that their apathy and indifference were incorrigible. “ Had the British been withdrawn, the loss of the cause (he says) would have been imputed to their retreat ; and it was necessary to risk this army, to convince the people of England, as well as the rest of Europe, that the Spaniards had neither the power nor the inclination to make any efforts for themselves.” In other words, he was willing to expose his troops to serious danger, to prove that he had formed a just conception and estimate of the Spanish character. He therefore marched to Sahagun, and “ brought the whole disposable force of the French against his army ;” and not a single movement was made to favour his retreat¹. Here he concerted with Romana a scheme of at-

¹ *Letter to Lord Castlereagh, private rather than official, January 13.*

tack, which was relinquished in consequence of a report of the advancement of a great reinforcement from New Castile to the camp of Soult. A speedy march into Galicia was now ordered; and this retreat, by the acknowledgment of the general himself, was so disorderly, as to reflect disgrace upon the army. Parties wandered out of the road, with views of depredation: others loitered in the rear, in a state of intoxication; and many treated the Spaniards with harshness and insolence. The danger of a slow march occasioned that precipitancy which precluded, in a great measure, the enforcement of order and regularity. Several attacks were made upon the retiring troops; but the spirit of resistance was still unbroken; and those who were refractory in the march were ready to maintain in conflict the honour of the British arms. Having repelled these assaults, the commander made dispositions near Lugo for a general engagement; but Soult, content with harassing the march, was unwilling to incur that risk before he had secured every advantage.

Much loss was sustained during the retreat, by the death of a number of men from cold and fatigue, and by the abandonment of stores, money, and baggage; and, for want of the means of conveyance, the sick were left to the mercy of the foe. By halting for three days at Lugo, the troops procured provisions and rest; but, by this long delay, they increased the danger which hung over them. The march terminated at Corunna; but the embarkation was necessarily postponed, because the transports had not arrived from Vigo. Having driven the army to this point, Soult took a strong position, and made preparations for an attack. The situation which sir John Moore had reluctantly chosen was far from being advantageous for defence, as the town and harbour were commanded by those who could secure the principal heights. It was supposed that he would have seized the more defensible eminences; but he contented himself with an inferior range, and left to the French a stronger position. He then made such arrangements as the time allowed; and, instead of stipulating for an unmolested embarkation (as some of his officers advised), trusted for safety to the courage of his soldiers. An im- Jan. 16, petuous attack was made upon the right of his line, com- 1809. manded by sir David Baird, who, being shot in the arm, was obliged to quit the field. The village of Elvina became an object of the most violent contest; and, while the general was giving directions suited to the critical occasion, a cannon-ball shattered his left arm near the shoulder, and lacerated the muscles of his breast. He instantly fell; but this misfortune did not discourage

the troops. They fought with such determined vigour, that even the support which was afforded to the French by fresh battalions did not prevent them from retiring. Being unable to force the right, the enemy endeavoured, by superiority of numbers, to turn it; but major-general Paget, by bringing the reserve into action, baffled that attempt. The centre was exposed to a spirited assault, which, however, was repelled with little difficulty: the left defended itself with equal resolution: and, when the French general drew off his troops in the evening, a line was occupied by their adversaries, sufficiently forward to refute the claim of Soult to the honour of victory. The chief loss was sustained by the aggressors. The whole number of killed and wounded, it is supposed, did not exceed 1000 in the British army¹.

Only a feeble opposition was made to the embarkation, which was conducted with greater regularity than could reasonably have been expected. Even all the wounded are said to have been brought off. The general did not long survive his wound: in his last moments he heard, with all the pleasure which could be felt in his languid state, that the enemies of his country had been compelled to retire. He was an officer of distinguished merit, brave without rashness, and vigilantly attentive to all the duties of his profession: but it does not appear that he possessed the talents and skill of a great commander. He had been taught by the ministers to believe, that the resources of Spain were in a great measure at his disposal, and that a prospect of rapid success was afforded by the weakness of the enemy. The real state of affairs not being so auspicious as the delineation was alluring, he soon began to despair of triumph, and to entertain the most gloomy ideas. While the ministers were too sanguine and confident, he leaned to the other extreme. As their high expectations from that campaign were disappointed, they privately blamed his conduct; yet they openly applauded the management of the retreat, and the spirit which repelled the enemy.

After the departure of the British army, the French obtained possession of Corunna, by the capitulation of the governor Alzedo, who, in the name of the garrison and inhabitants, promised full submission to the authority of Joseph, and procured from Soult a general amnesty. But the seeming progress of the usurper did not occasion the least decline in the zeal with which the British

¹ *London Gazette Extraordinary*, of Jan. 24.—*Milburne's Narrative*.—*Letters from Portugal and Spain*, by an Officer.—The whole loss sustained in different modes, from the commencement of the retreat to the embarkation, may be estimated at 5000 men.

court supported the claim of Ferdinand; with whom, or with the junta that governed in his name, a treaty of alliance had been recently concluded at London. At the very time when the two armies near Corunna were preparing for a sanguinary collision, Mr. Canning and rear-admiral Apodaca signed a convention, binding his Britannic majesty to a close concert with Spain in the war against the French, and precluding, on Jan. 14. the part of the acknowledged king, the cession of any portion of the Spanish territories.

Whatever might be the opinion of the French, Spain was far from being subdued. They boasted that they had ruined the armies of the right, centre, and left, and flattered themselves with a hope of the permanent possession of Madrid. But, although their success had an imposing aspect, an arduous task remained to be performed, before they could call the country their own: the zeal of patriotism, animated by a sense of religion, and inflamed by a detestation of the character and conduct of the invaders, could not easily be extinguished.

When the parliament re-assembled, it was stated, in the king's name, that he continued to receive from the rulers of Spain "the strongest assurances of their determined perseverance in the cause of the legitimate monarchy and of national independence." He promised that, so long as the people of that country would remain true to themselves, they might depend on his strenuous aid and support; and he therefore recommended such an augmentation of the military force, as might enable him to oppose the enemy with effective vigour. It was also intimated to the two houses, with regard to another branch of hostility, that the eager endeavours of the French to destroy the commerce and resources of Great Britain had not prevented the progressive improvement of the public revenue. Jan. 19.

The king was empowered, by the votes of the commons, to grant pecuniary aid to Spain and Portugal; and considerable supplies of men were also forwarded to the peninsula. British officers were employed in disciplining the Portuguese; but the jealous pride of the Spaniards long repelled this assumption of superiority, even while they expressed their gratitude for the aid which was so readily afforded.

It was generally acknowledged that the duke of York had improved the military establishment in various respects, and had brought the army to a high state of discipline; but, as it was discovered that commissions and appointments had been sometimes granted without regard to merit, and that an artful and rapacious

woman had taken a corrupt advantage of his occasional negligence, an inquiry was instituted on the motion of Mr. Wardle. Many witnesses were examined; and the base interference of Mrs. Clarke was fully proved. She avowed the receipt of various sums of money for the exercise of her influence over the duke, and declared that, in several instances, he was not unacquainted with these acts of corruption. At the close of the inquiry, the accuser proposed an address to the king, stating that the charges had been substantiated, and that, as such conduct tended to abate the zeal of the army, and to produce serious mischief, the duke ought to be deprived of his command. Mr. Burton and Mr. Perceval strongly opposed the motion, because they conceived that the allegations were destitute of validity. Mr. Banks expressed his conviction, that an unreserved communication had subsisted between the duke and his female friend on military topics, and that she thus acquired an undue influence in the regulation of those points in which she had no right to interfere; and, while he acquitted his royal highness of personal corruption, he moved, as an amendment, that the indecorous connexion which had been so imprudently formed, and the insult thus offered to the morals and religion of the nation, rendered the duke's continuance in his high employment very inexpedient and improper. Lord Folkeston vindicated the testimony of Mrs. Clarke from the objections with which it had been assailed, as if it had been the mere produce of revenge for the refusal of her exorbitant demands. He admitted her credibility on this occasion the more readily, as she had destroyed a variety of documents which might have served her purpose of crimination. The amendment being rejected, Mr. Perceval proposed a resolution, denying that the evidence adduced could justly criminate the duke; and, after an animated renewal of debate, the house, by a majority of eighty-two votes, disallowed the charge of corruption, and even of connivance.

The duke's anxiety would not allow him to wait the result of these debates, without a solemn assertion of his innocence. In a letter addressed to the speaker, he denied all "corrupt participation in any of the infamous transactions" which had been stated; declared that he had not the slightest knowledge or suspicion of their existence; and desired that he might not be condemned without trial, or a regular inquiry into the validity of the evidence: but, even after the house had sanctioned the efforts of his friends, and admitted the satisfactory tendency of their exculpatory harangues, when there did not appear to be any necessity for his abandonment of the high ground on which he stood, he

resigned the direction of the military department. He ^{Mar. 18.} was probably of opinion, that the voice of the people called for his retreat, and that this general sentiment outweighed the decision of the national representatives. His accuser was hailed as a patriot, and complimented with panegyrical addresses and votes of municipal freedom: but, when he suffered Mrs. Clarke to sue him for the execution of those pecuniary engagements by which he had encouraged her to expose her paramour, and when other circumstances seemed to militate against the purity of his character and motives, his popularity rapidly declined.

The new commander-in-chief was sir David Dundas, who was a respectable officer, but was precluded by age from the exercise of that activity and address which the army expected to find in the director of so great an establishment. While he was promoting the increase of the disposable force, a new war arose upon the continent.

LETTER XIII.

A general View of extended Hostilities, to the Treaty of Vienna.

THE first object of the Austrian emperor, after the peace of Presburg, was the renovation of his army. To the archduke Charles this task was more particularly assigned; and the conduct of that prince did not disappoint the hopes of his brother, who expressed his satisfaction at the new arrangements and regulations. To the affairs of finance, and the retrieval of public credit, great attention was also paid by the court; and, while the military establishment was more particularly fostered, with a view of avoiding a series of loss and disgrace, considerable retrenchments were made in other branches of expenditure.

It soon became evident, even to ordinary observers of political affairs, that Francis was not inclined to remain in a state of inaction, if any opportunity of opposing the French with effect should arise. The contest in Spain, by employing a great army, seemed to afford a favourable occasion for a renewal of hostilities against the enemy of all quiet or well-disposed nations; and a continuance of encroachment and usurpation seemed to justify an attack. To the jealous remonstrances of Napoleon, evasive replies were made: and a military attitude was still preserved. Enraged at

this appearance of hostile intentions, the despot menaced the Austrians with a vigorous war, if their army should not be reduced to its ordinary number, and so stationed as to preclude the suspicion of offensive movements. As the answer was incompliant, he put a numerous host in motion. A proclamation was then April. 8. issued at Vienna, stating the emperor's resolution of asserting his independence by arms. He was convinced of the readiness of his people to support him on such an occasion; and, as he could depend on their unanimity, obedience, confidence, and activity, he flattered himself with the fairest prospect of success.

The archduke Charles made an energetic appeal to the nation in general, and the army in particular. His brother, he said, was reduced to the necessity of taking arms¹, because the emperor of France wished to annihilate the power of every state which would not implicitly submit to his will, or be subservient to his unprincipled and insatiable ambition; because he had already given orders to his generals for the enforcement of his schemes of aggressive violence, and had summoned his dependent allies into the field for the accomplishment of his flagitious aims. To oppose such an enemy with the utmost vigour was the duty of every Austrian subject, and of every friend to the laws, honour, and prosperity of Germany. While the French studiously aimed at the ruin of the most venerable institutions, at the subversion of ancient codes, and the corruption of morals and manners,—prosecuted a course of shameful rapacity, and a still more atrocious career of cruelty, which was particularly exemplified in the employment of the youth of one foreign nation for the attack and subjugation of others,—the Austrians were preparing to contend for their dearest interests, their religion, laws, and possessions, the independence of their monarchy, and the ancient privileges of the Germanic confederacy. No patriot, no man of true spirit, could be disaffected to this glorious cause: indifference would be criminal; and submission to the brutal foe would be disgraceful and ruinous.

Of the nine grand divisions which composed the Austrian army, one remained on the Bohemian frontier, for the purpose of tem-

¹ This necessity was strongly denied by the writer of the eighth bulletin, who attributed the war to the pride of the emperor Francis, the archduke's jealousy of Russia, the efficacy of English gold in corrupting the minister Stadion, the levity of the women, and the artful insinuations of Metternich. With regard to the offer of a subsidy or a loan from Great Britain, the ministers denied that any overtures whatever had been made to the court of Vienna, or any influence exerted; but, when the war had commenced, a treaty of alliance was concluded, and pecuniary supplies were transmitted to Germany.

porary observation, under the immediate command of the count de Bellegarde; one was conducted into Poland by the archduke Ferdinand, and two were sent into Italy; while five, after the expulsion of the French and Bavarians from Munich, occupied the country from the Iser at Landshut to the Danube at Neustadt. Bonapartè, having hastened from Paris on the first intelligence of the invasion of Bavaria, addressed his troops from Donawert, and assured them of a speedy and complete triumph. At Abensberg, he attacked two divisions; and a spirited conflict ensued, in which, after a considerable loss on both sides, each claimed the advantage. Near Eckmühl, a more general action occurred, in which the Austrians were compelled to retreat. Prince Charles then passed the Danube near Ratisbon, after a fierce engagement; and, being joined by Bellegarde, took a position at Cham. Leaving a strong body to watch his movements, Napoleon moved along the right bank of the Danube, severely harassing the left wing, which he drove to Ebersberg, where baron Hiller resisted with such effect, as to destroy a great number of his pursuers. That officer then hastened to secure Vienna, which the archduke also hoped to reach before it should be invested by the enemy. It was not, however, considered as a defensible town; and when howitzers had played upon it for twenty-four hours, and the river isles had been seized, the citizens capitulated, while the troops retreated over the bridge of Tabor. The arch-^{May 13.} duke was not disposed to submit tamely to this loss, but resolved to attack the French and their German allies near the capital. When he had ineffectually endeavoured to obstruct the passage of the invaders, who threw pontoons over a branch of the river to a small island, and by the same means reached the isle of Lobau, whence they passed to the left bank with little molestation, they fortified Aspern and Essling, and were as ready to offer as to sustain an attack.

The Austrians advanced in five columns, which, with a corps of cavalry and grenadiers, amounted to 75,000 men. An^{May 21.} equal, if not a greater number, fought on the side of Napoleon. Aspern was the first object of attack; and it was alternately taken and recovered, as each party seemed to think its possession necessary. Every house was resolutely contested; and every tree had its assailants and defenders. At length, a part of the second column, co-operating with the first, gained the upper part of the village, and kept it during the night. The actions, on a bushy meadow near the post, were not less vigorous and sanguinary. An animated contest occurred between

the first line of the third column and the hostile cavalry. The latter, being very numerous, penetrated between the battalions which composed the wings, and repelled a body of light horse, but were driven back in confusion by some well-directed volleys. The fourth and fifth columns attacked Essling and Enzersdorff, and obtained visible advantages; and the equestrian reserve, joining the infantry in the centre, also acted with spirit and success. But, as a mere repulse was insufficient, fresh efforts were deemed requisite on the following day. The Austrians were dislodged from Aspern, which, however, they retook when it was involved in flames. Having been reinforced in the night, the French eagerly pressed forward, regardless of the destruction of their bridges by fire boats; and the battle soon became general; but it raged with particular vehemence in the centre and at Essling. That village was defended by the French with extraordinary obstinacy, because they were sensible of its utility in the event of a retreat. Such a movement was at length rendered necessary; and it was not effected without a severe loss, as all the batteries played while the troops were hastily passing in small vessels to the isle of Lobau. Above 20,000 men were killed or wounded in these conflicts, on the part of the Austrians, who made, however, a much greater havock among the hostile ranks¹.

This "splendid and important success," as it was styled in the royal speech at the prorogation of the British parliament, was not attended with any favourable result. Those who called themselves victors left the enemy for several weeks unmolested, as if they were of opinion that they had sufficiently secured all the advantages of a glorious campaign. A respite was certainly expedient and desirable; but that indolence and neglect which suffered the fruits of a boasted victory to be wholly lost must excite surprise, if censure should be deemed illiberal.

In Italy, the archduke John was at first successful. He reduced some considerable towns in the Venetian territories, and even menaced the capital. A reverse of fortune followed: he was defeated in several engagements by the viceroy Beauharnois, and deprived of his recent acquisitions. The French commander then prepared to reinforce the grand army of Napoleon, while the archduke was equally intent upon a junction with his brother. Near Leoben, Beauharnois routed the corps of Jellachich; and, pursuing his course, joined Lauriston at Bruck, whence he proceeded into Hungary, threatening prince John with another defeat.

¹ Austrian Account, given in the Supplement to the *London Gazette* of July 11.

While the French maintained their ground in the north of Italy, they strengthened their power to the southward, by a total subversion of the papal authority.

It is certainly inconsistent with the genuine spirit of the Christian religion, that a director of the concerns of the soul should be a temporal prince. "Christ's kingdom is not of this world;" and the gratifications of piety are not to be found in the midst of lordly splendour and princely power. He who is immersed in politics, and entangled in the affairs of busy life, will rarely pay a due attention to the religious interests of the people; or, when he interferes in that department, he will treat the doctrine and discipline of the church as points of policy rather than of conscience, and will render them subservient to the prevailing system of government. It never was intended by the apostolic founders of Christianity, that the head of the catholic church should be a territorial sovereign. He was at first a mere president of the Christian community, the chief pastor of the increasing flock. It was his duty to point out the path of salvation, to render practice consistent with faith, and encourage every species of private virtue. But so commanding was the influence obtained over superstitious minds by spiritual directors, that political power and temporal authority were gradually acquired by the bishops of Rome, who, elate with these adventitious aids, soon began to treat religion as an inferior object of consideration. The profligacy and tyranny of many pontiffs excited the disgust of every good Christian; and it became the wish, even of devout catholics, that power, thus abused, should be transferred to the hands of laymen. These remarks are not offered in justification of the conduct of Bonapartè, who, when he resolved to reduce the pope to the state of a mere bishop, was actuated only by ambition and rapacity.

In the preamble of a decree which he sent to Rome from his camp at Vienna, he said, that his august predecessor Charlemagne, when he assigned various territories to the pontiffs, gave them merely as fiefs to be holden under him and his suc-^{May 17.}cessors, with a view of more effectually securing the tranquillity of Italy, not intending that Rome should at any time cease to form a part of the great empire which he left to his posterity; that, since that period, the combination of the temporal with the spiritual power had been a source of serious discordance and of frequent mischief; and that it was impracticable to conciliate the tranquillity of the state, and the dignity and integrity of the empire, with the temporal pretensions of the pope. It was there-

fore ordained, that the papal territories should be incorporated with the French dominions ; that the public debt should stand on the same basis with that of France ; and that the revenue of the pontiff should be fixed at the sum of two millions of francs, free from all charges or requisitions. Rome was declared to be a free and imperial city ; and general Miollis, Salicetti, and four other statesmen, were ordered to make such arrangements as would assimilate the new appendage of France to the rest of the empire. They suppressed the court of inquisition, annulled the temporal jurisdiction of the clergy, abolished the right of asylum and other inexpedient privileges, and organized new tribunals. The title of king of Rome was appropriated to the heir of the empire ; and a splendid court was to be kept in that city by a prince of the blood or a grand dignitary.

The troops which guarded the Roman territory were called away by the danger to which the kingdom of Naples seemed for a time to be exposed. Sir John Stuart, rather with a view of exciting a diversion in favour of the Austrians, than in the hope of making a powerful impression upon the Neapolitan dominions, sailed with a considerable force, and made a descent on the isle of Ischia, which, as well as Procida, he reduced in the name of the king of Sicily. Lieutenant-colonel Smith, being detached to the attack of Scylla, failed in the attempt, and hastily retired ; but, in consequence of a sudden panic, the enemy quitted the fortress, leaving the artillery and stores which had been taken from the besiegers, and a valuable supply belonging to the usurper. The state of the city of Naples did not render an assault advisable, as Murat¹ had assembled a great force for its defence.

These operations were not productive of any real benefit to the Austrians, who, being conducted to Raab by prince John, had another engagement with the viceroy of Italy. The Hungarians, by whom they were joined, did not act with spirit ; and the French prevailed after a sanguinary contest. Retiring toward Presburg, the archduke remained in expectation of orders from the commander-in-chief, who continued on the defensive near Vienna.

The army which prince Charles had collected, exceeded the amount of 110,000 men ; but it was not strong in cavalry, the soldiers of that description being only 12,000 in number. When the preparations of the French announced an attempt to pass the

¹ This adventurer had been elevated by his brother-in-law to the throne of Naples, on the removal of Joseph to Spain.

Danube, and provoke a general engagement, the Austrian positions extended from Jedlersdorff on the Spitz to Muhleiten. Enzersdorff, which seemed to require defence, was very imperfectly fortified: other posts were less strong than they might easily have been rendered; and the movements of the French were not observed with due vigilance. The fire of a battery having dislodged a feeble party from an out-post, a bridge was thrown over a narrow branch of the Danube, and a French detachment passed over to a wood which was protected by a morass. To check the imitation of this bold example, four divisions of the grand army approached the river, forming, as far as they could, an investment of the Lobau: but, on subsequent consideration, this arrangement was abandoned, as not affording many defensible positions. Returning to the former line, the archduke left one division with the advanced guard for the defence of the river. When some days had been employed in firing from the opposite batteries, the French fixed three bridges, one of a single piece, one of boats, and another of rafts, below Enzersdorff; barges were also prepared for the passage; and a considerable part of their army gained the left bank in a dark, rainy, and tempestuous night, amidst a fierce cannonade from the whole Austrian line. They soon broke the weak chain of posts formed by the van-guard, seized the town, and were joined in the forenoon by the rest of the army. When he had retired beyond the Russbach, the archduke began to form redoubts in that position ^{July 5.} when it was too late; for the advance of the enemy soon dispersed the workmen. Having crossed the rivulet, the French, in great force, attacked the centre, and broke the first line by the impetuosity of their charge: but the commander-in-chief exerted himself at this critical moment with such spirit and address, that the Austrians rallied, and compelled their adversaries to repass the stream. Night put an end to the engagement; and the French, without just pretensions, claimed the victory.

In the ensuing night, the Austrians, by an unnecessary extension of the line, occupied the country from Stammersdorff to Neusiedel. Their general had formed a scheme of concurrent attack upon both flanks of the enemy, in the hope of cutting off the communication with the Danube: but there was not sufficient time to make all the arrangements for this purpose; and that division which had received orders before the rest could be instructed and prepared, suffered severely by a premature attack upon the right wing of the French. It was expected that the archduke John would be able to join in this assault: but it was

imprudent to depend upon his opportune arrival. The central body passed through Wagram, and had a long contest for the possession of Aderkla, which was at length secured by the Austrians, who, forming two lines in its front, drove the French back upon Raschdorff, spreading disorder through that part of the field in which Napoleon more particularly acted. In the mean time, a part of the Austrian right, which had moved toward Aspern, found that village and a neighbouring wood occupied by the enemy; but a dislodgment was effected with little difficulty, and the French were pursued to their *tête-de-pont* on the banks of the Danube. The deficiency of cavalry prevented a due advantage from being taken of the retrograde movements of the French centre; and the same disparity was highly unfavourable to the Austrian left, which, after being recalled from its attack, could not, even with the aid which it received from the centre, secure itself from being seriously out-flanked, or permanently defend Neusiedel against the vigorous assaults of Davoust. The ill success of this *corps* made an unfavourable impression upon other parts of the line. The centre, being exposed to a new and formidable attack, gradually retreated; and the right, threatened with the danger of being turned by the columns marching along the river, evacuated the posts which had been recently seized, and concurred in those movements of timidity or of prudence, which not only inspired the French with the confident hope of victory, but gave them a right to claim it. The honour would have been greater, if they had not possessed a commanding superiority, both in the number of men and in the quantity of artillery. In the two battles, about 20,000 men, on the Austrian side, were killed, wounded, or captured; and the amount of the French, in the two former classes, proved nearly equal to that calculation ¹.

For the five following days, the retreating army suffered continual molestation and farther loss, particularly at Znaim; and, to prevent its ruin, an armistice was requested and obtained. It was purchased by such concessions as evinced, on the part of the unfortunate emperor, a desire of speedy pacification.

The Tyrolese and Voralbergers were particularly active in this campaign. They had felt, soon after the peace of Presburg, the ill effects of that transfer to which they had been obliged to submit. Their privileges and immunities were ostensibly secured to them by the treaty; but engagements of this nature are not, in

¹ Military Panorama.

general, very scrupulously regarded ; and the king of Bavaria was so unwilling to suffer any circumscription of the royal authority, that he violated the compact, in multiplied instances, with the same open defiance of national feeling in which his arbitrary patron would have gloried. He abolished the representative states, and subverted the constitution of the country : he seized the funds, confiscated the property of the church, suppressed monasteries, and sold public buildings, not sparing even the ancient castle of the counts of Tyrol, the possession of which was supposed to confer the right of sovereignty. The taxes which he imposed upon his new subjects were so numerous and severe, that even a procurement of the means of subsistence became extremely difficult. Petitions and remonstrances against these grievances were strictly prohibited, and even the murmurs of discontent were tyrannically repressed. Such a series of oppression disposed the whole nation to a revolt, as soon as it was known that a new war was on the point of arising between France and Austria. The agents of the court of Vienna fanned the flame of general indignation ; and it was concerted between these emissaries and the Tyrolese, that, when the Bavarians should begin to enforce the military conscription, or take measures for the supposed security of the province, the injured inhabitants should erect the standard of revolt. An attempt being made to destroy a bridge, with a view of impeding the advance of the Austrians, the peasants attacked and routed the party ; and this exploit served as a signal for a general insurrection.

None but the slaves of despotism will blame the conduct of the Tyrolese on this occasion. Being shamefully misgoverned and oppressed, they were no more criminal in revolting from Maximilian Joseph than the English were for shaking off the tyrannous yoke of the second James. Success attended their early operations. An assault upon Inspruck put them in possession of that town ; and from other places the Bavarians were easily dislodged. A complete victory was obtained in the field over a considerable army, even before the insurgents were joined by an Austrian force. A civil governor and a commandant were sent by Francis to re-establish his interest in the province ; and the states were convoked at Brixen by the archduke John. But this pleasing prospect was obscured by the appearance of a French army under Le Fèvre, who, co-operating with general Wrede, defeated the Austrians and Tyrolese, and compelled the majority of the former to evacuate the country. The French commander, knowing that the exercise of extreme cruelty, against those who were

called rebels and *brigands*, would be highly agreeable to his sovereign, diffused over the province the horrors of devastation and murder. Towns and villages were involved in flames: the peasants, whether armed or defenceless, were massacred: women and children were put to death, with circumstances of atrocious barbarity¹.

The insurrection, however, was not yet crushed. The peasants Speckbacher and Hoffer, and a Capuchin named Haspinger, encouraged the patriots to renew their exertions: and the French were defeated with great loss in several engagements. Le Fèvre and his ruffian troops fled from the province; and Hoffer assumed the government. The Tyrolese, assisted by a great number of Austrian prisoners who had escaped from the power of the French, now invaded Bavaria, made an incursion into Carinthia, and even sought the enemy in Italy; but, being deserted by the Austrians in consequence of the armistice, and deprived of the artillery and ammunition which they had taken, they were constrained to relinquish their recent acquisitions, and to act merely on the defensive. Le Fèvre, with a great army of French and Bavarians, again rushed into the Tyrol, and renewed his inhuman ravages, which excited such indignation and resentment, that even the women resolved to wreak vengeance on the straggling or captive invaders, 640 of whom they put to death near Landeck. The enemy being defeated with severe loss, the marshals Macdonald and Bessieres were sent with a select reinforcement; but they also felt the effects of patriotic zeal and courage. Hoffer and his associates again cleared the country; and an interval of tranquillity ensued. On the renewal of hostilities, Speckbacher was surrounded in a Bavarian town; but he found the means of escape, after the discomfiture of his troops. Hoffer retired from the capital, and defended himself among the mountains. The annunciation of the treaty of Vienna having produced only a partial submission, the French and Bavarians prosecuted their desolating and murderous course, and at length overwhelmed all opposition. Hoffer, unable to elude discovery, was condemned by martial law, and shot: the same fate attended the efforts of Mayer, another gallant chieftain; and the country was again subjected to Bavarian tyranny².

An insurrection, which, if it had been encouraged by the higher powers, might have worn a formidable aspect, had been organized

¹ Statement of the Tyrolese Deputies who were sent to England to solicit aid or interposition.

² *Der Krieg der Tyroler Landleute*, von J. L. S. Bartholdy.

in Germany by Schill, the commander of a regiment in the Prussian service. He lamented the inactivity of his sovereign amidst the alarming progress of the French, and announced his intention of leading an army of patriots against the inhuman enemies of Germany. He soon collected a considerable force, and harassed the French detachments in Saxony and Westphalia : but his career was short and transient ; for, when he had retired to Stralsund, he was attacked by some Dutch and Danish troops, and lost his life. Many of his officers fell with him ; and some who were captured, were sacrificed, as deserters, to the rigours of martial law. The duke of Brunswick-Oels, son of the prince who was mortally wounded at Auerstadt, also carried on a desultory warfare, with the aid of all who were willing to share his fortune : but he was unable to recover the dutchy ; and, after occasional instances of success, he evaded hostile fury by seeking refuge in England. The archduke Ferdinand, acting under more regular authority, invaded Saxony with effect ; and Bonapartè's vassal king was, for a time, deprived of some of his principal towns. Jerome, the Westphalian king, was alarmed at the progress of general Kienmayer, who obtained several advantages over the supporters of Gallic tyranny ; and, if an army had been sent from Great Britain, this intruder might perhaps have been dethroned ; but an expedition of a different kind occupied all the attention of the ministry.

The preparations which were made for the new enterprise were sufficiently ample for a much more important service than the destruction of a few ships. The military force sent out amounted to 39,000 men : the fleet consisted of thirty-seven sail of the line, and twenty-nine ships of inferior rate, beside sloops, bomb-vessels, and gun-brigs. The artillery requisite for a siege, and all kinds of military and naval stores, were abundantly furnished ; but there was one serious deficiency, for which no other preparation could effectually atone. An active, able, and judicious conductor of the enterprise was not provided by its imprudent projectors. The earl of Chatham, who was selected for the employment, was known to possess courage, and his good sense in the business of ordinary life was not disputed : but he was tardy in his movements, indolent, and inert, and the choice of such a commander was consequently ill-calculated to promote the success of an expedition which required celerity and vigour. Much time, it may also be observed, was lost in the preparation : for a force considerably less would have been adequate to the intended object ; and the armament might then have reached the

place of its destination, before the enemy had collected the means of powerful resistance. But, unfortunately, the whole business was a tissue of error and mismanagement.

It was pretended by lord Castlereagh, by whom the enterprise was suggested to the cabinet, that one of its objects tended to create a diversion in favour of the Austrians; but it was too long delayed to have any beneficial effect in that point of view, and the troops ought rather to have acted in Germany; or, if they had been sent to Spain, they might have occasioned the recall of a great force from the banks of the Danube.

The armament proceeded from the Downs to the isle of Walcheren, and sailed to its north-eastern coast by a passage which had been deemed impracticable for large ships; and a considerable
July 30. part of the army disembarked near the town of Veer, which was taken after a short cannonade and bombardment. Middelburg was not defended: but at Flushing, the resistance was spirited, if not obstinate. A strong detachment landed on South-Beveland, under sir John Hope, who quickly reduced the whole island. The defenders of Flushing, having made a vigorous *sortie*, received so severe a check from major-general Graham, that they were discouraged from future sallies. They not only suffered considerable loss, but were obliged to relinquish some very advantageous ground, of which the besiegers eagerly took possession for the establishment of their advanced posts.

It was the opinion of some officers, that the possession of the isle of Walcheren was not a necessary preliminary to the progress of the fleet and army up the Scheldt; that it was sufficient to mask Flushing; and that thus the grand object of the expedition might have been effected. The occupation of Cadsand, it was particularly alleged, would have given the armament an opportunity of proceeding up the river without any molestation from the works of Flushing; but so negligent was the general in this respect, that, long after the arrival of the army off Walcheren, French troops were sent to the besieged town from the opposite island. Every day was important in this critical service; and it appears that much time was lost. The earl imputed an unexpected delay to the admiral, sir Richard Strachan, upon whose vigorous co-operation in an attack upon Flushing, with a view of avoiding a protracted siege, he was inclined to depend, in consequence of a previous agreement, which, however, was denied by his naval associate.

In the progress of the siege Hope's division remained near

Batz, in South Beveland. That important post was exposed to two attacks from the enemy's frigates, brigs, and gun-boats; but it was still retained; and the flotilla, diminished by the destruction or capture of a part of its amount, retired toward Fort Lillo. After the reduction of Rammekens, the earl, as he himself informs us¹, endeavoured to expedite the advance of the armament up the West Scheldt; but his advice and remonstrances (he adds) did not operate so effectually as to ensure the success of the enterprize. The admiral was of opinion, that, by the march of the army across South Beveland, the attempt might much sooner be made, than by a difficult passage through the windings of an intricate channel; but, as the general preferred the latter mode, it was necessary to warp the vessels with great labour, and frequently against the wind.

The siege was at length accompanied with a furious bombardment, which made dreadful havoc in the town. A cannonade from many of the ships also increased the consternation of the inhabitants: an entrenchment and a battery were stormed; and a lodgment was effected within musket shot of the walls. General Monnet, being summoned to surrender by sir Eyre Coote, the director of the siege, at first evaded the demand; but a renewal of attack induced him to capitulate. The garrison, amounting to 5800 men, submitted to the disgrace of captivity. The number of killed and wounded, from the investment ^{Aug. 15.} to the surrender, probably exceeded 2000, while those who suffered, on the part of the invaders, from the day of the disembarkation, were about 800.

In the mean time the report of the expedition had drawn a great force to Antwerp and its vicinity; and the enemy's movements portended a vigorous opposition. The voyage up the Scheldt was still delayed; and, ten days after the reduction of Flushing, the fleet had not proceeded far beyond Batz. It was then calculated that all the force which could be brought into action, after leaving sufficient garrisons in the islands of Walcheren and South Beveland, would not exceed 25,000 men; and, with this number, the earl and the principal officers despaired of farther success. They were informed that the ships which they

¹ In the narrative which he presented to the king. The mutual recriminations of the admiral and general were made the subject of the following epigram:

The earl of Chatham with his sword drawn
Was waiting for sir Richard Strachan;
Sir Richard longing to be at 'em
Was waiting for the earl of Chatham.

wished to destroy were protected by the citadel of Antwerp, and that this town was in a complete state of defence; and, as it would be necessary to employ strong detachments in observing the garrisons of Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda, they did not conceive that the remaining force would be adequate to the sieges of the forts of Lillo and Liefkenshoeck, which must precede the grand attack. There was another discouraging circumstance, which ought to have been foreseen, but against which the ministry had not taken proper precautions. It was well known, from the information of a celebrated physician ¹, who had ably treated of the diseases of the army, that, near the close of the summer and in the autumn, a bilious remittent fever prevailed in the isle of Walcheren and the neighbouring parts of the Netherlands: yet those arrangements for which the risk of such a disorder peculiarly called, were neglected. It began to show itself soon after the surrender; “and,” says the general, “it hourly increased to an alarming extent.”

Aug. 26. These considerations deterred the earl from the prosecution of the enterprise. The admiral, being present at a consultation, offered all the aid of the fleet for the reduction of the fortresses; but, when he found that the chief military officers were inclined to relinquish all ulterior attempts, he ceased to urge them on the subject. At that time the enemy seemed to defy the efforts of the English; for those ships which had been removed five miles above Antwerp, had been brought to the front of the town, and some were even as low down as Lillo. To obstruct the passage, however, a boom had been framed, and it was guarded by a great number of gun-boats. Batteries were also erected on both sides of the river; and Bernadotte, styled the prince of Ponte Corvo, an able and experienced general, had been sent to superintend the operations of defence.

The greater part of the army soon after returned to England, leaving for the defence of Walcheren a force debilitated by an insalubrious air, the ill effects of which had been aggravated by the inundations diffused over the country during the siege. A considerable number died: and, of those who recovered, many were subject to a periodical return of the disorder. Notwithstanding the pestilential nature of the climate, the island was retained for several months, while the war with Austria continued; but this bold encroachment on the dominions of Napoleon had no effect in procuring better terms of peace for the emperor. It was also

¹ Sir John Pringle.

retained for some time after the pacification between the rival potentates; but prudence at length required its dereliction. The guns and valuable stores of Flushing were conveyed to the British ships: the basin and dock-heads were blown up, and all the works of the harbour destroyed: and the arsenal and store-houses were involved in flames. The troops were then, to their great joy, permitted to re-visit England.

This expedition will long be remembered, as disgraceful to the ministry; but some of the maritime enterprises of the year are entitled to a better character. It was reported in the spring, that eleven ships of the line and four frigates were in the road of Aix; and, as it was supposed that they might be attacked with advantage, lord Cochrane was ordered by lord Gambier, at the particular desire of the board of admiralty, to undertake the hazardous service. An officer whose exertions promised to be more efficacious could not easily have been found. While the principal squadron remained at anchor near the island, a number of fire-ships and gun-brigs proceeded to the attack: but, amidst the darkness of the night, the whole number could not be brought into action. The approach of this flotilla intimidated the enemy into a retreat toward the shore; and, in the morning, lord Cochrane informed the admiral, by a telegraphic signal, that seven of the French ships were in such a position, as to present an opportunity of destroying them. Some ships of the line and frigates were then sent forward, and opened a cannonade upon all the ships which were within reach. One quickly struck to the *Imperieuse*, in which his lordship had taken his station: it was set on fire, after the removal of the prisoners; and two other vessels were also destroyed by the assailants, beside one which was burned by the enemy; while some of the rest were irreparably injured.

In the Mediterranean, lord Collingwood and his officers maintained the honour of the British flag. Beside inferior services, he made such arrangements as occasioned the destruction of three ships of the line, which had ventured to quit the harbour of Toulon; and the store-vessels which were under the escort of the former, and intended for the French at Barcelona, were burned or captured.

Some colonial acquisitions also rewarded, in this year, the exertions of the English. In concert with the Portuguese, they made a descent on the isle of Cayenne, and, with little difficulty or loss, seized all the settlements. A more important expedition was that which was undertaken for the reduction of the most

valuable French island in the West Indies. Lieutenant-general Beckwith and rear-admiral Cochrane sailed with 9500 men; and when one division of the army had disembarked on the windward coast of Martinique, a proclamation was issued, inviting the inhabitants to submit to the British government, as the only resource against the famine that had long harassed them, and the oppressions under which they groaned. The militia seemed disposed to remain quiet; but the regular troops thought it their duty to make some resistance. Two batteries, which threatened to obstruct the landing of the second division, were silenced by a party of marines. At Morne Brune a spirited action inflicted considerable loss on both parties; and the heights of Sourier were also well contested; but both stations were taken by assault. The lower fort was quickly taken, as was also the post of St. Pierre. Fort Royal was not defended; and a cannonade and bombardment of six days intimidated the garrison of Fort Bourbon into a capitulation, within four weeks after the departure of the armament from Barbadoes. This speedy success, achieved amidst incessant rains, reflected honour on the gallant soldiers and their naval associates.

The possession of the island of St. Domingo was still disputed. When the French under Le Clerc made their grand attempt for its recovery, that detachment which he sent to secure the ancient capital might have been overpowered by Paul, the brother of Toussaint, if he had not been surprised in an unprepared state; but, as the white inhabitants were inclined to support the pretensions of the French, the city was surrendered to Kerversan, who enjoyed his command unmolested, until general Ferrand, on the decline of the European interest in the northern and western parts of the island, violently dispossessed him of his power, and sent him back to France. This officer ably withstood the assaults of Dessalines upon the town of St. Domingo, and retained for some years the chief authority: but, when intelligence had been received of the dissolution of all the ties which had long connected the French and Spanish nations, the citizens and provincials took up arms against him, and defeated him at Seibo; and, knowing himself to be an object of general odium, he killed himself in despair. His successor, Barquier, rendered himself equally unpopular by his tyrannical government; and all his efforts for the subjugation of the Spaniards and their associates were unsuccessful. Yet he defended the city for eight months, and flattered himself with the hope of continued possession, from his expectation of a great reinforcement, consisting of whites, people of

colour, and negroes, who had emigrated amidst former convulsions, and who, after a temporary occupation of Cuba and Louisiana, meditated a return to the island which they had quitted. The Spanish leader was Ramirez, who, for want of heavy artillery, found himself unable to reduce a fortified town. He was at length gladdened with the arrival of succours. A British squadron appeared before the city; and, when major-general Carmichael had made a descent with troops and artillery, Barquier, apprehensive of an assault, proposed a negotiation, which, after earnest endeavours on the part of the garrison to secure an honourable retreat, terminated in an agreement, importing that they should be conveyed to France, but should be considered as prisoners of war. Grateful for the seasonable aid which was thus afforded, the Spanish commander, who now assumed the colonial government, agreed to a treaty in the name of Ferdinand, allowing to the British traders the same commercial advantages which were enjoyed by the subjects of Spain, in all the ports of Hispaniola. At the time when the Spaniards met with this unexpected success, the other parts of the island were under the sway of Christophe, the mulatto Petion, and Philip Dos. The first ruled over the largest share of the population, and had for his capital the town of Cape François; the second, who resided at Port-au-Prince, was more civilized than his black rival¹; and the third, whose power extended over some of the central districts, gradually augmented, by plausible promises, the number of his dependents².

In the same year the French were deprived of some European islands. A small armament being sent into the Ionian sea, brigadier Oswald landed at Zante, compelled the garrison to surrender, and made arrangements with the principal inhabitants for their provisional government; assuring them that his sovereign only wished to deliver them from the French yoke, and to protect them in the enjoyment of their religious and civil rights. Proceeding to Cephalonia, he took possession of that island without the least opposition; but, at Cerigo, the resistance of the garrisons of three forts exposed them to the consequences of an assault. They were reduced to the necessity of surrendering as prisoners of war, to the great joy of the inhabitants; and, in the isle of Ithaca, no defence was even attempted.

¹ These two chieftains had joined their arms, in 1806, for the ruin of Dessalines, whose tyranny and cruelty had excited general odium. He was dispossessed of his chief towns, and, in endeavouring to prevent the seizure of his person, he received the just retribution of his crimes.

² *Walton's Present State of the Spanish Colonies*, vol. i.

The conquest of these islands did not please the grand signor, who wished to retain them under his protection; but he acquiesced in that transfer of authority which he had not the power of preventing. After the deposition of Selim, Mustapha had reigned in tranquillity, until the ambition of Bairactar, the pasha of Rudshuck, excited dangerous commotions, during which Selim was put to death, and his successor dethroned and imprisoned, whose half-brother was elevated to the sovereignty, under the designation of Mahmoud II.¹; and Bairactar acted for some months as grand vizir, with a spirit which seemed almost to promise a regeneration of the empire. By attempting, however, to follow those schemes of military innovation which had occasioned the ruin of Selim, he excited general disgust, which all his vigour could not allay. The Janisaries conspired against him, murdered their aga for not joining them, and attacked the soldiers of the new institution. Furious conflicts ensued, in which a great number fell on each side; and, at the same time, incendiary rage, the usual accompaniment of a Turkish tumult, made great havoc among the buildings of the city. The insurgents even attacked the seraglio, to which the obnoxious minister had retired. In the phrenzy of despair, he ordered the deposed sultan Mustapha to be strangled, and, firing a mass of gunpowder, blew himself up, with many of his adherents. After seven days of commotion the storm subsided, without the dethronement of Mahmoud, who found the means of pacifying the Janisaries. As the Russians were not disposed to agree to such terms as he deemed reasonable, the sultan now listened to the propositions of Mr. Adair, the British minister, and a treaty was concluded², restoring the relations of peace and amity.

The Russians did not prosecute the war against the Turks with that vigour which was calculated to reduce the enemy to despair, or to lead the invaders to the gates of Constantinople. They were unsuccessful in various conflicts; and their Servian allies were also repeatedly obliged to yield to the fury of their opponents. The same spirit of ambition which had prompted Alexander to engage in a contest with the Porte, hurried him into a war with the Persians, against whom he sent a considerable army from Georgia; but his troops were defeated with great loss. As it was suspected by Fateh Ali, the Persian king,

¹ On the 29th of July, 1808.—This prince has been frequently called Mahomet or Mohammed; but he would then have been the fifth of the name.

² On the 5th of January, 1809.

that, while his friendship was seemingly courted by the French, they had instigated the Russians to attack him, he treated general Gardanne, Napoleon's representative, with visible coolness, and, on the arrival of an ambassador from Great Britain, was easily persuaded to form a friendly connection with this country.

The northern emperor did not so far evince his subserviency to his ally, as to join him in actual hostilities against Austria. He ordered, however, a suspension of amicable intercourse, and meanly consented to plunder his former friend, who, after a long negotiation, acceded to a treaty which was both disadvantageous and disgraceful. Francis not only ceded the territory of Saltzburg, and a part of Upper Austria, for the benefit of that confederacy which his great enemy had organized in Germany, but resigned to the French the county of Goritia, the province of Carniola, the government and city of Trieste, and, indeed, all his dominions on the right bank of the Save; gave up to the king of Saxony some districts in Bohemia, and the whole of West Galitzia; and permitted Alexander to take possession of a part of East Galitzia. He even became so submissive to the dictates of Napoleon, as to confirm all the alterations which had taken place in Spain, Portugal, and Italy; and such future changes in those countries, as might originate from the wanton caprice of despotism, were to receive the sanction of the humiliated prince, who, after this extent of loss, could only expect to reign over the rest of his territories as the vassal of the Corsican, unless a favourable conjuncture should arise, in which a grand confederacy might be formed, for crushing the exorbitant and dangerous power of the tyrant.

Oct. 14.

LETTER XIV.

A Survey of the second Campaign in Spain and Portugal.

THE result of the late campaign in the Spanish provinces did not discourage either party. Each had great resources; and each looked forward to ultimate success. The French, in particular, banished all doubt from their minds, and exulted in the magnitude of the expected conquest.

The supposed security of Madrid induced the usurper to re-

A.D. 1809.

sume his residence in that city ; and he announced his return by the pageantry of a pompous procession. Bodies of infantry lined the streets : the cavalry advanced before him ; all the officers of state, splendidly arrayed, attended him on horseback ; he received from the governor the keys of the city, and, being introduced by the clergy into the church of St. Isidore, he addressed from the throne his assembled subjects. He declared, that he was not prompted by his private inclinations, but solely by his sense of duty, to undertake the arduous task of royalty ; and that he was willing to risk the sacrifice of his own happiness, because the people of Spain required his exertions for the establishment of their prosperity. Mass was then solemnized ; and don Joseph Napoleon proceeded to the palace, which he entered amidst the roar of artillery. The town was illuminated for three nights, and apparent joy prevailed : yet, to every intelligent Spaniard, to every one who had honourable and patriotic feelings, the intruder was an object of contempt.

Having, as he fondly thought, established himself in the sovereignty, he proceeded to a settlement of the national affairs, and to an enforcement of the ordinances of his imperial brother, who, before he left Madrid, had decreed that the court of inquisition should be abolished, that many monasteries should be suppressed, and feudal privileges annihilated. The attention of the court was more particularly directed to financial and military concerns. The former branch of policy was in a state of great confusion ; and all the endeavours of the new government did not place it on a regular basis. The organization of the army was more systematically conducted ; and its brutal tyranny was encouraged by the court, while the people were unsubdued. Flagitious outrages were perpetrated with impunity ; and death was denounced against all who should enter into the service of the grand junta. To check this ferocious spirit the council of Seville ordained, that all French soldiers who might be captured in any town or district, in which acts of cruelty had been committed by the enemy, should be immediately put to death. This menace was not invariably executed ; and, even if it had been, it would not have effectually repressed the outrages of the French, who would have defied the consequences of those atrocious acts of hostility, in which they were encouraged by the innate depravity and infamous barbarity of their master.

While the usurper was employed in strengthening his government, hostilities were continued in various parts of the kingdom. The marquis de la Romana still erected in Galicia the standard

of Ferdinand; the duke del Infantado had been severely harassed, but was yet unconquered; and other patriotic generals were again prepared to face the enemies of Spain. The people of Saragossa, being exposed to the renewed dangers of a siege, held out to their countrymen, under the eye of Palafox, an example of resolute intrepidity, which, though it did not save their city, had an animating effect over the country. They repelled various attacks for two months; and, though the town was then more seriously threatened, they did not despair of success. A multitude of women, pretending to invite the approach of the enemy, as if they were disgusted at the obstinacy of the men, drew into the city a numerous body of the besiegers, upon whom a sudden attack was made, with such vigour and effect, that only a small proportion of their number escaped. The siege at length became a contest for streets and houses; mining and counter-mining led to subterranean conflicts; and great havoc was made both by bombs and by cannon. Being frequently reinforced, the French finally prevailed over the patriots, and marshal Lasnes obtained full possession of the town, dictating his will without allowing a regular capitulation. At ^{Feb. 21.} least 20,000 of the defenders are said to have fallen during the siege.

At the time of this success, the French boasted that they had restored their authority in all the provinces extending from the Pyrenees to New Castile, and from the northern coast to the Portuguese frontiers; and marshal Soult hoped to extend their sway by the terrors of a new invasion. Not expecting a vigorous resistance from the Portuguese, who had only a small British force to defend their country, he crossed the Minho, and menaced the kingdom with outrage and devastation. When his van-guard approached Braga, the armed inhabitants and a body of peasants offered their services to general Freire, whom they requested to lead them without delay against the enemy; and, on his refusal, some of them were so irritated, that they murdered him as a betrayer of their cause, even before it was discovered that he had actually entered into a traitorous correspondence with the enemy. They then hastened to meet the invaders, and sacrificed many to their fury, without preventing the advance of Soult, who, after the sanguinary defeat of several armed bodies, reached Oporto. This city, though it was strongly garrisoned, and furnished with two hundred pieces of artillery, was quickly taken by the French, in consequence of the disunion and insubordination of the Portuguese.

The army commanded by Soult not being sufficiently strong for the conquest of Portugal, Victor had concerted with that commander a plan of simultaneous operations, intending to enter the kingdom by the way of Badajoz. He passed the Tagus at Mar. 29. Almaraz; and, having stormed an entrenched position in his progress, advanced to Medellin, where he engaged the Estremaduran army. The right wing of the Spaniards contended with such vigour, as to throw the French left into disorder: but their cavalry did not emulate the example of resolute intrepidity; nor did the left or the centre exert those persevering efforts which might have secured the victory. Cuesta then recalled his right, and ordered a general retreat. About 6000 of his men were killed, wounded, or captured; while the French who suffered were at least 3500. About the same time Sebastiani encountered an army of Andalusians at Ciudad Real, and greatly thinned the opposing ranks.

Having received a reinforcement from Great Britain, sir Arthur Wellesley prepared to contend with Soult. In his advance to Oporto three partial engagements occurred, in which the troops displayed great courage and alacrity. The passage over the Douro was obstructed, but without effect, by the personal exertions of the marshal, who retreated after a considerable loss, abandoning a part of his artillery. After the recovery of Oporto sir Arthur eagerly pursued the French general, who, leaving his sick and wounded, and destroying whatever could retard his escape, fled into Spain. The pursuers traced his route by the smoke of burning villages, and by other marks of barbarian hostility and vengeance.

Encouraged by the zeal of the marquis de la Romana, the Gallicians manifested a resolute spirit, which tended to convince the enemy, that Spain could not easily be subdued. They opposed Ney at the bridge of San Payo with an intrepidity which appalled his followers; and, on this occasion, 10,500 of the French experienced a defeat from a newly-raised army, consisting of 6000 armed men and 3000 without arms. The consequence of this check was the evacuation of Corunna and of Ferrol, of which the English seamen took possession. Compostella had previously been recovered by general Carrera, and the governor of the province resumed his legitimate authority.

The Austrian war gave a sudden check to the offensive operations of the French in Spain. Napoleon recalled a part of his force from that country, and sent orders for temporary caution, if not absolute forbearance. Victor now relinquished his intention

of proceeding into Portugal; while Cuesta, whose conduct at Medellin had been publicly applauded by the junta, moved forward to harass the less active foe. Reflecting on this state of affairs, sir Arthur Wellesley flattered himself with the hope of obtaining an important victory, if he could bring the enemy's chief force into action, before it should form a junction with other armies. The scheme was rash, and might have been extremely injurious. Pleased at his advance, the French hoped to draw him so far into Spain, as to find an opportunity of intercepting his retreat. They resumed an offensive attitude, and concentrated an ample force between Torrijos and Toledo. Their chief commanders were Jourdan, Victor, and Sebastiani who rather directed the operations of the usurper, than received instructions from him. While they were on their march, the British general fixed upon the neighbourhood of Talavera de la Reyna as the best spot for their reception. He formed an advanced post in a wood on the right bank of the Alberche; and, extending his line for the space of two miles, stationed his right wing, which was composed of Spanish troops, in and near the town, all the avenues to which were defended by batteries. He placed the British army in a plain to the left, and also upon a hill, between which and a more commanding eminence was an unoccupied valley; and, in the centre, he disposed some brigades of both nations on rising ground. The battle commenced with an assault upon the troops near the Alberche; and, as it was not intended that they should obstinately defend that position, they retreated to the rear of the general line, under a very heavy fire, which they sustained with great coolness. In the evening, the enemy made an impetuous charge upon the left, and attempted to seize the hill; it was yielded for a time, but was recovered at the point of the bayonet by major-general Hill. An attack upon the right, by a body of cavalry, was equally unsuccessful. The attempt upon the hill was renewed in the night, and early on the following day, without the desired effect. After some hours of forbearance, the French brought their whole force into action. Some British and Spanish cavalry had been posted in the valley after the repulse of the enemy, who, on the other July 28. hand, placed light infantry on the heights beyond it. Several columns then marched to re-attack the left wing; but they were so warmly opposed, that they abandoned all hopes of forcing it. Sebastiani's division exerted its vigour against the centre, and compelled some battalions, and even the guards, to give way. The advance of a regiment from the left, however, soon revived

courage and restored order; and the disappointment of the enemy's hopes produced a general retreat. About 10,000 of the partisans of Joseph were killed or wounded; and the number of those who suffered in the British army exceeded 4700, while those who had disappeared were calculated at 650. Of the Spaniards, by Cuesta's account, about 1200 lost their lives or received wounds. If they had displayed the same courage and zeal which their allies manifested, the enemy might have been totally routed, instead of being suffered to retire quietly in the night: yet it ought to be observed, that the mere appearance of so considerable a force, ready to act as occasion might require, had a favourable effect, and tended to encourage one army, and check the other; and, to the mention of that firmness which withstood an equestrian charge, it may be added, that, two days before the principal battle, Cuesta's advanced guard, being exposed to a fierce attack near Torrijos, displayed some alacrity in resistance, if it did not repel the assailants¹.

This apparent victory had not the immediate effect which might have been expected from it. The advance of Soult and Ney with 25,000 men encouraged the retiring troops to a resumption of courage and alacrity; and they seemed inclined to force the post of Talavera, which Cuesta occupied with his army. It was proposed that the passes of Banos and Perales should be defended; but the Spanish general was so slow in the execution even of those arrangements which he had recommended, that the former position was left without succour; and Placentia was seized by the advancing enemy, whose progress intimidated the Spaniards into an abandonment of Talavera, where 1500 of the wounded were unfortunately left. Lord Wellington was displeased at this movement, as it exposed the combined troops to the risk of a simultaneous attack in the front and rear; and, as he reposed little confidence in the Spaniards, and was doubtful of the practicability of a retreat in case of discomfiture, he resolved to make an immediate choice of a defensive position. He

¹ According to major-general Mac-Kinnon, the British force consisted of 20,000 infantry and 2500 cavalry; while Cuesta reckoned 36,000 men under his immediate command, and Venegas had 20,000. But, if this estimate be correct, it appears that only a small part of Cuesta's force had an active concern in the engagement, and that the troops of Venegas were at a considerable distance. M. de Rocca admits, that the French troops amounted to 47,000 men. This writer blames Joseph for attempting, without military talents or knowledge, to direct the movements of an army in a general engagement. He says, that the battle ceased from weariness, and that neither party could justly claim the victory; yet, according to the prevailing notion of the term, he virtually concedes it to the English, who (he says) were astonished, when the next morning dawned, at finding that their enemies had retreated to their former position, abandoning twenty pieces of cannon.

ordered the army to cross the Tagus at the bridge of Arçobispo, and fixed his station at Deleytosa, where he thought himself well situated for the defence of Almaraz and the lower parts of the river.

Although the battle of Talavera was followed by retrogradation and mere defence, it was generally considered as far from being a fruitless conflict, since it elevated, both among hostile and friendly nations, the fame of the British arms, and tended to invigorate and confirm that spirit of resistance, which though occasionally unsuccessful, promised the most beneficial result. Yet the danger to which the Spaniards were still exposed by the want of a regular system and of a government properly framed and united, by the impolitic division of military command, and the continuance of abuses and grievances in every branch of the administration, alarmed the enemies of France, and gave particular uneasiness to the British ministry. To promote a change of conduct, the marquis Wellesley, who had infused vigour and unity into the government of India, had been sent by his majesty to the seat of the supreme junta; and, after a delay which was seemingly unnecessary, he arrived at Cadiz when his brother, a reputed victor, was retreating. He was treated with politeness, and his suggestions were received with respectful attention. He stated the necessity of supplying the wants of the British troops, and of facilitating their progress, that they might not be obliged to quit the country. He hinted the expediency of appointing the gallant general, who had so resolutely supported the cause of an injured nation, to the chief command of the Spanish army, which would thus be more effectually united with its allies. The native troops, he said, ought to be subjected to a new organization and to a more efficient discipline; public spirit ought to be more eagerly promoted; the ruling council, being too numerous for an executive body, might prudently be diminished; and the convocation of the *cortès* ought not to be delayed. The tardiness of Spanish deliberation did not immediately adopt these useful hints; yet the wisdom of the ambassador made some impression upon the most intelligent members of the junta.

General Cuesta had ventured to remonstrate against the retreat of sir Arthur Wellesley, alleging the probability of defeating the French by a strict union and concert: but the British commander was so disgusted at the conduct of the Spaniards in the late battle, that, in a letter addressed to his brother, while he acknowledged the insufficiency of his army to withstand the French without assistance, he declared it to be his opinion, that he ought to renounce *all ideas of co-operation* with the native troops. Cuesta was, soon

after, obliged by the approach of the enemy to retreat with precipitation and loss ; and sir Robert Wilson, who had recently pushed some parties of his small corps almost to the gates of Madrid, was attacked at Banos, but did not retire before he had defended the pass for nine hours. Venegas, about the same time, had an unfortunate engagement at Almonacid. He formed an extended line, in the hope of turning the flanks of the enemy, who, deriding his efforts, penetrated the line in various parts, and totally routed his army.

While the British troops remained on the defensive, some of the Spanish generals were diligently employed in re-organizing their respective armies. The duke del Parque was particularly active in this service ; and his troops, posted on the heights of Tamames, found an opportunity of exertion, in consequence of an attack from general Marchand, who endeavoured to turn their left. The retreat of the cavalry gave the assailants a temporary advantage ; but the steady valour of the infantry at length put them to flight.

Amidst these operations, the conduct of the junta did not give general satisfaction. Its endeavours to array the nation against the invaders were censured as feeble and inefficient ; its direction of the disposable force was pronounced injudicious, particularly in unseasonably risking offensive operations in La Mancha ; its inattention to that branch of the war which was connected with the defence of fortresses, also excited animadversion ; and many discontented politicians demanded a more systematic display of vigour and energy than the assembly had yet evinced. A small council of regency, chosen with the most deliberate discrimination, was proposed as a substitute, until the *cortès* should meet ; and, as this seemed to be the prevalent opinion, the members so far admitted the principle, that they named a committee of six of their number for the enforcement of decisive measures of war and policy. They found a warm opposer of their continued authority in the marquis de la Romana, who not only condemned their conduct, but denied the legitimacy of their power. His exertions, being strongly supported by the remonstrances of other distinguished patriots, procured the emission of a manifesto
Oct. 28. stating the exigencies and announcing the hopes of the nation, and ordaining the convocation of a representative assembly.

In this proclamation it was observed, that an absurd and feeble tyranny had paved the way for French despotism, which at first appeared with a flattering exterior, promising reform in the administration, and announcing the empire of the laws ; but the

Spaniards were neither so deficient in penetration as to be deluded by the artifices of intriguing politicians, nor so spiritless as to submit to the mandates of tyrants. They therefore rushed into arms, and soon obtained, by their patriotic enthusiasm, the honours and rewards of victory. Instead of falling into anarchy, they regenerated and recomposed the state; and established, without violence or disorder, a supreme government and a commanding authority. The central junta, while the expulsion of the enemy was its first object, attended with zeal to the removal of abuses; and, as soon as the turbulence of war allowed, proclaimed the revival of the *cortès*, a name which recalled ideas of legitimate and constitutional sway, connecting the rights of the people with the support of the throne. Some were of opinion, that a regency of three or five persons, without a representative body, would answer every purpose of good government: but such an administration would be accessible to the intrigues of the tyrant and his emissaries, and would not be able to enforce that general submission which the imposing authority of a national council would command. Others were inclined to maintain the preference of the different juntas, as representative bodies, to the proposed assembly, because they concluded that it would be constituted in the ancient mode, so as not sufficiently to represent the people; but it was the intention of the ruling council to make such arrangements as would tend to a removal of this objection. The promised convocation, it was hoped, would prove the best remedy for the disorders of the state, would call forth all the energies of the nation, confound the views of the enemy, and secure the triumph of the glorious cause of freedom and independence.

The promise of a more regular and legitimate government might be expected to invigorate the exertions of the patriots; but the zeal of the inhabitants of Gerona did not require such a *stimulus*. Emulating the fame of the defenders of Saragossa, they long defied all the efforts of hostility. They bravely sustained the most impetuous attacks, and repeatedly enforced a discontinuance of the investment. The neighbouring castle of Monjuich, though not strongly garrisoned, was defended with great resolution. Five assaults, consequent upon the supposed practicability of three breaches, were repelled; and the besiegers were obliged to continue their operations for five subsequent weeks, before the danger of destruction prompted the remaining occupants to retire into the city.

General Blake, who had twice contended with Suchet in the

Arragonian province, and had not been able, on either occasion, to prevent his discouraged men from retreating, hoped to be more successful in an attempt for the relief of Gerona, which was not then very closely invested. While one part of his army attacked the enemy at Brunolas, another division found an opportunity of entering the city, recruiting the garrison, and supplying its wants. Above four months after the first investment, when three breaches had been made in the walls, the besiegers expected the speedy
Sept. 19. reduction of the place. Three strong columns were sent forward to an assault; and vengeance seemed to impend over the patriotic defenders. To oppose the intended attack, the governor, don Mariano Alvarez, made such dispositions as the time and his limited means allowed; and the breaches were guarded with great courage and indefatigable vigilance. The enemy entered at two of the openings, and penetrated to the nearest houses: but the intruders were speedily crushed. Other attempts were made with equal audacity, and baffled with equal spirit. About 800 of the assailants, according to the Spanish account, were killed; and the repulse operated for some time as a serious discouragement.

As the possession of Hostalrich, and the vicinity of Blake's army, tended to prolong the defence of Gerona, Augereau resolved to seize the former town and defeat the general; and he was enabled, by the great superiority of his force, to accomplish both objects. He dislodged Blake from the heights of Brunolas, and drove him to a remote station. The gates of Hostalrich were fired; the defenders were attacked in every street, and overwhelmed. Precluded from farther supply, and hopeless of relief,
Dec. 10. Alvarez at length capitulated; and the garrison submitted to captivity.

High expectations were entertained of the army of La Mancha, when the marquis of Areizaga had superseded Venegas in the command. It was confidently hoped, that the new general would be able to advance to Madrid, in defiance of all opposition, and expel the ignoble intruder who styled himself king; but fortune did not, at this time, second the efforts of the Spaniards. The French, conducted by the usurper, attacked the marquis near
Nov. 19. Ocana; and an animated contest ensued. For two hours the enemy did not make a very forcible impression. So gallantly did the Spanish infantry, particularly the division of Lacy, contend for victory, that a great part of the French line fell back in disorder: but the superiority of the hostile artillery, and the timid and irresolute behaviour of the native cavalry, whose

flight had an ill effect upon the rest of the army, enabled the foe to triumph. Above 10,000 of the vanquished were killed, wounded, or made prisoners.

Another defeat quickly followed. The duke del Parque, being attacked at Alba on the Tormes, withstood repeated assaults; but he did not derive from the cavalry that support which he expected; and the impetuous vigour of the French drove him, after the fall of a great number of his countrymen, to the mountainous confines of Galicia. Thus, when the second year of the war terminated, the dark clouds of misfortune hung over the patriotic cause.

LETTER XV.

View of the Affairs of Great Britain and France, and of the Disputes of both Nations with the American Republic.

AMIDST the varied enterprises of policy and war, the British cabinet exhibited an aspect of exterior harmony: yet a A.D. difference of opinion occasionally arose, which threatened 1809. serious discord. Mr. Canning was not perfectly pleased with the counsels or the conduct of Lord Castlereagh, whom he considered as an incompetent minister for the arduous department of war, at a crisis of national danger. He therefore stated to the duke of Portland his intention of relinquishing his office, unless his lordship should either retire from power, or be removed to another branch of the administration. The duke, unwilling to give offence to lord Castlereagh, and being unprepared for any new arrangements, remonstrated against the secretary's proposal, and long delayed the communication of the affair to his majesty. Disgusted at this delay, Mr. Canning tendered his resignation, but was desired to retain his office until some new dispositions relative to the business of the war department should be made. Finding that these alterations would not prevent his lordship from superintending the expedition to the Scheldt, he objected to the scheme; and, when a new plan was proposed, it was not adopted, because it was understood that the rival minister would not agree to it. To facilitate a general arrangement, earl Camden offered to resign his employment; and the duke then promised to gratify Mr. Cauning by the appointment of his friend, the marquis

Wellesley, to that post which lord Castlereagh might be induced to resign, if another office should be vacated for his acceptance. This scheme, however, was postponed until the termination of the grand enterprise ; and, from the fear of wounding the irritable feelings of its projector, these intrigues were enveloped in secrecy. The secretary constantly disclaimed all wishes of concealment ; but, as none of his colleagues, for five months, would venture to disclose the machinations, it was his duty either to resign at first, or to state the whole affair to the war minister. There was no necessity for his yielding to the remonstrances of the premier, whose timidity on this occasion was augmented by age and ill health, and who now declared his determination of retiring from the helm, that he might not belong to a divided cabinet. Earl Camden at length imparted the secret to lord Castlereagh, who, having announced his resignation, called into the field of *honour* his political enemy. It was not the demand of his removal, said his lordship, that excited his indignation : but he resented that duplicity which had deluded him into an opinion of the sincere and friendly concurrence of a fellow minister, who, in the mean time, had virtually superseded him. To neither of the combatants did the duel prove fatal. Mr. Canning was wounded ; but he was soon declared to be out of danger. Earl Bathurst, the president of the board of trade, was now appointed secretary of state for foreign affairs ; and lord Hawkesbury (who, by his father's death, had become earl of Liverpool) acted as the war minister, resigning to Mr. Richard Ryder the seals of the home department.

The duke of Portland died soon after he had witnessed the entrance of his sovereign into the fiftieth year of his reign. He had less eloquence than most of his colleagues, but he was equal to any of them in soundness of judgment. He could speak pertinently in few words : yet he very rarely delivered his opinions in parliament. Before his junction with Mr. Pitt, he enjoyed the reputation of a patriot ; and he did not necessarily forfeit this honourable character by being *alarmed* into the support of the ruling power : but, like earl Stanhope, the minister of George the First, he was induced to give way to the prevailing system, and to acquiesce in that corruption which he could not prevent.

While the duke was yet in power, his intention of retiring, and the resignation of the rival secretaries, obliged the other ministers to seek an opportunity of strengthening the cabinet. To lord Grenville and earl Grey their views were immediately directed ; and these statesmen were requested to communicate with the

earl of Liverpool and Mr. Perceval, “ for the purpose of forming an extended and combined administration.” But the invited peers, being aware that their acceptance of offices would not give them the influence and authority to which they thought themselves entitled, as they had reason to expect that the existing ministers would bear the chief sway, declined the honour of association. The rejection of this overture induced the king to promote Mr. Perceval, on the duke’s death, to the station of first lord of the treasury.

By the general assent of the people, a jubilee was celebrated on the forty-ninth anniversary of the king’s accession ¹; but the festivity was premature, as the completion of fifty years promised to offer a more regular opportunity. A form of thanksgiving, adapted to the occasion, was introduced among the prayers of the church: the places of worship were opened, and appropriate discourses followed the ordinary service. The zeal of loyalty pervaded the kingdom: illuminations, some of which were remarkably splendid, enlivened the capital and many of the provincial towns: municipal entertainments, and private parties, diffused the amicable interchange of political sentiments and the joys of social intercourse; and liberality to the poor formed a pleasing feature in the celebration.

At the renewed meeting of the parliament, the con- Jan. 23, tinuance of the war was stated to be necessary for the 1810. safety of Great Britain, the support of those nations which were oppressed by France, and the ultimate deliverance of Europe. It was admitted, that the principal objects of the expedition to the Scheldt had not been attained; but his majesty confidently hoped, that important advantages in point of security, would be found to result from the demolition of the docks and arsenal of Flushing. In the first debate, the opponents of the court manifested their intention of promoting a strict inquiry into that disastrous enterprise. Lord Grenville condemned the whole conduct of the ministry: and, when he proposed an amendment to the address, he was so strongly supported, as to number ninety-two peers on his side: yet the ministry had a majority of fifty-two. The commons also agreed to a courtly address; but, when lord Porchester moved for an inquiry, he gained his point by a superiority of nine votes.

The earl of Chatham gave great disgust to the promoters of the

¹ Some persons called it the *fiftieth anniversary*: but they included the first day of the reign in their calculation. That, however, was not a *return* of the day, but the *exclusive* day from which the anniversaries were to be computed.

investigation, by presenting to his majesty a narrative of his late exploits, not officially or through the medium of a secretary of state, but in an irresponsible way, and with views of sinister influence. His reflections upon the admiral, in that statement, were particularly unpleasing to the public; and it was hoped, that the house would stigmatize the irregular and clandestine communication. On the motion of Mr. Whitbread, a vote of censure passed by a majority of thirty-three; and the immediate consequence was the earl's resignation of the office of master-general of the ordnance, in which he was succeeded by lord Mulgrave, whose seat at the board of admiralty was filled by Mr. Yorke.

Of the senators who voted for inquiry, many were not disposed to agree to that condemnation which would probably have pleased the greater part of the community; and, therefore, when lord Porchester moved a series of resolutions, stating the history of the expedition, and criminating its projectors, the ministry (by a majority of forty-eight) triumphed over the presumed sense of the people.

During the investigation, an act of illiberality, on the part of a ministerial member, produced consequences which he did not foresee. It was alleged by Mr. Yorke, that a public deliberation would be inexpedient, as the proceedings of the house might be grossly misrepresented, in the progress of the inquiry, by the reporters of parliamentary debates: he therefore moved for an enforcement of the standing order against the admission of strangers. A proposal of this kind is constantly allowed as a matter of course: but Mr. Sheridan wished that the order itself might be referred to the consideration of a committee of privileges; and he reprobated the intended exclusion as an insult to the nation; but it was defended by Mr. Windham, who did not think that it was necessary for the people to receive progressive information of the debates. Sir Francis Burdett took this opportunity of animadverting on the frame and constitution of the house. If all the members were fairly and freely elected, and if no corrupt influence prevailed, he would not object, he said, to that temporary secrecy which might be followed by an impartial publication of the result: but, as the house stood in an opposite predicament, as its conduct had excited just suspicion, as it had lost its character, and "had not a leg to stand upon," the proposed concealment would be imprudent and hazardous. A debating society, in announcing its discussion of one question, and stating another for the next meeting, freely censured the enforcement, and thus

subjected its leading orator, John Gale Jones, to the vengeance of irritated senators. He was ordered to appear at the bar of the house ; and, although he expressed his contrition for the offence with that humility which ought to have ensured his pardon, he was committed to Newgate for a breach of privilege.

Sir Francis Burdett, conceiving that the liberty of every individual in the kingdom was endangered by an admission of the legality of this vote, which exhibited the commons in the united characters of accusers, judges, and jurors, moved for the release of Jones : but the house exploded the motion, because the offender had not petitioned for that indulgence. The popular baronet, not content with the imperfect notice which was taken of his remarks in the daily vehicles of political and miscellaneous intelligence, published the entire speech, with an introductory address to his constituents, in which he severely arraigned the conduct of the commons. The late vote, he said, amounted to a declaration, that an order of the house was of greater weight than Magna Charta and the laws of the land ; and, if such an arbitrary assumption of the power of imprisonment should not be opposed, the freedom of the people would be at the mercy of “ a part of their fellow-subjects, collected by means which it was not necessary for him to describe.” He declared that the speaker’s warrant, by which an untried subject was outlawed, bore no feature of legality ; and that the whole process against the obnoxious orator was the most unlawful act which the mind of man could conceive. These and other animadversions inflamed the resentment of the courtly members ; and the minister, who might otherwise have suffered the attack to remain unrepelled, was pleased at the opportunity of diverting the public notice from a disastrous expedition.

Shocked at the baronet’s audacity and democratic licentiousness, Mr. Lethbridge urged the house to defend its privileges, and punish the libellous incendiary. Mr. Perceval eagerly supported this appeal to the honour and feelings of the assembly ; and Mr. Adam diffusely argued in favour of parliamentary law and privilege. Some members denied that the speech or the address could justly be termed libellous : but the majority gave a contrary decision : and it was ordered, by a subsequent vote, that sir Francis should be imprisoned in the Tower.

When he was informed of this vote, he declared to his friends, that nothing but the exercise of violence should prevail upon him to submit to it. The sergeant at arms procured admission into his house, but was soon desired to quit it : and a messenger, who

delivered the warrant of arrest, was sent away with equal disdain and defiance. When the attorney-general had been consulted, he replied, that he did not know of any case precisely in point; but, reasoning from analogy, he replied, that, if the doors should not be opened to the sergeant after a declaration of the cause of his coming, force might be used without a violation of the law. A body of soldiers appearing before the house, sir Francis requested aid from the sheriffs, who were bound, he said, to protect him from oppression. No attention was paid to this

Apr. 9. application; and a party of constables, descending into the area, opened a window, and rushed into the house, followed by the speaker's representative, who, finding the baronet still refractory, ordered them to apprehend him. He was conveyed to the Tower, and safely lodged in that fortress, amidst the ebullitions of popular tumult. The troops were insulted by the mob: and, on their return, several lives were lost in consequence of that firing which was provoked by the aggression of riotous malcontents, who threw stones and other missiles at the military defenders of parliamentary privilege¹.

The indignation of sir Francis, at an arrest which he considered as an unjustifiable act of power, prompted him to address a letter to the speaker, disclaiming all obedience to any set of men, who should dare to assume the power of the king, and declaring that he would no longer "make one of such an association." Several members advised that this letter should be treated with contempt: but Mr. Perceval wished that it might be stigmatized with strong reprobation; and one senator, in a high tone, called for the expulsion of its insolent writer. The house unanimously voted, that it was a flagrant breach of privilege; adding, however, that the subject should be dismissed without farther notice, as the warrant of commitment had been executed. Sir Francis would have been better pleased, if his epistle had been incorporated with the daily votes, as a record of his sentiments; but he was not indulged with that compliment.

While he remained in confinement, he received from the citizens of London an extraordinary mark of attention and respect. An address had been voted to him, applauding his love of freedom and his regard for the constitution; and Mr. Wood, one of the sheriffs, conducted the liverymen to the Tower in pompous procession, which was considered by many as an insult to the

¹ It appears, however, that one of these victims, at whom a soldier fired through a shop-window, had not in any way attacked or insulted the soldiers.

house of commons, whose determined adversary was thus honoured.

The advocates of that liberty for which the baronet contended held meetings for the expression of their sentiments; and petitions, couched in strong and disrespectful language, were presented to the national representatives. By the inhabitants of Westminster, his liberation was demanded, and the necessity of a parliamentary reform was forcibly urged. The liverymen of London, who had recently displeased the court by a spirited philippic against ministerial misconduct, and whose address had not been received with respect, because it was not the act of the corporation, now offended the commons by a petition for the release of sir Francis and of Jones, which the house indignantly rejected as an intemperate application; but a less acrimonious remonstrance was subsequently received. The majority also exploded a petition from the freeholders of Middlesex, and one which was offered from the inhabitants of Sheffield; while some others, which were not particularly offensive, were graciously permitted to remain unheeded upon the table.

On the last day of the session, a multitude assembled about the Tower, to congratulate the popular member on the recovery of his liberty, and attend him to his house in ceremonious parade. But, as he was inclined to make a quiet retreat, he disappointed the eager expectants by procuring an aquatic conveyance to Westminster. A procession, however, was arranged by a committee of his friends; and, in the evening, a great number of houses were illuminated. He assigned, as the reason of his private departure, a wish for the prevention of disorder and tumult.

The dispute did not thus terminate. Sir Francis brought an action against the speaker of the house for having ordered his arrest. He also sued the sergeant at arms for his execution of the warrant, and the constable of the Tower for the detention of his person: but the court of King's-bench disallowed his claim of redress, and vindicated the exercise of parliamentary privilege.

No serious obstacles to the public service, or to the prosecution of the war, arose from the contests of party. The cabinet, strengthened by the accession of the marquis of Wellesley, boldly pursued its course, disregarded the murmurs of the moderate, and defied the clamours of the turbulent.

France was less agitated than Great Britain, because the people, being more effectually subdued, were more servile. The dictates of the court were received with general acquiescence; and the government of Napoleon was the theme of admiration and

applause. In the display of the state and connexions of France¹, count Montalivet, expressing the sentiment of his master, observed, that signal victories, generosity in pacification, the results of profound policy, the progress of great public works, and the preservation of internal order and tranquillity, were the prominent features of the expiring year. The success of the French, he said, had been great and glorious: and, in the midst of their triumphs, they had remembered mercy; for, while they secured considerable advantages to themselves and their allies, they had not oppressed a vanquished prince. It would have been easy, in the negotiation with Austria, to derive greater benefits from the splendour of conquest: but moderation and magnanimity reflected honour on a victorious potentate. With regard to Poland, it was more politic to leave it in a dependent state, and to make transfers of certain portions, than to restore the kingdom. The western division of Galitzia, in particular, was prudently given to an ally of France, because the inhabitants, being zealous in the cause of the great nation, would otherwise have been exposed to the keen resentment of the Austrian court. It was intended that the Hanse towns should still be independent; but it was expedient that Holland should be annexed to France, for the establishment of an union which the natural situation of the country strongly recommended. Of Spain and Portugal, the orator lamented the convulsed state: they were, he said, the seats of a furious revolution, excited and fostered by the intrigues and money of Great Britain: but he trusted that the power and moderation of the emperor would restore peace to the peninsula. There was no necessity, he added, for the continuance of the Spanish colonies under the yoke of the parent state. If the people should demand independence, France would not oppose so just a claim, on their engaging to abstain from all connexion with the English.

The interior state of the empire was exhibited in a more favourable light than strict truth would have authorized. It was affirmed, that religion exercised its legitimate influence over the nation; that the public institutions highly flourished; that education extended its improved fruits over the whole circle of society; that the mechanic arts were cultivated with great skill and industry; and that, if commerce suffered in the extraordinary state of affairs, the suspension was merely temporary.

As far as appearances could warrant the opinion of secure esta-

¹ Dec. 12, 1809.

blishment, the throne of Napoleon was fixed: but, conceiving that a matrimonial alliance with the house of Hapsburg and of Lorrain would tend to the confirmation of his power, and not supposing that a prince whom his arms had so lately vanquished would presume to reject an overture of this kind from the sovereign of the *great empire*, he resolved to demand the hand of one of the daughters of Francis. To this union there was one objection; but it was not insurmountable. Policy and the public interest, he said, required that he should leave his throne to his offspring; and, as he had no hope of being a father while he retained his present wife, he was induced, notwithstanding his unabated affection for her, to determine upon a second marriage. Josephine readily assented to the desired repudiation, which was also sanctioned by the recorded approbation of the august relatives of her husband. The senate did not dispute this high authority, but decreed a divorce, without regard to the established laws, after an exposition of the policy of such a measure from the orators of the council of state; one of whom spoke with rapture on the interesting subject, extolling the wonderful sacrifice made by the emperor of his most sacred affection to the benefit of his subjects, and applauding Josephine's magnanimous "immolation of her love for the best of husbands, to a sense of profound regard for the best of princes, and of strong attachment to the best of nations."

A defiance of the laws of civilized society did not excite surprise, in the conduct of Napoleon; but the assent of the Austrian emperor to so degrading an alliance (for he could not view it in any other light) astonished the other princes of Europe. He signed the ignominious contract for the marriage of Maria Louisa to the enemy of her family: his brother Charles meanly condescended to represent the bridegroom in the preliminary ceremony; and the archduchess, exulting in the splendid prospect of an imperial crown, was eager to meet the military despot of the continent, whom she hoped to enslave by her charms. The nuptials were solemnized at Paris with great splendour, and the new empress became an object of popular attraction.

This marriage, which was an act of artful policy, was followed by an arbitrary exercise of power in Holland. Napoleon had repeatedly expressed his displeasure at the inclination of his brother Louis to favour the commerce of the Dutch, in opposition to the continental system; and, to secure a strict obedience to his edicts, he now resolved to annex the seven provinces to his empire, having previously intimated to his Britannic majesty,

without effect, that if he would conclude peace, or revoke the orders in council, Holland should be permitted to retain her independence. He began with the seizure of the territories on the left bank of the Waal ; and, by the progress of military intimidation, rendered the king so insignificant in his capital, July 1.

that he resigned the throne to his son ; but the transfer was ridiculed by the emperor, who gave peremptory orders for the projected incorporation. In adjusting this connexion, he allowed six senators, six members of the council of state, and twenty-five legislators, to represent the Dutch community, and support the interest of his new subjects ; and, sending a lieutenant-general or governor to reside at Amsterdam until the affairs of the country were regularly settled, he complimented that city with the next rank to Paris and Rome.

The trade of Holland was now as much restricted as that of France ; and both countries suffered severely from the loss of American intercourse. In tracing the disputes with the United States, it may be observed, that, at the opening of a former session ¹, the president intimated the continuance of the “ unrighteous edicts” of Great Britain and France, and stated the consequent necessity of maintaining the embargo, which, while it saved the mariner and secured vast mercantile property, had afforded time for defensive arrangements. But this state of affairs excited such clamours among all who were concerned in commerce, that the government made every exertion, not incompatible with the preservation of peace, to procure a repeal or modification of the obnoxious decrees. General Armstrong, the envoy at Napoleon’s court, proposed that all ships, on their departure from France, should take, in various articles of the produce or manufacture of that country, the full amount of the cargo conveyed thither ; adding, that, if these vessels should voluntarily proceed to Britain, it would only be with a view of finding the best market for the merchandise of France ; and that, if they should not go spontaneously to that island, but should be captured and sent into its harbours, a war for the repression of such piracy would become justifiable. These proposals, though evidently more favourable to the French than to their rivals, were not accepted or approved, because they involved an encouragement of British commerce.

On a reconsideration of the embargo, it was deemed expedient by the congress that it should be limited, and that a commercial

¹ November 8, 1808.

intercourse should be renewed with all European nations, except Great Britain and France¹. This was called the non-intercourse law; and it was enacted under the presidency of Mr. James Madison, who, while he professed a strict impartiality between the belligerent powers, strongly leaned to the French interest. Mr. David Erskine, the British envoy, not aware of this bias, listened to the conciliatory suggestions of the president's confidential ministers, and readily promised, on the part of his majesty, a revocation of the orders in council, so far as they affected the United States, if the intercourse with this country should be renewed. A correspondent proclamation was immediately issued at the city of Washington; but the declaration that produced it was disavowed by the British court. The vessels which had sailed under the influence of this misunderstanding were suffered to proceed and return without loss or injury, while the orders were yet unrevoked: but this indulgence did not allay the clamours of the Americans against that conduct which they stigmatized as faithless and treacherous. Mr. Madison, having discovered his error, re-proclaimed the prohibitory law; and, when Mr. Jackson, who was deputed on the recall of Erskine, was found to be unprovided with the means of conciliation, and unauthorized to substitute a new scheme for the abortive arrangement, he was treated with coolness and disrespect, the more particularly because he had been instrumental in the ill treatment of the Danes. He was insulted by the populace: and, for imputed freedom of remark and animadversion, in answer to the charge of ill faith, adduced against the British government, all intercourse with him was suspended.

Repeated applications were made by the Americans to the French court, to procure a revocation of that decree which had produced the retaliative orders: but the answers were haughty and reproachful; and some vessels which had been seized were ordered to be sold with their cargoes for the public benefit. It was, however, declared by M. Champagny, that, if general Armstrong would engage for the non-submission of his countrymen to the arbitrary edicts of Great Britain against neutral trade, a regular traffic would immediately be re-opened by the French. But no compromise or accommodation then ensued. The Americans were suffered to complain, and the outrages did not cease.

The continuance of these disputes threatened either France or Great Britain with a new war. To rush into hostilities with

¹ March 1, 1809.

Napoleon, seemed to be less hazardous than to attack the English, because he had not the means of inflicting great injury upon the Americans: yet Mr. Madison was much more disposed to resent the supposed injustice of the British government than to enter into a war with the potent emperor.

LETTER XVI.

Progress of the War, in various Scenes of Action.

It was repeatedly declared by the orators of opposition, that Spain and Portugal could not be effectually defended; that the natives were not zealous in their own cause; and that it was a waste of blood and treasure to assist them: but the ministers were not so far influenced by these admonitions (which, perhaps, were not the real opinions of all the speakers), as to neglect the great task which they had deliberately undertaken. Pecuniary

A. D. aid was still sent to Portugal: and it was resolved, that a
1810. native army should be maintained and disciplined, to the amount of 30,000 men, beside the incidental services of the militia. Marshal Beresford continued to direct the organization of the patriotic force, and to point out the paths which might lead to safety; and lord Wellington, while he remained within the Spanish frontier, did not neglect the interest of Portugal. He apprehended that the next invasive attempt upon that kingdom would be preceded by the siege of Ciudad-Rodrigo: but Junot thought proper to begin with Astorga. After a vigorous opposition from Santocildes the governor, the batteries were opened in form, and some parts of the town were bombarded into flames. An assault was risked through a partial breach, with a great loss on the part of the enemy: but a failure of ammunition constrained the garrison to capitulate. The French general then joined marshal Ney, whose authority was soon superseded by the arrival of Massena, called the prince of Essling by his patron. This commander advanced from the Tormes with about 70,000 men; and, while a part of his army invested Ciudad-Rodrigo, the rest checked the approach and interference of lord Wellington. The siege was not completely formed before some partial conflicts had evinced the alacrity and courage of the Spaniards: and, when the besiegers were fully employed in their murderous operations,

the well-served artillery of the town acted with considerable effect. On the eighth day, the incessant fire of the batteries made a wide breach; but as this was not a sufficient encouragement to rush forward to the walls, in the face of a resolute garrison, the French had recourse to mines, by which the fortifications were greatly injured. To avoid the havock of an assault, which might be attended with the slaughter of the inhabitants, the governor Hervasti and the junta proposed a capitulation, which, not being signed by Massena, was not strictly observed. It is supposed, that above 6000 of the besiegers were killed or wounded, while the loss sustained by the garrison was comparatively inconsiderable. The French endeavoured to disunite and alienate the Spaniards from their British allies, by imputing pusillanimity and breach of faith to the latter, who, they said, witnessed the fall of a town which they had promised to relieve, with as little sympathy as if they had been enemies.

Massena now prepared for the invasion of Portugal, without seeming to entertain the smallest doubt of triumphant success. His first object, after he had passed the frontier, was the reduction of Almeida. Brigadier Crauford, who was posted in front of that town with 4300 men, sustained for many hours an attack from a force so superior, that the escape of his detachment from total ruin seemed truly surprising: yet his loss was not considerable, and his retreat was far more honourable than disgraceful. The number and spirit of the garrison seemed to promise a long resistance; but the hopes of lord Wellington were frustrated by a calamitous accident. On the night after the opening of the batteries, a bomb fell upon a cart, in which some men were taking ammunition from a magazine in the castle. An explosion ensued, by which a considerable number of the garrison and inhabitants were instantly deprived of life; and the loss of ammunition, rather than the destruction or derangement of the works, precluded a prolongation of defence. A capitulation was therefore proposed, and it was agreed that the garrison should be considered as prisoners of war. Some of the captured officers were seduced from the paths of patriotic duty by the persuasions of Massena; and above 1000 of the militia were compelled to serve as pioneers to the French army.

In the mean time, the rulers of Portugal took every opportunity of animating the people to a resolute continuance of the contest; but they did not, like the governors of Spain, hold out, as a reward of exertion, the prospect of a reform in the administration, or of a cessation of the system of despotism. They

even committed some arbitrary acts which excited the disgust of their allies. On pretence of a conspiracy against the government, they ordered the seizure and imprisonment of forty-eight persons, some of whom were banished to the Western Islands, while others were released on condition of their retreat to Great Britain. Private animosity and resentment, and perhaps the baseness of rapacity, rather than a regard for the public interest, dictated these unjustifiable proceedings.

Notwithstanding the great augmentation of the Portuguese army, Massena hoped to gain possession of Lisbon, by a defeat of the British troops, whose rivalry he chiefly feared: but he resolved to make a previous attempt upon Coimbra. Lord Wellington deliberately retreated in that direction; and, during his march, the peasants quitted their habitations, and coolly ravaged the country, that the progress of the invaders might be checked by an aspect of desolation. At the mountainous post of Busaco, he awaited the approach of the enemy, who attacked both his
Sept. 27. right and left with great impetuosity. A strong body reached the summit; but the vigour of the bayonet chastised the rashness of the intruders; another party met with a serious check in its ascent; and, by the aid of the Portuguese, if the honour of a complete victory was not secured, the assailants were repelled with disgrace. Above 1200 of the allies were killed or wounded, while the number of French sufferers nearly amounted to 5000.

This success not only elevated the hopes of the Portuguese, but impressed their associates with a more favourable opinion of the eventual benefit which might be derived from native valour and energy: yet it did not preclude that retreat upon which the British general had determined before the battle. He marched to Coimbra, whence a great number of the inhabitants retired with their portable property on his departure; and continuing his course to the southward, he reached a spot which he had marked out for a permanent station; while the enterprising colonel Trant, whom he had directed to harass the enemy by desultory attacks, surprised the new garrison of the academical city, captured 5000 men, and secured a variety of stores, the loss of which greatly distressed the French.

The lines of the confederates extended from the vicinity of the Tagus to the shores of the Atlantic. Lord Wellington took his
Oct. 7. station near Encharadas: he was supported on the right by Hill, whose division occupied Alhandra, and on the left by Picton, who was posted at Torres-Vedras; while a legion

of Portuguese, raised by sir Robert Wilson, co-operated with the advanced guard. The natural strength of the country was so effectually aided by a variety of works, that instead of dreading the hostilities of a superior force, he wished for a general assault.

In the opinion of an intelligent officer, the lines by which the general thus covered Lisbon formed the finest specimen of a fortified position that was ever exhibited. Mountains were made the prominent points: all the approaches were guarded by batteries; inundations were formed to increase the difficulty of access; old roads were destroyed, and others made, so as to quicken very considerably the means of communication; and these roads were secured by works which could not be reduced without artillery. The peninsular situation of the whole post precluded the possibility of manœuvring on the flanks, cutting off the supplies, or getting in the rear; and the ramifications of a mountain, nearly reaching the works in the front, obstructed the movements of the enemy, and gave to the defenders an advantage which rendered them equal to twice the number of assailants¹.

Massena, extending his army from Sobral to the river, remained a month in observation; and then, after losing many thousands of his men by disease and desertion, retired in good order to Santarem, for the greater convenience of subsistence. He received, in the winter, a considerable reinforcement; yet he resolved to continue, like his circumspect rival, on the defensive. His rear was annoyed by the resentment of the armed natives, and his convoys were sometimes intercepted: but he deemed a retreat disgraceful, before it was required by imperious necessity. His arbitrary master was displeased at that inactivity which retarded the subjugation of Portugal, and even his troops murmured at his inglorious caution and forbearance.

In opening the Spanish campaign, the French confidently expected speedy and complete success. The natives (they said) were unable to cope with them in the field; and the remaining fortresses could not long resist the increased vigour of assault. But the invaders were not aware of the serious obstacles which opposed their triumph. They did not reflect on the desultory war of skirmish and ambuscade, of stratagem and surprisal, by which the Spaniards, without risking a general engagement, might thin the number, intercept the supplies, and exhaust the pa-

¹ *Journals of the Sieges undertaken by the Allies in Spain, in 1811 and 1812, by Lieutenant-Colonel Jones.*

tience, of their disciplined enemies¹. *Guerilla* parties, headed by men of great strength and the most determined spirit, by Sanchez, Mina, Martin², and Longa, harassed the foe, in different provinces, with all the alacrity of zeal, and all the animosity of vengeance.

The conquest of Andalusia was the first object of the French in this campaign. They forced the mountainous passes with little difficulty, and seized the undefended towns. Amidst the alarm which their approach produced at Seville, the popular indignation was roused against the supreme junta; and, when the members were preparing for a retreat to Cadiz, the multitude loudly called for the extinction of their power. Having a high opinion of the character of don Francisco de Saavedra, the people desired him to assume the government, in concert with Montijo and a brother of the gallant Palafox; and Romana was requested to undertake the defence of the city; but he declined the task, because he could not trust to the continuance of Andalusian spirit, and hastened to provide for the security of Badajoz. On the appearance of the enemy before Seville, all thoughts of resistance were abandoned; and the gates were opened to Joseph, whose favour was readily promised to the anxious inhabitants.

In the province of Granada, Sebastiani met with a brave, but short resistance. He defeated general Arcizaga in his way to the chief town, of which he obtained immediate possession; took Alhama by storm; routed an army of citizens, and peasants, who had been persuaded by the clergy to take arms; and captured the port of Malaga.

The praise of securing Cadiz was chiefly due to the duke del Albuquerque. He had about 10,000 men under his command; and, instead of obeying the injudicious mandates of the junta, by which his force would have been involved in the danger of ruin, he directed his rapid but orderly course to the isle of Leon. If the French had been apprized of the feeble state of this island, and had pursued with greater celerity, they would probably have made themselves masters of it: but they lost the opportunity, and, by the labours of patriots of all ranks, and the enlistment of almost all who were capable of bearing arms, the isle and the city were soon rendered so defensible, as to brave all the efforts of the

¹ De Rocca admits the wasting efficacy of this species of warfare, and describes with vivacity its influence upon the French armies.

² Called the *Empecinado*, because he smeared himself with *pitch* (*pez*), when he bound himself by a vow to pursue with implacable resentment the barbarian ravagers of his country.

enemy. This station now became the seat of government. In compliance with the general wish, the obnoxious junta relinquished the exercise of the supreme power, transferring it to five regents, until the cortes should assemble. These statesmen were, the venerable bishop of Orense, the popular Saavedra, Castanos, the marine minister Escano, and Miguel de Lardizabal.

When the French found that a requisition of surrender was treated with contempt, they commenced what they termed a siege, and, from the works which they constructed, began to fire at the town, and at the vessels in the harbour. Albuquerque was appointed governor by the desire of the people; but, being thwarted and ill-treated by the rulers of the town, who domineered over the regents, and who were more studious of private interest than of the public good, he resigned his authority in disgust.

That prince in whose name the patriots continued to act, was more intent upon gaining the favour of the oppressor of his family, than observant of the affairs of Spain, which he could only learn from the polluted and prostitute press of France. He was favoured, about this time, with a chance of escaping from confinement. An Irishman named Kelly, having offered to undertake his rescue, was furnished by the British court with credentials and money, and escorted by commodore Cockburn to the bay of Quiberon. He landed without exciting suspicion, and, after a visit to Paris, proceeded to Valençay; but he was not admitted to an interview with the captive king, being only introduced to don Antonio, whose report of the arrival of a foreign adventurer occasioned his arrest. This is the French account; but it appears, upon better authority, that the emissary, influenced by love, directed his course to Paris, where he was discovered by the agents of the *police*, robbed of his money and diamonds, and thrown into prison; and that Bonapartè, wishing to ascertain the sentiments and inclinations of Ferdinand, sent a person, in the dress and with the passports of the emissary, to propose to the detained prince the means of escape; but that the dread of danger induced him to decline the attempt¹. If he had been then enabled to return to Spain, his presence might have allayed the spirit of dissension, and the energies of his people might have been more completely roused, unless it should be supposed that his weakness of understanding and want of talents would have injured the cause of national independence.

¹ Warden's *Letters respecting the Conduct and Conversations of Bonapartè*. The emissary is called, by the writer, the "baron de Colai, a Pole."

The campaign in Catalonia was not destitute of memorable incidents. O'Donnel, who was promoted to the chief command in that province, distinguished himself by his activity and alertness; and, if he did not obtain the full triumph which he deserved, he harassed the enemy with considerable effect. In a conflict near Vich, he was obliged to yield to the superiority of number and of discipline; but, in acts of desultory warfare, he and his associates slew a great number of their opponents, and captured a major proportion. He had not a sufficient force to relieve Hostalrich, a small fortress, which Julian de Estrada defended with remarkable courage and obstinacy. After sustaining a siege during four months, the garrison abandoned the castle when it was reduced to a mere shell; and the retreat, being well conducted, was not attended with severe loss. There was a strong contrast between this defence and that of Lerida, which was taken in fifteen days. Movements and demonstrations, preparatory to the siege of Tortosa, were frequently made, suspended, and renewed. O'Donnel and his vigilant troops hovered on the skirts of the enemy, and obstructed the preliminary operations; but Suchet was at length encouraged, by the arrival of reinforcements, to commence the siege in form; and, on the thirteenth day, the appearance of three breaches intimidated the garrison into a surrender.

In the Valencian province, the patriots were active and resolute, although their measures were occasionally obstructed by the intrigues of traitorous malcontents. The governor, don Ventura Caro, rushed out of the capital, when it was menaced with investment, and repelled the invaders, who suffered considerable loss. He then subjected to exemplary punishment, after the adduction of satisfactory evidence of guilt, some citizens who had conspired to favour the views of the French. The resistance of the Catalonians, by giving sufficient employment to Suchet, weakened the impression which might otherwise have been made upon the Valencian troops; and a defeat which the latter sustained at Vinaros did not subdue the spirit with which they were animated.

Amidst the agitations and dangers of war, the scheme of a representative government was not neglected. The plan of election formed by a committee under the inspection of the supreme junta, was more complicated than the occasion required. In the first instance, each parish named an elector: secondly, every district nominated one or more constituents; and these were ordered to meet in the chief town of each province, and select three

reputable persons, above the age of twenty-five years. The three names being consigned to an urn, one was taken out without examination or selection; and the individual to whom it belonged was declared to be a lawful deputy. To the two remaining names another was added: then, by a renewal of drawing, a second representative was chosen; and this process was continued until all the deputies for the province were nominated, in the proportion of one for every aggregate of 50,000 persons. To the junta of each province, the privilege of electing a member was also given; and all the towns which had deputed members to the last cortes were to send one respectively to the new assembly. The colonies in Asia and America were likewise to be represented. An upper house was to be composed of the prelates and grandees; but this part of the plan was neglected, probably because secular priests and nobles were allowed to be chosen as popular representatives.

All eyes were fixed upon the proceedings of this assembly, which at length commenced its deliberations in the isle of Leon. The regents now intimated their readiness to relinquish their power; but they were desired to retain it until a ^{Sep. 24.} more regular selection should be made, and were ordered to take an oath of obedience to the laws and decrees which might emanate from the grand council. The bishop of Orense was so bigoted a royalist, that he declined an oath which included an express recognition of the national sovereignty, without considering that the same oath involved the support of monarchical government in the person of Ferdinand, and that the supreme power could only be exercised by the nation or its deputies on the failure of all communication with the king. He probably concluded, that the oath implied an acknowledgment of a power superior to that of the monarch; and, as his conscience could not admit this democratic position, he withdrew himself from the administrative council.

The early discussions of the cortes related to the propriety of constitutional reform. To restore the purity of the judicial character was a primary object; and another proposal tended to prevent that long detention without trial, which is a frequent act of oppression in arbitrary governments. Resolutions were voted, by which all encroachments of the executive power on the legislative and judicial branches were declared illegal. The liberty of the press, without which no real freedom can subsist, also attracted the attention of the deputies; and it was decreed, not

that libels, or licentious and immoral publications, should be deemed innocent in law, but that no previous censorship should be exercised, except when religion was the subject of the work.

As the advice of the British cabinet had thus been followed, assistance was more cordially afforded to the patriotic cause, and more confident hopes of its success were entertained by our countrymen. Pecuniary and military supplies were liberally granted; yet not with that profusion in which the marquess Wellesley, if he had been authorized to fix the amount of contribution, would have indulged.

The great expenditure, appropriated to the service of Spain and Portugal, did not preclude the grant of considerable aid to the court of Palermo. The subsidy was continued, and sir John Stuart retained the command of an army devoted to the defence of Sicily. Preparations had long been made by Murat for an invasion of that island; and when an opportunity seemed to offer itself, a descent was made between Santo Stefano and Sept. 18. Galati. The vigilance of the allies soon discovered this bold intrusion. Major-general Campbell instantly ordered the neighbouring passes to be occupied; and a detachment of light infantry brought the advanced party of the invaders to action. Confusion ensued among their ranks, and the spirit of resistance yielded to a desire of retreat. Many were killed or wounded, even in the boats to which they fled: above 800 surrendered; and not a few were captured by the peasants, whose animosity would have taken exemplary vengeance, if their rage had not been restrained by British interposition.

In the mean time, such enterprises and operations as were more immediately connected with the interests of Great Britain, were not neglected. As several French and Dutch islands and settlements remained to be taken, various expeditions were ordered for the extension of our colonial empire. Sir George Beckwith sailed from Dominica with above 6,000 men, who landed on the island of Guadaloupe without opposition. The march of the first division intimidated the French into a dereliction of posts which were seemingly defensible; and, when the rest of the army moved forward, other stations were quickly abandoned. But the enemy did not intend to resign the whole country so tamely; for a position was chosen, in which art had co-operated with nature to render intrusion difficult and dangerous. Brigadier Wale, however, with the reserve, passed a river in the midst of a severe firing, ascended the heights under

a similar exposure, and, by turning that flank which was supposed to be most secure, attained the object of the expedition. Feb. 6.

As it was supposed that the isle of Bourbon would not long resist a considerable force, a body of Europeans and Sepoys, sent from Madras, to the amount of 3,650, disembarked upon the coast; and, when some batteries at La Possessime had been taken by assault, such arrangements were made for an attack of St. Denis, and for precluding the escape of the garrison, as produced a desire of submission. At the town of St. Paul, the troops were also disposed to surrender; and thus the island was reduced with great facility. This success being deemed imperfect, while the isle of France (or Mauritius) was unsubdued, a great armament was destined for the additional conquest. That island had been occasionally blockaded, but necessarily, from its extent of coast, in a partial degree. Some French ships of war, being discovered in one of its harbours, were exposed to an attack from four frigates, which, by venturing among shoals and near batteries, gave cause of triumph to the enemy. The crew, after burning two of the number, retired toward the isle of Passe in the third, which was soon after captured; and the fourth, being stranded, was also obliged to surrender, after a dreadful loss of its gallant defenders. The superiority which the enemy thus obtained was only temporary, being soon crushed by the active zeal of commodore Rowley. When the blockade had been resumed by vice-admiral Bertie, an additional squadron arrived from India, with a respectable army. A descent was made without opposition; and, in advancing toward Port Louis, the main body sustained an attack, which, though it was not repelled without loss, was not very destructive or mischievous. The effect of this engagement was decisive; for the governor Dec. 3. was induced to negotiate, and, having obtained honourable terms, he surrendered the island.

These conquests, added to the result of an expedition to the coast of Madagascar, where the French had some fortified stations, left to that people no remains of colonial territory.

The Dutch also found the preservation of their foreign settlements impracticable, against the superior power and energy of Great Britain. Captain Tucker sailed with a small squadron to Amboyna, which was defended by a well-constructed fort and numerous batteries. While the ships cannonaded the fort, the troops stormed the heights which endangered the approach of the vessels; and a battery was quickly formed, which began to

play with vigour on the garrison. The commandant, being summoned to surrender on the second day of attack, consented to a capitulation; and the defenders of the island, having resigned their arms, were conveyed to Java. Saparoua, and four neighbouring isles, were soon after reduced. Various settlements in Celebes were taken in the same year. Banda was also wrested from the same enemy, and Ternate received a British garrison.

Lord Minto, who was then governor-general of British India, was the director of these schemes of hostility. He was an able administrator of the affairs both of war and peace: he united wisdom with courage and firmness; and, by the exercise of these qualities, he had principally contributed to the suppression of a dangerous mutiny, which had arisen in the presidency of Madras, from the economical spirit of sir George Barlow, who had considerably reduced the camp allowances and the perquisites of officers, and thus checked that desire of wealth which attracts adventurers to India.

In the north of Europe, the war was prosecuted with less spirit than in any other scene of action. Some unimportant conflicts with the Danes occurred at sea; and the Russians occasionally contended with the English on the same element. The Swedish court, in the autumn, declared war against Great Britain; but no effective vigour was displayed in consequence of that denunciation. An important change, arising from French influence, produced the hostile manifesto.

The conclusion of treaties with Denmark and France, had left the Swedes at full leisure to settle the succession to their throne without turbulence or disorder. As the king had no prospect of issue, he recommended to the diet the election of a future sovereign. The choice of the assembly excited the astonishment of foreign courts. Notwithstanding the inveterate animosity between Sweden and Denmark, the prince of Augustenburg, who was a Danish subject, was elected; but his estimable character justified the appointment. He was supposed to possess those virtues and talents which would incline and enable him to promote the happiness of the Swedes. He manifested a benevolent disposition, and a regard for the interest of the people: but, as he did not flatter the pride of the nobles, he was not particularly favoured by that class of the community. Transient was his career of splendour. His expectations of royalty, and the hopes
 May 29. of his friends, were suddenly disappointed. At a military review he was seized with an apparent fit, and quickly expired. The funeral procession was marked by tumult and out-

rage. Loud exclamations were uttered against count Fersen, who, being high marshal of the realm, conducted the melancholy train. Stones were thrown at him by the ^{June 20.} populace; and, when the adjutant-general, baron Silversparre, desired to know the cause of this resentment, many voices cried out, "He poisoned the crown prince!" The count having retired into a house for safety, the people were still clamorous, but were seemingly pacified by a promise which the baron gave, in the king's name, for the arrest and trial of the supposed delinquent. Silversparre, entering the house, expressed an earnest wish to save the count from popular fury: but he did not, when the riot was renewed, act with that spirit or zeal which would have corresponded with his declaration. He harangued the mob, and advised forbearance; but, when some of the rioters promised not to insult or harass the count on his way to the town-house, he suffered them to conduct the object of their odium through the streets; and the soldiers did not even interpose, when the unfortunate nobleman, who had reached the guard-room, was dragged out, and cruelly murdered. Even after this gratification of their malice, the disturbers of the peace continued embodied, until a military attack spread confusion among them. In the conflict which then arose, five soldiers lost their lives; but many more of the rioters fell.

So deliberately was this tumult conducted, that it had the appearance of a preconcerted scheme, rather than of a sudden emotion of popular rage. It is well known that the French court had emissaries and spies in all parts of the continent, ready to promote its secret views. As the want of an acknowledged successor to the Swedish throne excited the speculations of ambition, an opportunity of bringing forward an adventurer, without open interference, was offered to Napoleon; and Bernadotte, whose great wealth, acquired in a long career of war, furnished him with the means of corruption, directed his views to a crown to which he had no pretensions. These circumstances may furnish a clue to unravel the mystery. It was politic to transfer the imputation of murder from a French agent to count Fersen; and it might also be deemed expedient to remove from the world a distinguished nobleman, who was known to be so attached to Gustavus as to wish either for his restoration or the advancement of his son to the throne¹.

¹ It was a prevailing opinion, that the prince was poisoned; and the report derived some strength from investigation; but it could not be irrefragably proved. The innocence of count Fersen, however, no reasonable person disputed.

Among the candidates who solicited the vacant honour, the king of Denmark¹ proposed himself; and Napoleon pretended to wish for the election of this prince, while he concluded that the states would not fix upon him, because, although he might promise to keep his court at Stockholm, he would naturally be inclined to favour his countrymen much more than the Swedes, whom, as a Dane, he would not regard with a benevolent eye. The king of Sweden condescended to propose Bernadotte to the diet assembled at Orebro, panegyrising his military skill, his political talents, and his private virtues, and apparently exulting in the prospect of having so able and worthy a successor: and, Aug. 18. after a short deliberation, the assembly acquiesced in the royal recommendation. In answer to the intimation of this remarkable choice, Bernadotte expressed both astonishment and gratitude, and declared that the human heart never felt a spring of action more powerful than those feelings were, which would stimulate him to devote the rest of his life to the duties of his new station, and to the happiness of an illustrious and magnanimous people. After some delay he made his appearance in Sweden, and, readily acceding to an indispensable condition of his appointment, embraced the Lutheran religion.

The elevation of Bernadotte alarmed the emperor Alexander, who, apprehending that the crown prince might be encouraged by Bonapartè to demand the restitution of Finland, and also suspecting danger from the proximity of a French army to his dominions, began to make preparations for his defence. He was still engaged in an unjust war with the Turks, who proved, in repeated instances, that they had some remains of courage, if not of energy and vigour. They had defeated his troops in the last campaign near Silistria; but they could not prevent the subsequent reduction of that city. Rudshuck, Shumla, and Varna, were long defended; and sanguinary conflicts, in which both parties claimed the victory, occurred in the neighbourhood of each of those towns. The Russians gave great alarm to the grand signor by advancing to a station between Varna and Adrianople; but they were repelled with considerable loss. This prince, faithful to his engagements with our court, permitted a squadron to sail into the Euxine Sea, with a view of blockading Odessa and other Russian ports; but he was still jealous of the exercise of British influence and power in the Ionian islands, and

¹ Not the prince who had for many years been incapable of government, but his son Frederic.

witnessed with disgust the addition of Santa Maura to our preceding conquests.

The incidents of the year, though not uniformly favourable to France, afforded a result which gratified the pride and ambition of Napoleon. An acute politician, acquainted with his leading sentiments, could in a great measure foresee the light in which the affairs of Europe would be exhibited by his ministers: yet their periodical review of politics and war never failed to excite general attention. M. de Champagny, in the flattering report which he presented to his master, concisely mentioned the object and result of the five coalitions which Europe had witnessed since the French revolution. All these confederacies, he said, had been promoted by Great Britain for the ruin of France; but each had conduced, in its progress and event, to the benefit and glory of the great nation. No English minister, except Mr. Fox, had fully comprehended the relative situation and circumstances of the two countries. That great statesman was aware, that France would profit by a continuance of the war; and he therefore deemed peace advantageous to Great Britain, which would gain much, if none of the continental states should lose more. He wished, by pacifying France, to prevent a power, which could not be compelled to retrace its steps, from prosecuting that career of success which might be injurious to the security of Britain. If his life had been prolonged, peace would probably have been restored; but that spirit of contention which the influence of his court had propagated through Europe, drove Prussia into arms; and the effect was such as might have been expected. In the progress of hostility, Britain had endeavoured to subvert the established laws of commerce, by invading the privileges of all neutral nations; but the monstrous novelties which had been thus wantonly introduced, were properly repelled by the decrees of Berlin and Milan; and the annexation of Holland to the French empire would preclude that intercourse in which a feeble government would otherwise have acquiesced. No proceedings could so effectually reclaim the professed votaries of commerce to a system of moderation, as the confiscation of their merchandise, and their exclusion from the ports of the continent.

LETTER XVII.

Survey of Politics and War during the Year 1811.

WHEN ambition is the ruling passion of the soul, it increases, like avarice, by continued gratification. The patient in this case (for it may be compared with a disorder) betrays strong symptoms of irritability and inflammation. The height of power and extent of command, the fascinations of splendour, and the exorbitancy of influence, serve only to provoke appetite, and to stimulate the frenzy of desire. Napoleon, thus infatuated, blindly pursued his course, despising caution, and deriding danger.

Great Britain still defied that power which was exercised by a A.D. daring tyrant; and the king did not relinquish the en-1810. livening hope, that the example of resistance might yet be signally efficacious. But this prince now began to feel a recurrence of that malady which deprived him of the influence of political hope, and incapacitated him for the functions of royalty. His feelings were extremely affected by the alarming illness of his daughter Amelia, and particularly by the presentation of a ring, as the last pledge of filial affection: his fortitude yielded to the shock; he was for some time dejected, and at length manifested that mental derangement by which he had been formerly harassed. While he was in this state the princess died. She had endeared herself to her family by her pleasing manners and interesting character, and her untimely fate was the subject of sincere and general regret.

As the ministers were prompted by their wishes to believe, that the king's incapacity would not be permanent, they governed in his name for eight weeks, before any parliamentary arrangements were made for the critical occasion. The house of commons then voted, that it was their right and duty, in concert with the peers, to provide the means of supplying the deficiency of the executive power. When the lords were requested to concur in this resolution, and also in a vote for adjusting the means of giving the royal assent to a bill of temporary regulation, the duke of Sussex reprehended the ministers for their audacious and protracted usurpation of the functions of sovereignty, and the duke of York condemned the intention of applying the great seal to a bill without the king's sanction and authority: but the

house agreed to the propositions of the commons. Mr. Perceval suggested the propriety of restriction, while he expressed his conviction of the expediency of admitting the prince of Wales to the temporary exercise of the royal authority. The restrictive scheme was so strenuously opposed, as unconstitutional and impolitic, that the premier could only procure a majority of twenty-four votes in favour of the general principle; and it was contested in detail with equal zeal. With such limited support a minister of rigid integrity would have receded from his purpose, as he might have concluded that the superiority would have been much greater, if the proposal had been obviously reasonable, or if its equity or policy had been capable of easy demonstration. But, if Mr. Perceval had only obtained one vote beyond the number which the opposite party exhibited, his conscience would have been satisfied. In the progress of the scheme he and his colleagues found themselves in a minority, A.D. 1811. when they wished to grant political power to the queen, by allowing her to appoint or remove all the officers of the household; but her majesty was permitted to retain the care of the royal person, and to receive the assistance of a council. In several divisions among the peers, the prince's cause was supported by a small majority; but his adversaries gained the chief points at which they aimed. They did not then think that he would retain the king's advisers in the cabinet, and therefore resolved to diminish the power and patronage of their expected successors.

When a series of resolutions had been adopted, they were communicated in form to the prince, who, while he disapproved the unnecessary and invidious restrictions¹, declared his readiness to undertake the proposed trust. The session was then reopened, in consequence of a joint vote, permitting the use of the great seal without the accustomed and regular authority; and a bill of regency was completed after a renewal of strong opposition. From a sense of delicacy toward his royal father, the prince regent (as the heir apparent was now styled) resolved not to make any change in the administration, during the year to which his authority was limited.

With the exception of the regential arrangements, this session

¹ They were similar to those which Mr. Pitt persuaded the two houses to impose in the year 1789. It was required that the prince should not advance any one to the dignity of the peerage, grant any office in reversion, or for a longer term than during his majesty's pleasure, or interfere with the queen's nomination for the supply of inferior vacancies in the royal household.

was not particularly distinguished by its debates or enactments ; and those points which chiefly require notice are the affairs of the catholics and the protestant dissenters, the commercial distress of the nation, and the attempt to render the code of criminal law less sanguinary.

The Romanists of Ireland, influenced by their leaders, resolved to form a convention at Dublin by the choice of ten delegates for every county, with a view of promoting the accomplishment of their grand object of complete relief. Aware of this intention, the lord-lieutenant, in a circular letter, ordered the sheriffs and magistrates to obstruct and prevent such elections. The earl of Moira submitted this point to the consideration of the peers, and condemned the interference of the court as invidious and unseasonable, at a time when the critical state of affairs would suggest to a wise government the expediency of conciliating every class and description of his majesty's subjects : but the ministry vindicated and approved the viceroy's conduct. Petitions, prepared by the catholic committee, were presented to both houses, and strongly recommended by the eloquence of the earl of Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan, but were rejected by a majority of 59 in one assembly, and of 63 in the other. A convention being holden after this disappointment, a proclamation was issued against such illegal assemblies, and Dr. Sheridan was tried for a violation of the statute. The judges were disposed to declare him guilty ; but the jury gave a contrary verdict. When the earl of Fingal had taken the chair in a subsequent meeting, he was displaced by a magistrate, who did not, however, dare to apprehend him.

As the number of protestant sectaries, more particularly the Methodists, annually increased, the orthodox were alarmed at this progressive encroachment upon the established church¹ ; and lord Sidmouth introduced a bill which, he hoped, would check the multiplication of heterodox preachers. He affirmed, that the act of toleration was misunderstood, and that the prevailing practice of admitting, to the right of preaching, the most ignorant and contemptible individuals, many of whom could merely write their own names, and could with difficulty read their native language, not only militated against the true sense of the statute, but tended to the discredit of religion itself. He therefore pro-

¹ That they had a strong ground of alarm, appears from a report presented to the lords, stating that the meeting-houses amounted to 3457, and the churches and chapels to 2547, without reckoning those parishes in which the inhabitants did not exceed 1000.

posed, that no person should be authorized to officiate in any place of worship, unless he should be recommended by six reputable householders of the congregation with which he had enrolled himself as an attendant, and should also prove that he was permitted to be the pastor of a particular flock. Numerous petitions were presented from all parts of the kingdom against this encroachment on the freedom of ministerial choice; and the vehemence of sectarian clamour induced the peers to explode the offered bill. The obvious effect of the measure would have been the augmented respectability of the non-conformist preachers: but those who complained of the intended restriction had not sufficient candour to consider that object as the chief motive which actuated the defenders of the establishment.

Commercial embarrassments being made a subject of parliamentary inquiry, it was stated by a committee, that the warehouses had a superabundance of merchandise, for which no market could be found; that the traders were thus prevented from paying the manufacturers, and precluded from giving them farther employment; and that misery and ruin were, in multiplied instances, the consequences of this stagnation of trade. To support declining credit, the house of commons voted a loan of six millions, to be distributed among those merchants who could give security for repayment: but this was a very imperfect remedy for the evil.

The subject of the criminal law was ably discussed by sir Samuel Romilly, who argued, that the denunciation of death for such crimes as were comparatively trivial, not only evinced a great want of humanity, but frequently defeated the object of the legislature, by exciting those feelings which prevented prosecution and conviction; and that the certainty of some inferior punishment would therefore more effectually operate in deterring persons from the commission of crimes. Lord Holland maintained the same opinion; but Lord Ellenborough opposed the idea with the stern inflexibility of a judge. Of five bills which were introduced for bringing certain acts of robbery within the limits of simple felony, only two were allowed to pass by the condescension of the peers.

While the prince regent trod in his father's steps, retained the ministers who had served the king, and prosecuted the same system of policy, the sovereign of France continued that tyrannical course in which he supposed that all the joys and delights of power were centred. He did not relax the rigours of his internal government; and, to his former compulsive acts, he added the terrors of a marine conscription. He ordained new annexa-

tions of territory, particularly in the north-western part of Germany; and he impudently pronounced these additions to be necessary, because they were expedient.

The exposition of the state of the French empire contained, as usual, a mixture of truth and falsehood. Montalivet, who presented it to the legislative body, began with a pompous boast of Napoleon's late arrangements, by which sixteen departments, including 300 leagues of coast, had been incorporated with his dominions. The means of maritime power thus procured, said the reporter, were truly valuable; and the French had now the full command of the produce of Germany and Italy, requisite for naval construction. By the mention of the union of Rome, he was led to a remark on the prevailing religion. The pope, he said, had for some years refused to institute the new bishops: but his neglect of duty did not diminish the attachment of the clergy to that faith and worship which he and his predecessors taught. After adverting to some recent alterations in the mode of administering justice, by which the evasion of punishment was rendered more difficult, he proceeded to the details of civil economy, affirming that the *communes* were rich beyond all former example; that their establishments were in the best state; that the hospitals were judiciously managed, and had become more particularly beneficial, in consequence of the attendance of so many *charitable sisters*, whose congregations had been patronized and multiplied by the emperor's compassionate zeal; and that considerable progress had been made in the suppression of mendicity, by the formation of *depôts* in which the poor were variously employed. On the subject of education, he intimated the expediency of following an uniform plan, instead of suffering so important an object to be regulated by individual caprice. Private seminaries, therefore, were to be gradually suppressed, and the public schools to be regulated on the principles of military discipline. All arts and sciences, he added, were in a train of improvement. The public works were prosecuted on so grand a scale, that the expenditure of a single year surpassed that which the old government had devoted to the same purposes in a whole generation. In point of naval strength, the French could not at present rival the English: but the increase of their maritime resource would soon be felt by the enemy; and the war by land would be carried on with that determined spirit, and that vast superiority of number, which, if Great Britain should obstinately persist in the struggle, would at length ruin that haughty power. The continental system, if it should be pursued for ten years,

would destroy her financial fabric, and annihilate her means of hostility. It was consequently much more her interest, than it was that of France, to bring the war to a speedy termination ; but her passions blinded her reason, and overwhelmed all sense of moderation and humanity.

Great Britain, on the contrary, vindicated that conduct which the enemy censured, by alleging the necessity of stemming the torrent of ambition and despotism, which had diffused misery over the continent, and by representing her interposition as the result of no other views than a desire of restoring the influence of justice and humanity, and rescuing oppressed nations from the most galling tyranny.

While the preparations for a new campaign were in progress, Spain lost two of her champions. The duke del Albuquerque, insulted and reviled by the junta, and sent to England in diplomatic exile, died of a raging fever of the brain ; and the marquis de la Romana, whose fortitude would not suffer him to despair of the salvation of his country, yielded to fate in the vigour of his age.

Portugal derived relief from the circumspection and foresight of lord Wellington. The increasing difficulty of subsistence, and the prevalence of disease, at length reduced the French to the necessity of quitting Santarem. To their commander, three schemes presented themselves. One was, to attack the English in their lines : but this he declined, being aware of the danger of such an attempt : his own excuse was, that he could not bring up his heavy artillery. Another idea which occurred to him was, that of supplying his deficiencies in Alentejo, and opening a communication with the French army in Andalusia ; but as this retreat seemed more hazardous than the direction of his course to the Mondego, and to that part of the frontier which was nearest to Ciudad Rodrigo, he made choice of the last expedient.

He sent forward the sick soldiers and the baggage, and followed in the night with his effective force. The next morning, Mar. 5. the allies entered Santarem, and admired the strength and defensibility of the position. A sufficient body could not be collected for a regular attack, before the fugitives reached Pombal. They set fire to that town ; and, being driven from the castle, continued their retreat in the night to Redinha, where they took an advantageous position, which, however, did not secure them from dislodgement and defeat. Condeixa furnished them with another strong post ; but, as it was suspected that they aimed at the seizure of Coimbra, their *route* to that city was eagerly

obstructed, and they were glad to hasten from their new post to the mountains beyond it. Some well-directed attacks drove the divisions which composed the rear from their high stations, and threw them in disorder upon the main body at Miranda do Corvo, after they had suffered a much greater loss than they inflicted¹.

The French, in their retreat, destroyed many pieces of cannon and much of their baggage, and concealed under the earth, or rendered useless, a considerable quantity of ammunition; left their wounded to perish by neglect, unless the pursuers should find time to relieve them; and in the fury of revenge, endeavoured to destroy almost every town and village through which they passed. The magnificent monastery of Alcobaça was burned, by the particular order of Massena; and the palace of the bishop of Leyria was consigned by general Drouet to the same fate, in return for the temporary asylum which it had afforded him. To the guilt of robbery, and the wantonness of destruction, the French added the atrocity of personal outrage, rape, and murder. In many instances, their enormities did not pass unrevenged; for their parties were occasionally cut off by the militia, or by the exasperated peasants.

Finding Miranda untenable, in consequence of the judicious movements of lord Wellington, the harassed enemy retreated amidst its smoking ruins to the Ceira, and occupied both banks of that river, near Foy de Aronce. The division posted on the left bank, being exposed to an impetuous assault, crossed the bridge in confusion; and many were driven into the stream. In proceeding to the Alva, Massena lost a multitude of men by capture, and was prevented from halting by the vigour of the pursuit: but, as the confederates were obliged to wait for supplies, his army had time for occasional rest. At Guarda, he displayed a great remaining force, without being encouraged to risk a conflict. As soon as he discerned the British columns, he hastened towards the Coa, and reached Sabugal. As he left general Regnier in that town with a strong *corps*, an attack was ordered by lord Wellington; and the result was a quickened retreat, which led the enemy within the frontiers of Spain.

Such was the disgraceful disappointment of the boastful commander, who had threatened to drive the English into the sea, and to plant on the towers of Lisbon the eagles of his imperial master. He fled before the objects of his unmerited contempt,

¹ *Narrative of the Campaigns of the Loyal Lusitanian Legion, and of the Military Operations in Spain and Portugal, by an Officer.*

and left Portugal to its accustomed protectors. Instead of displaying the heroic courage of an honourable warrior, he manifested only the cruelty of a barbarian ; and the *brigands* whom he commanded were worthy of such a leader. For the relief of the impoverished people upon whom their murderous rage had not fallen, the British parliament voted 100,000*l.*; and a liberal subscription was raised by opulent and generous individuals for the same benevolent purpose.

The only station which the enemy continued to occupy in Portugal, was Almeida. As this town was blockaded by the allies, Massena ordered the adjacent village of Fuentes de Honor to be assaulted by a considerable body of sharpshooters, who were obstinately opposed by the light infantry. A part of the position was seized ; but the intruders were dislodged by the advance of fresh regiments. On the following day, the attempt was renewed with fruitless alacrity. All the cavalry, and a great mass of infantry, afterward attacked the British right, and compelled the squadrons to retreat, yet not in such disorder as to prevent spirited renewals of action. At the same time, a tremendous fire was opened upon the first line of infantry, and the possession of the village was disputed with redoubled obstinacy. It was taken, but was recovered before the close of the day ; and the disappointed enemy then desisted from action. In these conflicts, about 1,500 of the allies, and 3,000 of the French were killed or wounded. Almeida being now left without succour, the garrison retreated in the night ; but, in forcing a passage, considerable loss was sustained. The fugitives previously destroyed their stores and a great part of the fortifications, leaving the town uninjured. By this retreat, the kingdom was completely delivered from its cruel invaders.

The intelligence of this rescue gave great joy to the prince of Brasil, who expressed to the British ambassador his high sense of the liberal support which he had received. This prince, in the preceding year, had gratified his defenders with a new treaty of friendship and alliance. He promised to indemnify those British subjects who had suffered by the harsh measures which he had been obliged by the French to adopt ; granted to this nation the exclusive right of felling timber in Brasil, and of building ships in the colonial ports ; declared that the inquisition should be abolished in that country ; and engaged to take measures for the gradual abolition of the slave trade.

The liberation of Spain was a much more difficult task than that of Portugal : but the hopes of success were far from being

extinguished. Before Massena's retreat, Soult, wishing to open a communication with him, had detached Mortier to invest Badajoz. When the approaches had been carried on for a fortnight, a strong outwork was stormed; and, after a continuance of regular operations, the conductor of the siege sent 6000 men over the Guadiana, above the town, by a flying bridge, to attack Mendizabal, who, with about 9,000 Spaniards and a body of Portuguese cavalry, had stationed himself near the Gevora. That commander, imprudently retiring beyond the protection of fort Christoval, was easily defeated with great loss; for neither part of his force acted with spirit, for want of the advantage of position. In the sixth week of the siege, when only a narrow breach had been made, which ought not to have intimidated the garrison, a capitulation was proposed and accepted, although the governor had received a promise of expeditious relief.

The importance of this station occasioned a speedy attempt for its recovery. Having retaken Olivença, which Soult had reduced by blockade, sir William Beresford invested Badajoz: but, as soon as lord Wellington was informed of the march of the French from Seville, he ordered a discontinuance of the siege, and sent some regiments of infantry to assist in repelling the foe. General Blake readily joined the British and Portuguese; and, in a conference which he and Castanos had with the field-marshal, it was resolved that the enemy's challenge should be accepted. Soult had 23,000 men under his command; and this calculation includes his cavalry. His adversaries amounted to 26,000; but, as only 8,000 were British, and as the whole body of allied horse scarcely exceeded 2,000, the prospect of success was not perhaps very flattering, in a contest with the veteran troops of France. They were arranged in two lines, nearly parallel to the Albuera,

May 6. on the ground which gradually rises from that rivulet. The first attack was directed against the right, which was composed of Spanish troops and two British regiments. So fierce and resolute was the assault, that the Spaniards gave way, and were dislodged from the height, or rather slope, with considerable loss. Their British associates pushed through their ranks, with a heavy fire of musquetry; and, perceiving that this did not effectually check the French, had recourse to the bayonet. A body of Polish equestrian lancers, advancing to repel this charge, and being mistaken in a hazy and smoky atmosphere for Spanish cavalry, found an opportunity of proceeding to the right flank and rear of the English, who severely felt the effect of this unexpected approach. Major-general Houghton, who was detached

with a brigade to the support of the right, fell pierced with wounds, while he was encouraging his men to maintain the military honour and fame of their country. Other troops ably assisted in this part of the field, and drove the disordered enemy across the rivulet. The left, by vigorous exertion, also triumphed; and the French retired to the spot from which they had moved in the morning. After remaining for a whole day in position, as if their commander had been undetermined how to act, they retreated to the southward, leaving 900 wounded and prisoners, beside about 2000 dead¹. In the British army, the immediate deaths amounted to 882; the list of wounded rose to 2,732. The Spanish sufferers were not fewer than 2,000; while the Portuguese sustained only a small loss.

The want of a sufficiency of cavalry precluding a vigorous pursuit, major-general Lumley merely followed the retiring army to watch its movements. Unwilling to submit tamely to this insult, three light regiments attacked a heavy equestrian brigade at Usagre; but they were quickly disordered and put to flight. No immediate obstruction to the siege of Badajoz being now apprehended, it was resumed, under the eye of the commander-in-chief; while a part of the allied force, conducted by sir Brent Spencer, occupied the country near Ciudad-Rodrigo. Marmont, who superintended the operations of the remains of Massena's force, resolved to take advantage of his numerical superiority to that division which was the nearest to his station, and to co-operate with Soult in an attack upon the besiegers. He endeavoured to harass Spencer, who prudently commenced a retreat, which he conducted with such admirable order, that the enemy could not make any impression upon him, or prevent him from securing himself within the Portuguese frontier. Being assured that Soult expected great reinforcements from Castile, lord Wellington pushed the siege with additional vigour. He ordered two assaults upon the outwork of St. Christoval; but both were attended with great loss and were unsuccessful; and, hearing that Marmont was in motion on one side, and Soult on the other, he relinquished the siege, and retired across the Tagus, his right wing being supported by the strength of Elvas.

When marshal Soult advanced to co-operate with Massena, he drew off such a number of men from the army which blockaded

¹ According to an intercepted letter from general Gazan to Soult, above 4,000 wounded were carried off; and, as they had only five surgeons to cure or relieve them, a great number must have died from neglect, aggravated by the heat of the weather.

Cadiz, that the Spaniards were encouraged to undertake an expedition against the troops stationed in that neighbourhood. La Pena and lieutenant-general Graham were employed in this enterprise; and the allied force amounted to 12,000 men. High expectations of success were formed by the Spanish commander, who boasted that he would soon expel the enemy from Andalusia. The army, disembarking at Algeziras, marched toward the French line, and hoped to effect an opening into the isle of Leon. With a view of facilitating this communication, troops were sent from that station over the river of Santo-Pedro; and they raised some hasty works, which were assaulted in the night without effect. La Pena attacked the lines near this point, and, having dislodged the occupants, concerted farther operations with Graham, who had advanced from the hill of Barrosa. The subsequent movements were interrupted by the unexpected approach of Victor, who, with about 8,000 men, moved toward that post.

Neglecting the prosecution of La Pena's success, the British general, although his force was greatly inferior to that which the marshal conducted, marched back, and made dispositions for an engagement. The enemy's right occupied a plain, skirted
Mar. 5. by a wood, while the left enjoyed the advantage of the hill. A battery was quickly formed by the English; and it made great havoc before a close fight commenced. The conflict was short, but very sanguinary. It terminated to the disadvantage of the French, who were compelled to quit their positions, and subjected to a loss far greater than that which was sustained by their adversaries, of whom above 1,240 were killed or wounded. Extremely fatigued by a long march, and harassed by hunger, the prevailing troops did not attempt a pursuit, but took an early opportunity of crossing the river to the island. As no important benefit resulted from this expedition, La Pena was severely blamed for imputed neglect; but, after a regular inquiry, he was honourably acquitted. He applauded the skill and intrepidity of Graham, as soon as he had received intelligence of the battle; but, when he found that the general did not proceed to the execution of the plan which had been adjusted between them, he lamented the inadequate result of the boasted victory.

All the efforts of the French could not put them in complete possession of the Andalusian province. They did not relinquish the blockade of Cadiz: but it was ill conducted and inefficient. They were harassed with desultory but severe hostilities by general Ballasteros, whose indefatigable spirit the exasperated Soult

in vain endeavoured to crush. After a variety of partial conflicts, Godinot was detached against him with a considerable force; but he could not seduce him into an engagement. Protected by the batteries of Gibraltar, the Spanish troops remained near that fortress, until their enemies were obliged, by the want of supplies, to retire from the spot. Soult's intention of fortifying Tarifa was now anticipated by the allies, who thus exposed themselves to the perils of a siege. For seventeen days they withstood every assault, destroying a multitude of the besiegers, who, by the vigour of this defence, were intimidated into a disgraceful retreat.

While lord Wellington remained inactive in Portugal, no remarkable occurrences signalized the war in Estremadura or in Leon; and the two Castilian provinces were in a state of little agitation. But Galicia was harassed by the French under Dorsenne: Navarre was a scene of hostility and conflict; and Catalonia was still convulsed with the horrible effects of French injustice and iniquity. Emerging from his retreat when an opportunity of action presented itself, the British general re-entered Spain, and formed the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo. The French hastened to secure that important station, and appeared with an army which the viscount was too prudent to attack. Retreating without disorder, and with small loss, he suffered the enemy to relieve the town, and took a position near the Coa. Hostilities being renewed in Estremadura, he sent lieutenant-general Hill against Girard, whom that gallant officer surprised at Arroyo del Molino. Many fell in the battle, and more in the pursuit; and 1300 men became prisoners.

The great power of the French in Navarre, being supported by the possession of all the fortresses, apparently left to the Spaniards no hope of a speedy recovery of that province. Yet Mina was not discouraged; and the danger of ruin only served to inflame his zeal and invigorate his prowess. Reille, who acted as governor in the name of Joseph, made every effort to crush the daring leader, who so obstinately opposed the arms of France; but Mina, in his mountainous recesses, eluded the most vigilant search. Whenever he was constrained to retreat, he prevented all discovery of his temporary asylum; and he quickly re-appeared in another quarter, storming posts, and routing detached parties. He was sometimes encumbered with prisoners; but he did not follow the example of his opponents; who frequently murdered their captives in the wantonness of sport, or in the rage of animosity. His heart was not so far hardened

by the practice of war, as to be insensible of honour and humanity.

The chief oppressor of Catalonia was Suchet, who rivalled Massena and Soult in courage and cruelty, if he did not equal them in talent and reputation. By the continued retention of Barcelona, and the acquisition of other strong towns, the French maintained a commanding superiority in the province. Their commander suffered the Spaniards to take Figueras by surprise under the direction of Rovira, a doctor in theology; but he hoped to recover it by a strict blockade. Leaving that task to Baraguay d'Hilliers, he commenced the siege of Tarragona, a maritime town of no great strength, in which a great number of provincials had sought refuge. The place was not defended with that spirit which had animated the inhabitants of Saragossa and Gerona; nor, on the other hand, was it tamely or quickly surrendered. Fort Oliva, for some weeks, resisted all assaults; but, in the exchange of a regiment between that outwork and the town, the French found an opportunity of entering with their adversaries, among whom they made great havoc. After another interval of three weeks, the lower town was taken by storm; and a horrible massacre testified the brutal joy and vindictive ferocity of the assailants. The defenders of the upper town at length despaired of success; and it was proposed and agreed, that they should attempt to force their way through the lines of the enemy. But, instead of having recourse to this hazardous expedient, or blocking up with their persons a breach which appeared in the wall, they suffered the French to
 June 28. rush in, and wreak indiscriminate vengeance for the great loss which they had sustained during the siege. Multitudes endeavoured to escape into the country; and many, particularly the women and children, fled in boats to the British vessels. Amidst this confusion the barbarians perpetrated every species of outrage, and murdered above 6000 persons of both sexes and all ages¹. Even this ill success did not reduce the Catalonians to despair; nor did the loss of Montserrat, or the re-capture of Figueras, produce that submission which the invaders, being masters of all the fortresses in the province, not unreasonably expected. Some bold spirits declared, that the war was then

¹ Suchet says, in his letter, that 9780 men were made prisoners; but it may be more readily believed, that not more than one half of the number were so far favoured. He acknowledges that 5000 men were killed or drowned after the entrance of his troops into the city. This terrible example, he coolly remarks, will be long remembered in Spain. Indisputably, it *will be remembered*, to his eternal infamy and disgrace.

only at its commencement; and fierce hostilities ensued, in which the natives, headed by Lacy, severely harassed the enemy. The baron De Eroles also met with success in a variety of operations; reducing the academical city of Cervera, and even levying contributions in France.

Suchet, considering Catalonia as almost entirely subdued, marched into the Valencian province, and formed the siege of Morviedro. The garrison of this place acted bravely, without emulating the memorable defence of Saguntum, a town which formerly stood upon the same spot. Having seized the town, the French attempted to gain the fort by escalade; but their rash confidence was chastised by merited loss. Another experiment of the same kind was equally unsuccessful; and the preparations for a regular siege were obstructed by the activity of the Spaniards: but, by the capture of the fort of Oropesa, Suchet was enabled to secure the arrival of his heavy artillery, and the walls were then battered until a wide breach was made. Two assaults were repelled with indignant spirit; yet it was not expected by the governor, that the fort would long be retained. General Blake, with the troops of Arragon, Valencia, and Murcia, advanced to the relief of the garrison; and Suchet, leaving a sufficient force to continue the siege, hastened to meet him. The Spanish left began the attack; but the light Oct. 25. troops being quickly driven from an eminence which they had seized, the columns, which ought to have supported them, were so discouraged, that they made little resistance; and a corps, intended as a reserve, retreated without fighting. The central body acted with less pusillanimity, and, when repelled, made an orderly retreat. Zayas, who conducted the right wing, particularly distinguished himself, and long withstood the vigour of the enemy; and, when his division retired by the order of Blake, the men would readily have risked a charge with the bayonet. Dreading a renewal of assault, the garrison of Morviedro now capitulated.

Valencia, upon which the French general had long fixed a prospective eye, was the next object of attack. That city had a strong garrison, defensible lines, and an abundance of artillery and stores; but Blake, who presided over the operations, had not that elevated spirit which soars above ordinary courage, or that superiority of mind which could enable him, in a crisis of danger, to direct with ability, or to concentrate with effect, the movements of a great mass of soldiers and citizens. The lines were soon abandoned; the suburbs were seized; the town was

furiously bombarded; and mines were ready to blow up the gates. An offer of surrender, on condition of the safe retreat of the garrison, was rejected; and it was agreed that the troops, exceeding the number of 17,000 men, should submit to captivity.

While the French were thus successful in the cause of Joseph, that adventurer did not fully exercise the authority of a king. He was despised and disobeyed by Napoleon's generals, and by the ministers who formed his cabinet. He had not a revenue adequate to the maintenance of a court. The taxes which he ventured to impose or revive could only be collected by an armed force; and the resources of this species of rapine, the produce of church plate, and other means of supply, were expended with absurd prodigality. He gave way to indolence, and was negligent of his duty; but he was not altogether inattentive to the means of conciliating the people; for he endeavoured to please them by an affectation of piety, and by the exhibition of bull-fights. Even these varied appeals to their feelings and propensities did not secure him from general contempt.

The cortes, in this year, did not make any great progress in the effective settlement of national concerns. Yet they continued to display a liberal and patriotic spirit, and enacted some judicious regulations. They annulled feudal claims and exclusive privileges, not without ordering a compensation to individuals who had purchased them: abolished the practice of torture; repressed the tyranny exercised by colonial governors; gave greater freedom to trade; and promoted, if they did not actually establish, the claims which all the subjects of a state have to personal liberty. In devoting their attention to a new constitutional code, they asserted the doctrine of popular sovereignty; declared that the power of legislation ought to reside in the national assembly, as fully as the executive power should be possessed by the king; provided for the responsibility of ministers; ordered the election of one deputy for every aggregate of 70,000 persons; and extended the rights and the freedom of citizens.

To this assembly twenty-four members had been allotted for the American colonies; but deputies, chosen in Spain, were to act as substitutes until a regular election should take place beyond the Atlantic. The commercial restrictions to which the colonists were subjected, and other grievances which they had long endured, had produced great discontent; and it was the politic intention of the principal junta to open the trade, with a

view of securing the attachment of the distant subjects of Spain to the endangered state. The succeeding regents approved the conciliatory scheme, and sent a secret order for that purpose; but the arbitrary junta of Cadiz, influenced by self-interest, insisted upon a revocation of the ordinance, and even declared it to be surreptitious. Disappointed in the hope of redress, and disdaining to acknowledge the usurper (who had repeatedly demanded a complete submission to his will), the mal-contented of the city of Caracas deposed the governor, and nominated a supreme conservative junta, in the name of Ferdinand, but without regard to the authority of those who governed Spain in his behalf¹. This assumption of power was not confined to the district in which it originated, but extended over Cumana and five other provinces, included in the confederation of Venezuela. Alarmed at the bold proceedings of the colonial junta, and dreading a dissolution of those ties which for ages had bound the provinces to the Spanish yoke, the regents sent out don Antonio Cortabarría for the restoration of the royal authority in those territories; and the cortes declared that the country in question formed an inseparable part of the monarchy: but the confederates treated the commissary as the agent of an illegitimate government, censured those deputies who pretended to act for them in the cortes, and even compared the national council with the odious and infamous assembly of Bayonne. In the prosecution of their career, they disclaimed all submission to a prince whose dominion was imaginary, and who had united his fate to that of the emperor of France; and, claiming an independent rank among the nations of the earth, framed a new constitution for the republic of Venezuela. They accepted the offered services of Miranda; and he was ordered to lead an army against some refractory towns; but he did not meet with the desired success. In the meantime the spirit of revolt appeared in the capital of Paraguay, and diffused itself over various parts of the Peruvian vice-royalty. It was also propagated in North America, and occasioned sanguinary contests in the Mexican territories.

With a view of reclaiming the colonial revolted, the cortes resolved to accept that mediation which was offered by the prince regent of Great Britain. They expected that vigorous aid would be afforded in the event of an unsuccessful negotiation: but it

¹ April 19, 1810.

does not appear that such assistance was promised. Three delegates, however, were sent from England, being authorized to act in concert with those citizens who were deputed from Spain to support the claim of Ferdinand.

The example of revolt did not operate in the Asiatic settlements of the Spaniards. If a strong inclination for independence had been felt by the inhabitants of the Philippine islands, it is probable that they might have established their freedom; but they were content with the imperfect advantages which they enjoyed under the dominion of Spain.

The British power, in that part of Asia, was augmented in the course of the year by an important conquest. Lord Minto, having full confidence in the efficacy of British valour and perseverance, concluded that even the boasted fortifications in the island of Java would not secure Batavia and its dependencies from conquest. He therefore sent sir Samuel Auchmuty with a respectable force, and a descent was effected to the eastward of the colonial capital. The troops then marched along the coast, not meeting a single enemy. The destruction of a bridge over the Anjol river did not impede their progress. As they advanced they perceived a conflagration, which they soon found was intentional on the part of the Dutch. The fire consumed some of the public store-houses; yet valuable granaries and magazines remained. Instead of defending the town, the garrison and principal citizens retired from it; and the rest of the inhabitants implored protection. Colonel Gillespie was detached to storm the post of Weltevrede; and, when he found that it had been abandoned, he assaulted another position, which he quickly gained, before the arrival of the main body. Between the Jacatra and a deep canal, a number of men, considerably exceeding the amount of the invaders, occupied an entrenched camp: seven redoubts, and many batteries, were ready to pour their fire from the most commanding spots within the lines; and in the centre appeared the fort of Cornelis. As soon as some of the batteries had been

Aug. 26. silenced, sir Samuel gave orders for an assault. Gibbs and Gillespie distinguished themselves in this hazardous service, and their success was rapid and complete. About 900 Europeans and sepoy, and above 2000 of the enemy, were killed or wounded, and the prisoners amounted to nearly 5000. The fort of Cheribon was subsequently taken by a party of seamen and marines; Samarang was abandoned by the enemy; a strong post beyond that village was stormed; and, when Sourabaya

was menaced both by sea and land, a capitulation was signed, by which all the colonial territories were annexed to the British dominions.

Some of the naval actions of this period, if not splendid or brilliant, were not undistinguished. Four British frigates, under the conduct of captain Hoste, were attacked near the isle of Lissa, in the Adriatic sea, by Du Bordieu, who had eleven French and Italian armed vessels, with more than a double proportion of guns and three times the number of men. Trusting to this great superiority, the enemy expected to destroy or capture the whole of the opposing squadron, and began with an attempt to break the line : but, after a contest of six hours, two of the French frigates were taken, and one was burned. In the same sea one of the four victorious frigates seized or destroyed a whole convoy ; and on the coast of Calabria, a flotilla yielded to the power of British assailants. An attack upon a frigate, near Boulogne, by seven praams and ten brigs, under the eye of Napoleon, excited the ridicule of our countrymen, who in vain wished for an opportunity of drawing a greater force into close action.

A spirited conflict, both naval and military, occurred in the Baltic. Armed vessels and troops made an attempt to retake the isle of Anholt from the English, who baffled all the efforts of the Danes, and captured a greater number than the whole amount of the garrison.

A severe loss was sustained, near the close of the year, in consequence of tempestuous weather. Not only the Saldanha frigate was wrecked on the coast of Ireland, with the loss of the whole crew ; but the St. George and Defence (ships of ninety-eight and seventy four-guns) were driven on the shores of Jutland, and the Hero was stranded near the Texel. Admiral Reynolds, and the captains Pakenham, Guion, Atkins, and Newman, and about 2300 of the men who served under them, lost their lives by this unforeseen calamity.

The Swedes could scarcely be said to be at war with Great Britain ; and it soon appeared, that Bernadotte was more inclined to assume an independent character, and to attend to the interests of the nation which had adopted him, than to follow the dictates of his former patron. While he acted in the name of the indisposed king, he suffered the continental system to languish, as far as Sweden was concerned ; maintained an amicable intercourse with the British admiral in the Baltic ; refused to send troops to act against the patriots in Spain ; and resolved to listen to the sug-

gestions of the Russian emperor, who had testified a determination of shaking off the trammels in which the Corsican endeavoured to hold him.

Alexander continued to waste the resources of his empire in the war with the infidels. His troops, under Kamenskoi, defeated the vizir Yusef: but, when Ahmed, a more enterprising warrior, had superseded that minister, he marched with an augmented force, and engaged Kutusoff near Rudshuck. The Russian general pretended that he was victorious; but, as he hastily retreated to the left bank of the Danube, the claim was not so strongly supported as to be indisputable. Ahmed crossed the river, and formed an entrenched camp, leaving a part of his army on the southern side. Hoping to profit by this division of the hostile force, Kutusoff detached Markoff to the right bank, to assault the camp which the vizir had left, and the attack was rapid, vigorous, and successful. The Turks were routed; and, by the movements of the Russian vessels, and the capture of a river island, the communication was effectually obstructed, after the escape of the Ottoman general from the northern camp. Other advantages were obtained by the invaders, whose progress so discouraged the vizir, that he intimated a desire of negotiation; but the conferences were not immediately productive of peace, even though the enforced surrender of the army on the left bank produced dismay and consternation.

While the Turks were in danger of losing a considerable portion of their European territories, they re-established their sway in Egypt by an act of inhuman treachery. The pasha, Mohammed Ali, had for some time been at peace with the beys; but they were not so submissive as to allow him a plenitude of authority. He therefore resolved, not merely to reduce them to obedience, but to take away the lives of all who were not aware of his perfidy. Under the pretence of celebrating a festival, in compliment to his son, whom he intended to invest with the dignity of commander-in-chief in an expedition against the Arabian followers of Wahab, the sectarian oppressors of the true Moslems, he requested the beys to attend the procession and witness the solemnity. They complied with the invitation; and, when they had passed the exterior wall of the citadel of Cairo, they were precluded from escape, seized, and decapitated. The majority of their followers were also put to death; and the Mamelouks, in other towns, were likewise sacrificed to the ferocious animosity of the pasha.

LETTER XVIII.

View of the public Affairs of Europe, to the Rupture between Napoleon and Alexander ; including the Progress of the War in Spain.

THE hopes which had been entertained of our king's recovery were more allied to wishes than to reasonable or well-founded expectations. In no part of the time which had elapsed from the commencement of the regency, did it appear that his majesty was capable of directing the machine of government ; and a renewed examination of the physicians served only to confirm the apprehensions of the public.

When the prince regent opened a new session, the speech Jan. 7, which was delivered in his name exhibited a retrospective 1812. view of the war, without containing any remarkable observations. To the approaching expiration of the restrictions upon his authority, his friends looked forward with pleasure ; and it was the opinion of many persons, that a total change of the ministry would follow his acquisition of the whole executive power. But the experience of one year had sufficiently habituated him to the politics and proceedings of those ministers who had abridged his power ; and he contented himself with requesting, that earl Grey and lord Grenville would consent to be associated in office with the leaders of the cabinet. Those noblemen, suspecting that the secret influence which had led to the retention of Mr. Perceval would be exercised to control their power in the cabinet, declared, without reserve, the impossibility of their uniting with the existing government. They forbore to enter into a detail of all the differences of opinion which precluded such an union, and merely stated the case of the catholics of Ireland, whose civil disabilities they wished to remove, in opposition to the known sentiments of the first lord of the treasury and many of his colleagues. Being rather offended than pleased at this answer, the prince gave his full confidence to Mr. Perceval, to the lord chancellor, and the earl of Liverpool, and seemed to be satisfied with their talents, vigour, and patriotism.

An early inquiry was made into a subject which regarded the personal safety of the inhabitants of London and the suburbs. Near the close of the last year, the murder of two families had excited such general horror, that, for some time, few of the

citizens could sleep in peace, almost every one dreading, from the ruthless barbarity of depraved fellow-creatures, the sudden extinction of life. An honest industrious couple, with an infant, and a servant boy, had been assassinated by a ruffian ; and, while this melancholy catastrophe was the chief topic of conversation, a publican, his wife, and a female domestic, were murdered (as was generally supposed) by the same villain. Williams, at whom suspicion pointed, was apprehended and examined ; and, being confined in a house of correction, he was found lifeless in his cell, suspended from an iron bar : thus affording a strong presumption of his guilt. Alarmed at these horrible outrages, the inhabitants of many parishes formed patrolling parties in the night, in aid of the ordinary watchmen : and new means of security were adopted in other parts of the city and its environs. It was proposed by Mr. Ryder, that the act of the year 1774, which regulated the preventive police of fifteen of the most populous parishes, should be extended and improved ; but, when a bill had been introduced for that purpose, the consternation subsided, and parliamentary interference was deemed unnecessary.

The same minister also directed his attention to another ground of alarm, arising from that distress which was produced by the want of sufficient employment for manufacturers. A disposition to turbulence and mischief had appeared in the neighbourhood of Nottingham. Small parties, consisting chiefly of stocking-weavers, destroyed a great number of frames, and threatened to pursue that course until regular industry should be no longer obstructed by the use of the new machinery. The malcontents gradually increased their strength : many of them procured arms ; and the whole country, between Nottingham and Mansfield, was filled with perturbation and terror. One of the weavers being killed in an act of outrage, his associates became more furious and violent. The exertions of the armed yeomanry and local militia produced a cessation of mischief : but, after a short interval of forbearance, the attacks upon frames were renewed, and contributions were levied for the subsistence of these disturbers of the peace. In some parts of the counties of Derby and Leicester, similar outrages were perpetrated. Even the enactment of a law, denouncing death against the destroyers of frames for making lace and stockings, did not immediately operate for the suppression of the practice. The spirit of riotous insubordination spread into the counties of Chester, Lancaster, and York, where fire-arms were seized, steam looms and other articles of machinery were destroyed, and manufactories set on fire. In the attack of houses

and in contests with the military power, many lives were lost ; and others were sacrificed to the vengeance of the law.

From a parliamentary inquiry into the causes and progress of these alarming disturbances, it appeared that a remarkable concert attended the disorderly proceedings ; that many societies had been formed, which were directed in their operations by a secret committee ; and that, to prevent discovery, an oath was imposed, requiring from each member a concealment of the names and practices of his directors, “ under the penalty of being sent out of the world by the first brother who might meet him,” and binding him to pursue, with implacable and sanguinary vengeance, every betrayer of the confederacy.

As the committee of inquiry, in each house, stated, near the close of the session, the existence of some remains of a licentious and turbulent spirit, a bill was brought forward, to diminish, by an official demand of the temporary surrender of arms, the facility of procuring them for unlawful purposes, and to give to magistrates the power of immediately dispersing a disorderly party, instead of waiting an hour from the recitation of the act against riots. Some objections were made to the arbitrary nature of this bill ; but it was approved by a parliamentary majority ; and, if the storm did not immediately subside, the agitation was gradually allayed.

The orders of council were repeatedly discussed in this session. Their injurious effects upon trade and manufactures were eloquently detailed ; and, as the grant of licences for particular traffic proved a very inadequate compensation, it was the wish of many independent and upright senators, that the decrees should be revoked. Motions for an inquiry were at first rejected ; but each house at length commenced a regular investigation, in consequence of numerous applications for redress and relief.

While this important business occupied general attention, it was suspended by the unexpected fate of the minister. He had entered the lobby for the exercise of his parliamentary functions, when he was shot through the heart by a stranger who had waited for his appearance, and who, having gratified his revenge, did not attempt to escape amidst the prevailing confusion. The assassin bore the name of Bellingham. He had been engaged in mercantile concerns at Archangel ; and, being imprisoned by the Russian government for his indiscretion and turbulence, he in vain solicited the interposition of the British envoy at Petersburg. After his return to England, he harassed some of the ministers with memorials, claiming redress

for grievances and losses with which they had no concern ; and his disappointment impelled him to an act of atrocious vengeance. Being tried and condemned, he suffered death with remarkable coolness and fortitude.

As Mr. Perceval had been thus assailed because he occupied the highest political station, the house of commons made a very liberal provision for his afflicted widow and his numerous family. The remaining ministers were so sensible of the loss which they had sustained by the death of an able leader, that they seemed for a time to be confounded. The marquis Wellesley had previously resigned his employment, because he disapproved the ineffective support which the Spaniards had received ; and he was succeeded by lord Castlereagh, who concurred with his chief associates in recommending the earl of Liverpool for the direction of the treasury. Considering the administration as deficient in strength, the prince regent desired the earl to enter into a negotiation with the marquis and Mr. Canning ; but these statesmen declined the acceptance of offices, while the leading ministers were unfriendly to the catholic claims. Mr. Stuart Wortley, having discovered the prince's intention of admitting into the cabinet, on this occasion, only such persons as " agreed most nearly and generally in the principles upon which public affairs had long been conducted," moved for an address, requesting his royal highness to form a strong and efficient administration, worthy of public confidence ; and, as the majority assented to this motion, lord Wellesley was ordered to propose such appointments as might not exclude the chief members of opposition. Two principles were stated, as the foundations of the new arrangements. One was, an early consideration of the catholic question, with a view to a satisfactory settlement ; the other, a prosecution of the war in the peninsula, " with the best means of the country." To the former point the lords Grey and Grenville readily agreed, while they either objected to an extension of the scale of hostilities in Spain, or gave an evasive answer upon the subject. When it was intimated that they might recommend four or five persons to fill such stations in the cabinet as the prince might think proper to assign to them, they expressed their disapprobation of this mode of settlement, which threatened division and counteraction ; and advised, in preference, such a general discussion of measures and arrangements, as might lead to an uniform and beneficial course of policy. The earl of Moira, who had taken an active part in the negotiation, was disgusted at such a reply to an honourable and advantageous offer ; and the mar-

quis, finding that he had given offence to the earl of Liverpool and some of his colleagues by arraigning their feeble measures, and that they had consequently declined all concern in a ministry formed by him, relinquished the difficult task of adjusting discordant pretensions. The earl of Moira renewed the application; but the alleged pertinacity of the associated peers, who insisted upon the dismissal of the chief officers of the household, put an end to the treaty. It does not appear, that the regent was particularly desirous of including them in the new arrangements: he probably apprehended, that they would be disposed to domineer in the cabinet, as they had so high an opinion of their abilities and political consequence. Satisfied with having made the attempt which the house of commons suggested, he desired the earl of Liverpool to take the first seat at the board of treasury, declared Mr. Vansittart chancellor of the exchequer, appointed earl Bathurst secretary of state for the war department, and substituted lord Sidmouth for Mr. Ryder.

The new premier, at the close of the inquiry respecting the orders of council, sacrificed his own opinion of their expediency to the general wish; and the regent, intimating that the minister of the United States had produced a copy of a French edict, annulling the decrees of Berlin and Milan with regard to American vessels, revoked the ordinances; with a proviso ^{June 23.} that, if the commercial intercourse with Great Britain should still be prohibited, their operation should be restored.

Mr. Vansittart declared that he could not adjust the supplies of the year without a loan of fifteen millions and a half, and a consequent augmentation of taxes, to which the people quietly submitted, because it was useless to complain. For the exigencies of Spain and Portugal, large sums were allowed; and the defence of Sicily was not forgotten in the estimate.

The disordered state of Sicily, and the intrigues and misconduct of the court, required the attention of the British government. No country, perhaps, ever exhibited a prince more unqualified to reign with reputation, than Ferdinand of Naples. His understanding was so limited, that he had not a just comprehension of the duties of royalty. He had not the shrewdness of an intelligent peasant, or the acquired knowledge of an ordinary gentleman. It was said that he had a good heart; but, in his actual government, few features of benevolence appeared. He suffered his queen to govern him, and to involve the court, by her wanton extravagance, her perverse politics, and her encouragement of abuses, in great difficulties and dangers. He knew that

the preservation of his remaining power depended on the British alliance : yet he neglected his military protectors, and misapplied the subsidy which he received for the support of his army and navy. Acts of rapine and oppression were systematically continued. The prince of Belmonte, who headed the patriotic party in the Sicilian parliament, was imprisoned with his uncle and three other persons of distinction ; and the queen declared, that no remonstrances from lord William Bentinck should influence the conduct of the court ; but his lordship, uniting the powers of an envoy with those of a military commander, suspended the payment of the British subsidy, and persuaded the king to deprive the queen of all political authority. Francis, the hereditary prince, was appointed vicar-general, and permitted to exercise all the prerogatives of royalty : the popular noblemen were released ; and lord William acted, in a great measure, as the director of the national affairs. The propriety of his conduct may be disputed by some politicians : but it was almost impossible to deteriorate such a government as that of Sicily ; and, even if his interference had been exercised with less judgment than he displayed, it would not have deserved the severity of animadversion.

Under the auspices of the British envoy, a new constitution was prepared for Sicily. Of the framers of this code, religion was the first consideration ; and only the Romish system was allowed. If the king should profess a different faith, he was no longer to be regarded or obeyed as the sovereign. The legislative power was the next object ; and this was declared to reside in the parliament, consisting, beside the king, of the houses of peers and commons. The royal assent was necessary for the confirmation of every act ; but his majesty was not obliged to grant it. All the guilt and misconduct of ministers and judges were to be punished by the peers, on the accusation of the commons. While the king enjoyed the privilege of dissolving or proroguing the parliament, he was bound to convoke it in every year. Investitures, reliefs, and other appendages of feudality, were abolished with the baronial jurisdiction ; and, as soon as a new civil code should be completed, no subject was to be molested in the enjoyment of his property, deprived of his liberty, or punished in any mode, without the express sanction or authority of the law. The resemblance which these enactments bore to the English constitution pointed out, even to the most careless observer, the influence of British counsels over the Sicilian government.

An important change was also effected in the administration of Spain. As neither the conduct of the regents, nor that of the

cortes, had given general satisfaction, the public voice called for a new government and a new assembly. Vera, one of the deputies, proposed that a person of the royal family should be at the head of the next regency, that the constitution should be completed within a month, and that the cortes should then be dissolved; but Arguelles offered other proposals, which were more acceptable to the majority. With regard to the administration, it was resolved that the duke del Infantado should be the president, and general O'Donnel should act as his deputy. The members of the former regency were appointed counsellors of state, or assistants to the ruling statesmen.

The new regents thought it their duty to call the public attention to the danger which still impended over the nation, and to rouse all the remains of courage, honour, and patriotism: but, although they could not deny the urgency of the peril, or the magnitude of the evils which assailed the country, they did not despair of the re-establishment of the monarchy and the preservation of their dearest interests. The cries of the soldiery (they said), lamenting their painful privations, the groans of the inhabitants of those districts which were on the point of subjugation, the complaints of the wretched provincials who were oppressed by the tyranny of ferocious aliens, had reached the seat of government; and the answer to these appeals involved the most imperious duties. All the obstacles which had impaired the vigour of authority, must be speedily removed; the majesty of the people must be maintained; a strict union must prevail; all private concerns must yield to the general good; grievances must be redressed; and the spirit of a free people must be directed with holy zeal to the deliverance and salvation of the country. Every exertion would be made by the new governors for the due exercise of their high and arduous trust; and they hoped to be equally entitled with the national representatives to public confidence and regard.

This address was applauded by the people; and it was followed by a reform in various departments of the administration. Mar. 20. The subsequent promulgation of the constitutional code seemed to give new vigour to the nation, and to enliven the hopes of success and of final triumph.

The war in Spain was renewed with spirit: indeed, it was scarcely intermitted during that season which seems more particularly to call for its cessation. Lord Wellington advanced toward Ciudad-Rodrigo, and, for eleven days, made regular approaches, while lieutenant-general Hill was employed with equal utility

in clearing the country between the Guadiana and the Tagus, and in precluding the co-operation of Soult with Marmont. When some breaches appeared in the body of the place, an assault was ordered, although the approaches would have been

Jan. 19. considered, by very cautious officers, as too distant for such a risk. Five columns, advancing in the evening from the trenches, reached their allotted stations amidst a severe fire from the works. Brigadier Pack converted a feint into a real attack; and Major Ridge, having gained an out-work by scalade, stormed the principal breach, followed by the brigade of major-general Mac-Kinnon, who, in his progress, was blown up by the explosion of a magazine. Crauford, a gallant officer of the same rank, was mortally wounded in his approach, and many other brave men fell in the dangerous service; but all the assaults were successful. Seeing the allies in possession of the ramparts, the garrison ceased to resist, and about 1700 men became prisoners of war. On the side of the captors, 1310 persons were killed or wounded, from the commencement of the siege to the close of the assault.

Marmont was surprised at the speedy reduction of so defensible a town; and, in the hope of preventing farther operations of this kind by success in the field, he endeavoured to provoke lord Wellington to an engagement; but the challenge was tacitly declined. After an interval of tranquil observation, during which the defender of the peninsula received from Great Britain the pleasing intelligence of the grant of an earldom and an additional pension, he moved toward the Guadiana, and invested Badajoz. When the siege had been carried on for three weeks, the garrison witnessed with apprehension and dismay those preparations for a general assault which had lately been so effectual. Breaches had been made in two of the bastions; and, to divide the attention of the enemy, a third was effected before the process of

April 6. storming began. Lieutenant-general Picton was ordered to scale the walls of the castle, while Colville and Bernard conducted those divisions which were expected to force their way through the breaches. On the left a feint was proposed, which was to become a real attack, if a favourable occasion should be offered. The principal fortress was defended by vigorous but fruitless exertions. So powerful were the obstacles to the ascent of the breaches, that the troops, after considerable loss, were obliged to retire. The brigade of major-general Walker, being encouraged to make an effective assault, proceeded to a bastion in which no opening had been made, and took it by scalade. Orders were

now given for a renewal of the discontinued attempt ; but it was rendered unnecessary by a cessation of resistance, and in the morning the governor consented to a surrender.

The loss which attended this conquest was dreadfully severe. During the siege and in the assault, 1035 of the confederates lost their lives, and 3789 were wounded. It was particularly stated by the general that the latter “were doing well;” but, of so great a number, a considerable proportion may be supposed to have died of their wounds. The movements of Soult indicated an intention of marching to the relief of the garrison : but being unexpectedly informed of the surrender, he hastily retreated.

As an important post in Estremadura still remained in the enemy’s possession, sir Rowland Hill was detached for its reduction. Strong works had been raised at the bridge of Almaraz on the Tagus, near which were also two well-constructed forts, defending the shortest and best communication between the armies of Southern Spain and Portugal. This post was stormed ; and, when its occupants had been killed, drowned, or captured, an entire demolition was ordered.

The caution of the earl of Wellington became less scrupulous, as that of Marmont increased. He crossed the Agueda in quest of the enemy, and advanced to the Tormes. The marshal retreated, leaving a garrison at Salamanca, in fortified colleges and monasteries. When he found that a siege had commenced, he sent a part of his army to take a forward position ; and, when this detachment had been repelled, an attempt was made to secure a communication with the troops in the city by the left bank ; but this scheme was also baffled by the vigilance of the besiegers. In storming one of the forts, major-general Bowes was wounded ; he retired for chirurgical aid, and, hastening back to lead the party, perished in a fruitless attack. Flames being seen to rise from the largest fort, and a breach appearing in another, the commandant of the former entreated a delay of some hours, for the adjustment of a capitulation. Instead of acceding to the request, the earl gave orders for an assault, unless an immediate surrender should be made.

The storm began, and the officer yielded himself and his men to captivity. The assailants were successful in other parts of the town ; and, when they observed the excellence of the fortifications, many were surprised at the short duration of the siege, which was not protracted beyond ten days.

When the allies advanced after this success, Marmont endeavoured to secure himself in a strong position upon the right bank of the Douro ; but, being gratified with an accession of force, he

seemed desirous of meeting his adversaries in the field. He sent a division over the river, as if he wished to turn the left of lord Wellington, who then resolved to concentrate his force on the Guarena. The French detachment was suddenly recalled; and the whole army made a quick march to Tordesillas, where a passage was effected. At Castrejon, the left flank of the allied position was turned; but an orderly retreat was not prevented. On the plain of Vallesa, the earl expected a general attack, which the marshal, however, was not then inclined to risk. Both armies being at length assembled near the Tormes, the French commander hoped, by the superiority of his force, to preclude the retreat of his antagonist. With this view, he incautiously extended his line, and so far weakened it by that disposition, as to afford an opportunity of attack, for which the allies had long wished. The earl immediately strengthened his right wing, which the enemy particularly wished to out-flank; July 22. and gave directions for an attempt to turn the opposing left, posted on an eminence. Major-general Pakenham conducted the attack with that courage and skill which rendered it successful: and, during this contest, brigadier Bradford assaulted the centre, while sir Stapleton Cotton, with an equestrian corps, rushed upon a strong body of infantry. The French right, for a considerable time, withstood every assault; but, when it was harassed both in front and flank, it gave way in disorder; and, when night approached, all parts of the line were retreating. The darkness favoured the escape of a great part of the vanquished army: yet the prisoners amounted to 6500 men, and the killed and wounded are supposed to have far exceeded that number. In the allied army, almost 700 lost their lives, and 4270 were wounded. The Portuguese bravely seconded the British troops; but the Spaniards had scarcely any concern in the conflict, as they only lost two of their number.

In the warmth of zeal and the eagerness of hope, some engagements have been termed victories, when the opposite combatants have been driven merely to a short distance from their former stations, and the supposed conquerors have been obliged to retreat; and the propagators of delusion have basely arraigned the motives of those who pretended to doubt the reality or the importance of the boasted success; but the battle of Salamanca was not of this disputable class, being evidently attended with the honours and productive of the fruits of victory.

The defeated army fled to the Douro, and the rear-guard even rested on the left bank; but, on the approach of the allies, it pursued its course into Old-Castile. Valladolid was left to the

pursuers, who found considerable spoils in that city, and were saluted by the inhabitants with acclamations of joy and gratitude. It was now the determination of lord Wellington to engage the central army (if Joseph should have the courage to meet him), and enforce the dereliction of the capital. Some inconsiderable actions occurred in the march; but the usurper retreated to the southward, and Madrid was re-occupied in the name of Ferdinand. From the joy which the inhabitants of that city evinced at the appearance of their liberators, it was presumed that the Anti-Gallican zeal had not suffered any abatement, and that the late success would lead to a display of redoubled energy; but, neither in the metropolis, nor in the rest of the kingdom, did the exertions of the people fully answer the reasonable expectations of their British friends. They still resisted the enemy, without giving that decisive support which, while the French were eagerly employed in their expedition to Russia, might have completely rescued Spain from an ignominious yoke.

The re-capture of Seville, and the termination of the mischievous and disgraceful blockade of Cadiz, were among the fruits of the victory. Colonel Skerret and the Spanish general La-Cruz advanced to the Andalusian capital, and, having forced their way into the suburbs, attacked the defenders of the bridge, and drove them back into the city, covering the streets with victims. Unbounded joy, it is said, prevailed also on this occasion.

Notwithstanding this success, the want of co-operation and of concert diminished the effects of the victory; and even the British general failed in a siege which, if not with the most confident hopes, he had boldly undertaken. The castle of Burgos, although it was, in the language of an engineer, "an extremely insignificant place, unworthy of the name of a fortress," made a long and successful defence. It was garrisoned only by 2000 men; but they had an ample supply of ammunition and provisions, and derived strength and security from the commanding situation of the place. Not having the means of a regular siege, the general resolved to assault each line successively. The horn-work of St. Michael was first attacked. It was stormed, and a lodgment effected; and the exterior line of the fortress was then attempted by scalade, without the previous trouble of making a breach; but the efforts were abortive. The next scheme was to undermine the wall; and, when two breaches had thus been made, the French were driven into their covered way; from which, however, they soon rushed, and ruined the lodgments. After some farther operations, arrangements were made for storming the

second line ; but the attempt was fruitless, and the siege was raised, in the fifth week from the investment, when above 2050 men had been killed, wounded, or lost, in the progress of the rash enterprise ¹.

In the retreat consequent upon this failure, the allies suffered no small loss before they reached the vicinity of Salamanca. The earl was disposed to attack his pursuers near the Tormes ; but, when he had attentively observed the strength of their position, he retired to Ciudad-Rodrigo, and afterward took refuge at Freynada from the increasing force and reviving alacrity of the enemy.

During this campaign, the cause of Ferdinand derived some support from the return of the Russian emperor to the Anti-Gallican system. He who had acknowledged the usurper July 20. concluded a treaty of alliance with those who acted in the name of the legitimate prince, and gave his sanction to the meeting of the *cortès*, and the constitution which the patriots had framed.

The authority of Ferdinand was also recognized by the members of the confederacy of Venezuela. A dreadful visitation of Providence had the principal effect in promoting the return of the provincials to their allegiance. An earthquake convulsed the city of Caracas, la Guayra, and other towns, and myriads of the inhabitants perished amidst the ruins. So shocked were the survivors at this catastrophe, that, when the priests represented it as a manifestation of the divine wrath for the late treasonable association, the people began to evince a desire of submission. Monteverde, who commanded the armed royalists at Coro, advanced to act against the discouraged votaries of independence ; and, when he had captured Caracas and seized Miranda, the confederates relinquished their opposition, and acknowledged the regency and the *cortès* of Spain.

LETTER XIX.

History of the War between France and Russia, to the Battle of Borodino.

INSPIRED with the madness of ambition, and inflamed with the fury of revenge, Napoleon resolved to undertake an expedition

¹ Jones' *Journals of the Sieges in Spain.*

into the heart of Russia. He knew that the subjects of Alexander were hardy and brave; and he had reason to suppose, that they would not tamely suffer a prince, whom they loved and esteemed, to be overwhelmed or enslaved by a foreign adventurer: yet he trusted for success to the superior discipline of his troops, to the great talents and experience of his principal officers, and to his own abilities and good fortune. He must have foreseen difficulties and dangers; but, as he confidently hoped to surmount them, they made little impression upon his mind, and served only to stimulate his zeal and presumption. His favourite generals encouraged the gigantic scheme of conquest, and flattered the vanity of the rash and sanguinary despot, by boasting of the terror of his name and the invincibility of his legions. The splendid prospect so dazzled his sight, that he despised the suggestions of prudence, and was as deaf to the voice of compassion and humanity, as any warrior of ancient and barbarous times. He seemed to think that men were born only to risk their lives in the train of a military leader, to promote his aggrandizement, and be blindly subservient to his fame and glory.

While he was preparing for this arduous enterprise, he A.D. declared that he wished for peace; but his dissimulation 1812 did not deceive the Russian potentate, by whom his selfish and inhuman character was properly appreciated. His obvious desire of keeping Alexander in a state of complete subserviency could not long escape the observation even of the most dull and credulous prince; and, as the northern emperor was far from being deficient in good sense or sagacity, he discerned the views of the artful Corsican, and was aware of the danger to which his independence was exposed. To surrender his will, on every occasion, to the dictates of one who had no right to control him, was a degradation to which he scorned to submit. He was willing to make some sacrifices for the preservation of peace with a powerful state; but he would not purchase it upon ignominious terms.

After a frequency of mutual remonstrance, various points still remained in dispute. Alexander demanded the evacuation of the Prussian fortresses and of Swedish Pomerania, and an indemnity for the duchy of Oldenburg; and he insisted upon a freedom of trade with neutral powers, promising at the same time to avoid a direct commerce with Great Britain. Napoleon professed a wish to enter upon a regular negotiation, and complained of the evasive conduct of the emperor, who declined the grant of full powers for

a treaty, and even made preparations for war. "For eighteen months," said Maret, "Russia had grasped her sword, whenever proposals of accommodation have been made to her."

Still pretending to be exceedingly desirous of a general peace, Napoleon made new overtures to the British govern-
Apr. 17. ment. He offered to guarantee the independence and integrity of Spain and Portugal, and to secure Sicily to the reigning family, provided that Naples should remain under its existing sovereign. As he stipulated for the prevalence of the *present dynasty* in Spain, the prince regent requested an explanation of his meaning, and declared a readiness to treat, if the expressions were intended to refer to Ferdinand VII. and the house of Bourbon. By not replying to this communication, the despot admitted, that he alluded to the usurper of the Spanish throne; and such a proposal served only to betray the fallacy of his pretences and the baseness of his duplicity.

In answer to the complaint of a disinclination for negotiating, prince Kurakin, the Russian ambassador at Paris, intimated to Maret, that, if the terms proposed by him as the foundation of a treaty should be accepted by Napoleon, there was no doubt of the assent of Alexander to any convention which his representative might be induced to sign; and count Romanzoff, writing from Wilna to the French minister, assured him that the prince was furnished with ample means of adjusting all differences. But, when the ambassador required the evacuation of every part of the Prussian territories, as a preliminary to negotiation, and repeatedly demanded passports, Napoleon, who had already sent an army to the Oder, resolved to commence hostilities.

As Alexander did not expect to avoid a rupture with Bonapartè, he had already endeavoured to secure the friendship, if not the co-operation, of the Swedish court. He knew that his enemy would procure all possible aid for the purpose of overwhelming him; and he was therefore desirous of ascertaining whether the crown prince would be disposed to swell the mass of auxiliary force which his late patron hoped to bring into the field. In an interview with Bernadotte, he was soon released from all anxiety in that respect, and convinced of the good intentions of the new director of the Swedish cabinet. It was not the seizure of Pomerania¹ that particularly roused the indignation of the prince:

¹ That province had been restored to Sweden in consequence of the pacification; but it was arbitrarily seized, when Napoleon was preparing for his expedition to Russia.

he was sufficiently inclined, without reference to that act of injustice, to support the interest of Sweden, and stem the torrent of French ambition. But, as the country had suffered severely by the late war, he would not immediately engage to assist the Russians: yet he promised to augment his military force, and to provide against hazardous contingencies. In the mean time, he advised the king to revoke the prohibition of British commerce, and to resist the degrading influence of France; and, in the course of the year, a treaty was concluded, by which he secured British aid, if any power whatever, resenting the present pacification, should attack the Swedes. A similar treaty was signed between Great Britain and Russia; but the Danish court declined an imitation of the example.

Napoleon's preparations exceeded those which had secured the success of his former wars. The scale upon which he organized his means of conquest seemed to be proportioned to the mischief which he intended to inflict, and to the havoc that he hoped to diffuse. He advanced like the demon of destruction, surrounded by myriads of devoted agents, whom he had inspired with his own fury. While he breathed war in his heart, he professed himself a friend to peace, and ordered Lauriston to request a reconsideration of Alexander's late demand: but the ambassador was not admitted to an interview either with the emperor or his minister, both of whom knew that the proposed conference would be useless and nugatory. Enraged at this mark of contempt, the tyrant exclaimed, "The conquered assume the high tone of conquerors: they are urged by fatality; let their destiny take its course." He instantly commanded his troops to pass the Niemen, and declared that he would conduct his victorious legions into the heart of Russia.

The act of aggression, with which the war commenced, was committed at Kowna, where the Cossacks were surprised and routed by the light troops of the invading army. ^{June 24.} A proclamation, issued by Alexander, announced to the whole nation this sanguinary outrage, and called for the strenuous exertions of an injured people against a faithless foe; and, in a letter to count Soltikoff, intended for the public eye, he expressed his full confidence in the courage and loyalty of his subjects, and declared that he would not sheathe his sword while a single enemy remained within the boundaries of the empire.

Arranged in nine great divisions, the troops of Napoleon approached the capital of Lithuania. The Russians, being greatly

out-numbered by their adversaries ¹, quitted the station which they had for some time occupied near Wilna ; and their principal army, commanded by Barclay de Tolli, retired toward the Dwina. Prince Bagration, who was advancing at the head of a smaller force, was not informed of the intended retreat ; and he was so endangered by the approach of hostile detachments, that he could not easily fix upon a safe *route*. Platoff, the Cossack general, hastening to his assistance, defeated the advanced guard of Jerome Bonapartè ; and, having repelled other fierce attacks, he retired, as did also the prince, toward the Nieper.

To check the advance of the fierce invaders, Alexander had ordered the country, from the Vistula to the Dwina, to be deprived of those stores and that produce which would have been gladly seized by the ruffian marauders ; but their zeal for promoting the glory of their enterprising leader would have led them, undiscouraged, through pathless deserts. At Drissa the main army entrenched itself, awaiting the arrival of Bagration ; but the non-appearance of the prince induced the commander-in-chief to remove his station to Vitepsk, where, by a concentration of force, he might be enabled to contend with the enemy.

While the troops were at Polotsk, the emperor, by two proclamations, roused the spirit of his people. One was particularly addressed to the citizens of Moscow ; the other, to the nation in general. In the former, he stated the urgent necessity of resisting, with unanimous energy, the malignant attempts of the French, whose object was the extinction of the Russian name. In addition to the army which now faced the treacherous foe, a great force, he said, ought to be raised in the interior of the empire : and the example of the ancient capital would have a decisive influence in calling forth the mass of the population. In the second address he appealed to the nobles and the clergy, and exhorted them to concur with the people in the sacred cause of religion and patriotism against an infamous tyrant, who, having enslaved the nation which he governed, wished to involve all other communities in the same servitude. “ Unite ! ” he emphatically said—“ carry the cross in your hearts, and the iron in your hands ; and no human force will triumph over you ! ”

These addresses were not necessary to rouse the zeal of the Russians, who were ready to rush into arms with spontaneous

¹ Who are supposed to have exceeded the amount of 475,000, about 100,000 auxiliaries (Germans, Polanders, Dutch, Swiss, Italians, Spaniards, and Portuguese) being included.

ardour. Many of the nobles raised regiments for the defence of their country: ladies gave up the glittering ornaments of their persons to swell the public treasure: almost every one, except the poor, made pecuniary sacrifices; and the towns and villages sent forth their hardy inmates to encounter all the dangers of military service. The clergy sedulously propagated the rising spirit; the cause of their country, supported against an impious race, was declared to be the cause of God; and the people embarked in this crusade with all the enthusiasm of chivalry. They were eager to emulate the fame of Gideon, by crushing the modern Midianites, or to rival the glory of the Maccabees, by triumphing over the enemies of God's chosen race.

At Vitepsk the commander-in-chief was still disappointed in the hope of Bagration's arrival; and he was apprehensive of the speedy approach of the French to Smolensk. In the meantime he anxiously watched the movements of the enemy, sending out considerable detachments in various directions. Count Osterman was advancing in the neighbourhood of Ostrowna, when his cavalry met a strong body of French horse. A brisk conflict ensued, in which the Russians prevailed; but, by a precipitate pursuit, they exposed themselves to an attack from another body of the enemy, and were in danger of being overwhelmed. The count saved the fugitives from ruin, and, after a considerable loss, rejoined the grand army.

The retreat of the Russians, by leaving Lithuania to the enemy, furnished Napoleon with an opportunity of exercising his skill in political organization. He instituted a provisional government for the province, and enacted a variety of regulations, as if he expected to be its permanent possessor. He boasted that he had granted liberty to a population of four millions, and pretended to witness, with feelings of exultation, the joy and gratitude which the presence of their guardian angel inspired.

Moscow was the object to which he directed his early attention; but he was so far from neglecting Petersburg, that he gave instructions to Oudinot and Macdonald to cut off the communication between that city and the army of its sovereign. Count Witgenstein, aware of this dangerous scheme, laboured to prevent the junction of those commanders. He harassed the former, for three days, with such alertness and vigour, that the defeated enemy with difficulty reached the entrenched post at Polotsk. A retrograde movement, on the part of Macdonald, prevented a collision between him and the victorious general.

The grand army near Vitepsk, being exposed to some partial attacks, repelled them by courage and skill ; and, with little farther molestation, reached the vicinity of Smolensk. Bagration, in the meantime, was involved in the danger of ruin. In approaching Mohiloff, he found that a strong division, under Davoust, occupied the neighbouring country. His troops were too fatigued to be fully prepared for battle ; yet he resolved to act offensively, rather than submit patiently to the difficulties of a harassed march. He attacked the enemy with a firm countenance, and so far prevailed, as to force the marshal's temporary works : but, being encountered by increasing numbers, he was obliged to retreat from his new post to his former station, which he maintained for many hours. At one time he made such an impression as seemed to portend victory. Disappointed in his hopes by the pressure of superior force, he retired in good order with his artillery, when about 3000 of his men had been killed or wounded. The French, who sustained an equal or a greater loss, tacitly acknowledged their sense of his military talents by suffering him to resume his march, until he opened a satisfactory communication with the grand army. By loss and desertion, however, (for 10,000 Polanders had retired at different times from his standard,) his force was so diminished, that, when it was added to the troops which had long expected his arrival, the whole army under Barclay de Tolli did not exceed 135,000 men. But other considerable bodies were in various stations ; and the exertions and influence of the emperor promised an augmentation of the means of defence and of victory. The termination of his war with the Turks left another army at his disposal ; for all the intrigues of the French agents at the Porte could not prevent the seasonable conclusion of a pacific treaty.

In the conferences which preceded and produced this pacification, the Russians had endeavoured to intimidate the Turks into the cession of Moldavia and Walachia ; but, finding that the grand signor was determined rather to continue the war than submit to such a demand, they required only a third part of the former province, and the small territory of Bessarabia. It was therefore agreed, that the course of the river Pruth to its mouth, and the Danube from that point to the Black Sea, should be the boundaries of the two empires. With regard to the Servians, it was stipulated, that a complete amnesty should be allowed ; and the Porte engaged not to exact any other contributions than such as should be settled with the concurrence of that community.

This article reflects honour upon Alexander, who was not so intent on his own advantage, as to forget or neglect the interest of his allies.

While the two grand armies directed their chief attention to Smolensk, as the scene of a vigorous contest, the Russians under Tormosoff, and the Saxons, maintained the military honour of their respective nations. After a spirited conflict near Kobrin, in which the latter severely suffered by a well-directed attack from Kamenskoi, Tormosoff entertained the hope of crushing the enemy in that quarter. Foreseeing his aim, general Regnier attacked him in an elevated position, which he had not made so strong as a more circumspect commander would have rendered it. The ensuing conflict was fierce and obstinate. The Austrians, under the prince of Schwartzenberg, marched against the right wing of the Russians; but, being entangled in a morass, they lost by their precipitancy a multitude of their bravest comrades. All the efforts of Regnier were directed to Tormosoff's left, which he in vain attempted to turn. Night at length put an end to the engagement, when about 4000 of the Russians, and 5000 of their opponents, had been killed or wounded.

The accession of strength, received by Oudinot at Polotsk, rather encouraged than deterred count Witgenstein, who led his reinforced division to a new attack. The marshal, unwilling to be anticipated, hastened from his lines and commenced the action; but he was so resolutely opposed, that he could not make the smallest impression. His troops were soon thrown into great disorder; and, when they were menaced with a general charge, he was disabled by a severe wound. The French and Bavarians then gave way in all parts of their line: but the exhortations of St. Cyr, who assumed the command, contributed to the revival of their courage; and on the following day, he advanced in a more orderly disposition than Oudinot had given himself time to make, and boldly contended for victory. His left wing fought with less spirit than the rest of his force, and quickly retreated from the vigour of the bayonet: the centre sustained frequent assaults before it fell back; and the right, under general Wrede, made strenuous but unavailing efforts, after it had ceased to be supported. The pursuit was continued to the suburbs of Polotsk, and great was the loss of the routed enemy.

While the gallant Witgenstein thus obstructed the intended march to Petersburg, Smolensk was exposed to all the miseries of an assault. Notwithstanding its distance from Moscow, it

was regarded as the barrier and bulwark of that city: it was therefore as bravely defended as it was fiercely attacked. Not being fortified in the modern style, it could not sustain a long siege; and either the enemy must be repelled, or it would be taken by a *coup-de-main*. About 30,000 soldiers were stationed in the city, manning the old towers and the new works. Barclay de Tolli occupied, with his main body, the heights on the right bank of the Nieper, and maintained a communication with the town by three bridges, while prince Bagration was directed to remain with his division on the road leading to Moscow, on the southern side of the river. A great number of the terrified inhabitants had emigrated from the threatened city to more distant towns: many had sought protection by joining the army on the heights; and the most valuable part of the portable property had been removed beyond the supposed reach of the foreign robbers.

Bonapartè's first object was to storm the entrenched suburbs. Aug. 17. Prince Poniatowski on the right, Davoust in the centre, and Ney on the left, pushed forward their divisions; and, while a hundred pieces of artillery played upon the intruders, they still advanced with a fearless front, and in two hours forced the entrenchments. The city was then endangered by an incessant fire from well-furnished batteries: and, although the towers and works poured out a corresponding fire, it was evident that the place could not be defended for another day.

The commander-in-chief, who had harassed the approaching enemy from his batteries with greater spirit than effect, resolved to quit his post, and retire toward Moscow. His troops moved quietly in two columns; and general Korff received orders to follow him with the defenders of the city, when farther resistance seemed to be useless. That the assailants might not reap the full benefit which they expected from their success, the magazines were destroyed, and the town was involved in conflagration by the torch-bearing hands of its own inhabitants. Korff then retired in the night with the remains of his force; and, before the break of day, the French took possession of the burning town. They endeavoured to stop the progress of the flames, but not before they had committed upon the defenceless citizens many acts of outrage and barbarity.

It could not be expected that the retiring troops would long remain unmolested. Ney's division crossed the river by a bridge which was hastily formed, and commenced a furious pursuit, in which other strong detachments joined. Korff, having seized an

advantageous position near Valentina, kept the enemy in check, until he received a reinforcement: he then maintained his post with undaunted resolution against repeated assaults, and baffled all the skill and courage of Ney and Davoust, and all the impetuosity of Murat. At length the French desisted, after a loss which nearly doubled that of their opponents.

The enemy had re-commenced the pursuit, when Barclay de Tolli was succeeded by a more able general. This was the veteran Kutusoff, who, unwilling to enjoy inglorious repose when the deliverance of his country required extraordinary exertions, eagerly accepted the arduous and perilous command. He was of opinion that a general engagement ought now to be hazarded, before the invaders could reach Moscow; and he fixed upon a position near Borodino, where he thought he could act with advantage. The ground near that village was chiefly level; but there were various inequalities, and some parts were wooded. A ravine, through which flowed a deep rivulet called the Koloya, served to protect his centre and his right; his left was less secured by the nature of its situation, and was therefore better fortified by the labour of the troops than the other parts of the position. An unfinished redoubt upon an eminence in the front drew the attention of Bonapartè, who set a strong body to storm the post, which was not relinquished without the destruction of many of the assailants. After the anxious pause of a day, the French advanced with their usual confidence and animation, and Davoust attacked the left wing, which was com-
Sept. 7.
manded by prince Bagration. Ney moved forward with a great force against the centre, while Beauharnois assaulted the right. For three hours no visible impression was made upon the left; but Napoleon hoped to overpower that division, by detaching Murat with a considerable reinforcement and an additional supply of artillery. The exertions of this corps had a speedy but not a complete effect. The Russians felt the shock, and gave way in disorder. Kutusoff, who was not unprepared for this event, sent seasonable succour from his second line; and the prince so far profited by it, as to contend with redoubled eagerness for the posts from which he had been dislodged. During the murderous conflict which ensued, light troops and militia rushed from an ambuscade which had been formed in a wood, and acted with such vigour, that the French fell back in confusion. The contest between Beauharnois and Barclay de Tolli was less obstinate; and it terminated in favour of the Russians. A part of the right wing being now transferred to the centre, Kutusoff

was enabled to repel the opposite division, after a great loss on both sides. The Cossacks faintly pursued for some miles the retiring enemy, who did not fail, however, to claim the victory. About 30,000 of the Russians, and 40,000 of their adversaries, lost their lives, or were wounded. The most distinguished and lamented victim was prince Bagration, one of the best officers in the service of Alexander ¹.

LETTER XX.

History of the War in the North, continued to the Retreat of the French.

A.D. 1812. WITHOUT detracting from the valour of the Russians, or disparaging the patriotic cause in which they were engaged, it may be affirmed that the battle of Borodino was, on their part, rather a check and a repulse than a victory. It contributed, however, to the extension of their military fame, and convinced even the vain and boastful French, that the northern warriors were no despicable enemies. Alexander received the report of their prowess with marks of joy, allayed by regret for the loss of so many of his subjects, who deserved a longer duration of existence.

Being reinforced soon after the battle, Napoleon directed his course toward Moscow. Kutusoff, finding himself too weak to cope with him, did not oppose his advance, but desired Rostopchin, the commandant of Moscow, to expedite the removal of valuable property from that city, from which, at the same time, the greater part of the population retired. On the seventh day of the resumed march the presumptuous enemy appeared before the walls of the ancient capital of the empire. A part of the army immediately entered the city; and Murat was preparing to take possession of the Kremlin, when he was saluted with a fire of musketry. The gates were quickly forced, and the defenders of the fortress were murdered, as if the mere show of resistance had rendered them unworthy of mercy. At the very time of

¹ *London Gazette Extraordinary*, of October 7.—*Porter's Narrative of the Campaign*.—As the Koloya runs into the Moskwa, the French named the battle from this river; but it has more generally taken its denomination from Borodino.

this wanton exercise of cruelty, flames began to appear in various parts of the city,—the dire effects of a previous concert between the commandant and the inhabitants. This was a violent and dreadful remedy; but the nature of the disease was supposed to require it. Undoubtedly it was not an act of absolute necessity: yet, as it was calculated to destroy the comforts and resources of the invaders, it was apparently an act of patriotic magnanimity. It manifested the determination of the Russians to conquer or die; and the propagation of this undaunted and inflexible spirit through the empire overawed and dispirited the enemy, upon whom the ruin of the venerable city operated with all the consequences of a calamitous defeat¹.

Bonapartè delayed his entrance into Moscow, in the hope of receiving, from the constituted authorities, an invitation to honour them with his august presence: but, being informed that no public functionaries remained in the city, he proceeded to the scene of horror. Enraged at the sight, he menaced the incendiaries with his vengeance. While he was holding a council of war in the palace, a fire was said to have broken out in the Kremlin; and, in the fury of resentment, he ordered all, who might be suspected of having committed this daring outrage, to be brought before him. Many were instantly apprehended; and, on their disdainful refusal of confession, some were put to death, by the mandate of the stern tyrant, whose iniquitous aggression had given occasion for the supposed criminality. Others were, at different times, sacrificed to his revenge, on the same pretence of incendiary guilt².

The conflagration spread with such rapidity in a town where the majority of the houses were built of combustible materials, that it was not extinguished before five days had elapsed from the first eruption of the devouring flames. During that time numerous violations of decorum and of chastity, and many acts of rapine and murder, were perpetrated by the profligate followers of the Corsican adventurer. They chased their victims even through the flames, pursuing them with demoniac malice. If the new occupant of the Kremlin had any compunction or

¹ It is asserted by Bonapartè's military writer, that 30,000 sick and wounded Russians lost their lives by their inability of escaping from the flames. There were certainly many victims of this description; but, as all who could bear the fatigue of removal, had been conveyed to other towns before the French entered Moscow, the stated number far exceeds the truth.

² One hundred of the citizens were shot upon this charge, according to the twentieth French bulletin; and 300 incendiaries are subsequently mentioned, as objects of the same species of summary vengeance.

remorse, what must have been his feelings at the view of this scene of misery !

Bonapartè at length became sensible of the expediency of repressing these outrages. He formed a municipal body, at the head of which he placed Lesseps, who had acted at Petersburg as consul-general of France ; but the exertions of the new magistrates were feeble and ineffective. With a view of enforcing obedience, he ordered some of his most licentious soldiers to be shot ; an act of justice, which encouraged many of the inhabitants to emerge from their cellars, and other places of concealment. In these cellars, and in the houses which were not destroyed, seasonable supplies were found, but not in that abundance which was sufficient for the wants of his men.

It now became the duty and consequent study of the Russian commander to obstruct the conveyance of supplies to the enemy, and to enforce either a surrender or a retreat. Having been considerably reinforced, he made such prudent dispositions as to subject the captors of Moscow, if not to a total, at least to a distressing blockade. For many days the French were not aware of the approach of their adversaries. Alarmed at this sudden re-appearance, and feeling the miseries of privation, they lamented the incautious advance of their leader, and called for peace as the only remedy for their misfortunes. For his own sake he listened to the general voice, and sent Lauriston to propose a negotiation. Kutusoff, with the spirit of an ancient Roman, replied, that neither the emperor nor the nation would condescend to treat, while a single foreign soldier remained within the wide extent of the Russian dominions. Bonapartè affected to impute this answer to the unauthorized arrogance of the commander-in-chief, and assured the complaining soldiers that Alexander would disavow this rejection, and open a treaty. A second application produced a similar reply ; and Kutusoff refused even to forward a letter from Napoleon to his imperial majesty. This contemptuous treatment provoked the wrath of the invader, who found, however, that his fits of passion were useless, even if they did not appear to him to be disgraceful. He tried the effect of another appeal to the humanity or the policy of Kutusoff ; and, requesting an armistice, offered the restitution of Moscow, and promised to retire to Wiasma, where, he said, a negotiation might commence. The general coolly expressed his surprise at such a proposal, declaring it to be particularly unseasonable, when the campaign, on his part, was merely on the point of opening. Enraged at this treatment,

Bonapartè resolved, before he quitted Moscow, to complete that devastation which, he thought, the Russians had not carried to a sufficient extent. By his order, large parties from the camp joined the soldiers who were quartered in the town, and set fire to those parts of the city which had escaped the former conflagration¹. But the latter part of the order was not executed before the increasing danger of his situation suggested the expediency of a speedy retreat.

After the occasional interception of supplies, and the frequent defeat of detachments, the Russians prepared to dislodge the enemy from Moscow. Murat, having ventured out of the camp with a considerable force, was attacked by general Beningsen, and put to flight; and this disgrace concurred with other instances of ill success to hasten the retreat of the invaders. Mines had been formed for the destruction of the Kremlin; and, when almost the whole army had retired from the city and neighbourhood, a band of resolute men sprang one of the mines; but, before another explosion could operate, major-general Iloviaskoi advanced with a small force, saved the fortress from demolition, and recovered the miserable remains of the city. Oct. 22.

In other scenes of action, success attended the operations of the Russian patriots. General Essen, who had long defended Riga against the Prussians, dislodged them from the capital of Courland; and count Witgenstein, after an obstinate conflict with St. Cyr, took Polotsk by assault. He then advanced to meet the army returning from Moldavia, with which Tormosoff had united his force;—a junction so alarming to Regnier, and to the prince of Schwartzenberg, that they rapidly retired, not without a great loss of men and stores.

The retreat of the grand army was truly disastrous, even before winter diffused its horrors. Wretchedly clothed, harassed by hunger, oppressed by dejection, and pursued by an intrepid and vigilant, and insulted and outraged enemy, the soldiers prosecuted their fugitive course. Many died, in their melancholy progress, of fatigue and famine: others were sacrificed to hostile resentment. At Malo-Jaroslaw, a conflict arose, in which they so far roused themselves to exertion, that they slew many of their pursuers, and retook the town several times after they had lost it.

¹ Lord Cathcart speaks of the burning of the city as if it had been, in the first instance, an act of the enemy. He says (in a letter dated on the 3d of October), "the French have burned the greater part of Moscow, which they found stripped, and evacuated by most of its inhabitants." But it is no longer doubted, that it was the act of the Russians, whose example was followed by the retreating French.

On another occasion, they repelled a body of Cossacks ; but they were unable to make an effectual impression upon any of the assailing parties. When the frosty weather commenced, their miseries were aggravated by a severity of cold, which their languid frames were not fitted to sustain. Near the high road, the scenes of distress were shocking to the eye of sensibility : but a recollection of the profligacy and cruelty of the sufferers, tended to check the emotions of sympathy.

The fugitives stopped near Wiasma, and did not refuse the challenge to an engagement. They opposed general Miloradowitz with an air of desperation, but were quickly routed. About 6000 of their number were either killed on the spot, or left wounded on the field : the latter, indeed, may be supposed to have soon perished from neglect, exhaustion, and cold, as the ensuing night covered the country with a great depth of snow. At Dorogobuje, the remains of the division of Beauharnois were attacked by Platoff, who turned their right and left, and routed their centre. He overtook the fugitives on the following day ; and, in the two actions, he captured above 3000 men, after 1500 of their companions had been killed or wounded. He pursued the rest to the city of Smolensk : and, during the chase, those whom he did not cut off fled to the woods, where they perished in the snow.

While the baffled invaders were thus hastening to Smolensk, a body of their countrymen and associates, under three officers of distinction, had marched from that city to reinforce the grand army, of whose retreat no intelligence had then arrived. They were proceeding in three divisions in the direction of Kalouga ; but this *detour* did not save them from discovery. One of these parties escaped ; the second suffered a ruinous attack ; and, out of 3000 men, who composed the third, scarcely an individual escaped death or captivity. About 4000 men were soon after made prisoners, near Smolensk. Bonapartè, however, safely reached that town, and would have long remained in it, if the altered state of affairs (to use the language of his secretary) had not subjected him to the hard necessity of putting himself speedily in motion, amidst all the rigours of the season. When he had left the city, he sent orders for the destruction of the fortifications, and of every part of his *apparatus* that might be useful to his adversaries. Davoust superintended the execution of this mandate ; and the town again became a scene of conflagration.

The eagerness of the Russians to overtake their malignant enemy portended a collision more serious and important than any of the recent conflicts. While he was at Krasnoi, expecting the

arrival of Davoust with all the trepidation of anxiety, he was alarmed by the sound of artillery. The marshal was suddenly attacked in the rear by Miloradowitz, and on ^{Nov. 17.} the left flank by prince Gallitzin. Dreading an encompassment, he made all the dispositions for defence that the time and circumstances would allow : but his arrangements were necessarily imperfect. Yet his intrepidity did not forsake him ; and he contended for safety to the close of the day. His less courageous master, as soon as he found reason to conclude that victory could not be expected, fled from the scene of peril. About 4000 men were left on the field, dead, dying, or disabled ; and 9200 became prisoners. Ney's division, on the following day, encountered equal danger, and faced it with equal resolution. Not having the least suspicion of the proximity of any considerable body of Russians, he advanced amidst a thick fog, and approached a range of batteries, which commanded the road to Krasnoi. His men fell in heaps, from the fire of the artillery ; and his flanks and rear were soon after assaulted, by the troops of Miloradowitz, with impetuosity and vigour. He resisted as long as he could influence the exertions of the soldiers, and at length retired with a small number into the woods near the Nieper. To the number of captives, 11,000 were added by this victory ; which was attended, as well as the former, with an inconsiderable loss on the part of the Russians.

The continued success of Witgenstein reflected equal honour on his military talents. Being particularly desirous of preventing marshal Victor from joining the main army, he attacked him on the banks of the Oula, and dislodged him from Chasniki ; and in a well-contested battle near Smolyna, he baffled the views and hopes of his brave opponent. He opened a communication with the principal army ; and learning from Chernicheff (whose adventurous journey through a hostile country has received the praise due to romantic courage and extraordinary address), that admiral Chickagoff was approaching Minsk with the troops which had acquired experience and reputation in the war with the Turks, he advanced to a junction, and soon found an opportunity of acquiring new laurels.

When Bonapartè had reached the Nieper, he flattered himself with the hope of being rejoined by the divisions of Victor, Oudinot, and Dombrowski, by whose aid he hoped to present a firm front to his pursuers. He amused his troops with the prospect of a speedy return into Poland, where they would again be gratified with comfort and abundance. But, when he arrived at Orcha, he

found that his stores at Minsk had been seized by Chickagoff, and that Dombrowski had been driven from Borisoff, with the loss of many of his men by the sword and in the stream of the Berezina, and by the capture of 4000. It was fortunate for him, that the chief Russian army had discontinued the pursuit after the two battles near Krasnoi, to give time for the arrival of provisions. He took advantage of this delay, and hastened toward the river, regardless of the fate of his followers. He had a narrow escape ; for he had scarcely retired from Orcha, when it was entered by a body of Cossacks, whose leader Ogerowski hoped to seize the flagitious author of all the miseries of this dreadful campaign.

After a course of havock and capture, Platoff made an eager search for marshal Ney, who had crossed the Nieper, and added a number of stragglers to the remains of his *corps*. He surprised the fatigued and nearly exhausted fugitives, and easily routed them, but could not secure the person of their commander. Proceeding towards Borisoff, he prepared to co-operate with count Witgenstein, whose present object was the obstruction of Bonapartè's escape over the Berezina, while Victor and Oudinot resolved to exert their utmost efforts for the rescue of their master from the danger which threatened him. The count detached general Vlastoff to impede the movements of the enemy, and hastened to the spot where Napoleon was superintending the construction of a temporary bridge. In his way, he defeated Victor's division, destroying many, and capturing a much greater number. A bridge had been completed near Vessolovo ; and, having sent a part of the imperial guard over it to prevent immediate molestation, the fugitive chief crossed with a select
Nov. 26. train. Another bridge had been formed with equal rapidity ; and, at both, the French crossed with the most disorderly precipitation. During two days they continued to pass ; and, in that time, it is supposed that above 8000 men were killed or drowned. Long before all had passed, the bridges were set on fire, by the order of Napoleon, for the security of those who had crossed them. Many rushed forward amidst the flames with desperate fury, until the erections became an useless mockery. Above 12,000 men were then made prisoners.

The army under Chickagoff at length appeared, and fiercely assaulted the wreck of the fugitive host. While the conflict was raging, Bonapartè, leaving the generals and his soldiers to their fate, pusillanimously fled from the field, and directed his rapid course to Wilna. Notwithstanding this base desertion, the French continued to resist for several hours, and thus gave their betrayer

an opportunity of reaching a place of safety. They then fled in disorderly bands, lamenting their miserable fate.

To promote the security of the fugitives, Maret sent 10,000 men under general Loison, who had arrived in Lithuania from Koningsberg: but the intended relief was nugatory; for the fresh corps could not so effectually defend itself, either against hostile assaults or the effects of the intense cold, as to be able to assist or support the unfortunate remains of the invading army. The minister, and the public, long remained without receiving any intelligence of Napoleon's fate: but it was ascertained in the sequel that, when he had reached Smorgoni, he assumed a disguise, threw himself into a sledge with Caulincourt, stopped for a few minutes to converse with Maret at Wilna, and reached Warsaw in safety, regretting only the frustration of his schemes, instead of execrating his profligate ambition, which had diffused misery over Europe.

When the first party of pursuers approached Wilna, they overtook and quickly routed a body of cavalry, but could not immediately gain possession of the town, which was filled with infantry. On the arrival of a considerable force, the suburbs were seized: and such dispositions were made, as prevented the enemy from retaining the city, or profiting by its valuable magazines. Here the Russians captured a multitude of their panic-stricken adversaries, and rested from their fatigues, while the French and their associates fled toward the Pregel and the Niemen. When the pursuit was renewed by Witgenstein and Platoff, many more of the fugitives were sacrificed to the just vengeance of the Russians, and great additions were made, particularly at Kowna, to the number of prisoners. Thus harassed, only wretched fragments of the great army which the oppressor of Europe had led into the north, remained to support his cause at the close of this eventful year¹.

The ruin of this mighty host reminded the classical reader of the result of an expedition to Ethiopia, undertaken by Cambyzes, the son of Cyrus. Both enterprises were as rash as they were unjust; and each accelerated the ruin of its projector. In deserting his army, the baseness of Napoleon resembled that of Agathocles, the tyrant of Sicily, with whom he may also be compared for callosity of heart and cruelty of disposition. He ought to have considered that the men who had fought under his standard

¹ It is said, that not more than 30,000, exclusive of the Austrians, repassed the Niemen. The loss by death, during the whole campaign, was calculated at 150,000; and an official estimate of prisoners swelled the number to 167,500.

had no real interest in his ambitious pursuits, and no ground of quarrel with the Russians ; and that, when he had wantonly involved them in danger, he was bound by honour and duty to share their fate.

LETTER XXI.

View of the Disputes and Hostilities between Great Britain and the United States.

WHEN great nations are so immersed in war, as to prosecute it with determined zeal and rancorous animosity, the less powerful states generally suffer by the collision. Thus the powers which were desirous of remaining neutral, were exposed to serious inconvenience and afflictive losses, during the contest between Great Britain and France. The subjects of the United States, in particular, who enjoyed an extensive commerce as carriers of the produce of France and other countries, felt the ill effects of the clashing decrees of the belligerent powers.

A.D. 1811. The contending courts were equally unwilling to yield. Each promised to repeal the offensive ordinances, as soon as the other would enter into a similar engagement : but, for a long time, they could not settle from which party the concession should begin. It was pretended by the Americans, that the ruler of France had revoked his anti-neutral decrees ; and they therefore claimed a repeal of the orders of council ; but, as Mr. Pinckney could not convince the British ministers of the validity of his assertion, he took leave of the court, lamenting the total failure of his efforts to adjust “ the embarrassed and disjointed relations of the two countries.”

Acting upon the supposition of the alleged repeal of the edicts of Berlin and Milan, the American president permitted the entrance of French ships into the ports of the republic, but continued to exclude those which belonged to British subjects. His disgust at the conduct of our government was aggravated by the report which he received from the commander of a frigate, who accused the captain of a British sloop of aggressive hostilities, perpetrated near the coast of Virginia. When the accounts given by rival officers are diametrically opposite, each imputing the first fire to the other, it is difficult to ascertain the truth ; but, from

the great superiority of the American ship, the unallayed resentment of the attack upon the Chesapeake frigate, and the eagerness of commodore Rogers to commence a chase, it is more probable that he was the aggressor, than that captain Bingham ordered the first act of hostility.

Mr. Foster, the new envoy to the United States, offered an apology and compensation for the affair of the Chesapeake: but the dispute respecting the late action was not amicably adjusted, and the conferences between him and Mr. Monroe were unproductive of a reconciliation. The republican minister condemned that extravagant system of blockade which preceded the orders of council, extending far beyond the comprehensive means even of the whole British navy; and controverted the idea of retaliation, alleged as an excuse for decrees which harassed neutrals, against whom no ground of charge existed. Mr. Foster vindicated the conduct of his court, rather by alluding to the extraordinary state of affairs, and to the irregular proceedings of the enemy, which required vigorous counteraction, than by positively justifying the obnoxious orders.

When the congress re-assembled, the committee, to which foreign affairs were referred, entered into all the feelings of the president. After observing, that the United States had a full right to use the ocean, "for the purpose of transporting, in their own vessels, the produce of their own soil, and the acquisitions of their industry, to a market in the ports of friendly nations," the writers of the report declared, that the people could not remain passive under the accumulated injuries inflicted by Great Britain. As their ships were unjustly seized, and their seamen enslaved, it was proper that the states should be "put into an armour and attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations." Many of the representatives opposed the intended augmentation of the national force: but it was sanctioned by a very considerable majority.

A prejudiced statement of the operations of a British agent, who had been sent into some of the American provinces to procure intelligence of the state of affairs, tended to irritate the friends of the government, and to promote that desire of war which had already been propagated through the republic. Captain Henry was accused of having studiously fomented disaffection; and it was acrimoniously asserted, that the object of his mission was the artful and treacherous separation of the component parts of the union. This pretended discovery had a great effect, as a prologue to the opening tragedy.

The professions, promises, and expostulations of Mr. Foster, did not delay the preparations for hostility. If the British court had repealed the offensive orders about two months sooner, the war might perhaps have been avoided; but, as that revocation was not then expected, the prevailing irritation was not suffered to subside; and, when the violent declaration had once passed, a sudden recal of the measure seemed, to inflamed minds, capricious and inconsistent.

A message from the president, tracing the conduct of Great Britain toward the United States from the year 1803, represented June 1, 1812, it under the continued form of encroachment and aggression. He compared the seizure of supposed British seamen in American vessels, on the "great highway of nations," to that "substitution of force for a resort to the responsible sovereign, which falls within the definition of war." He affirmed, that, under this pretext, thousands of American citizens had been torn from their country, and subjected to the most severe oppressions; and that all proposals of fair arrangements had been imperiously rejected, or contemptuously eluded. The commerce of the United States, whether the ships were entering or departing, had been wantonly harassed, and the most insulting pretensions had been accompanied with lawless proceedings even within harbours; and, not content with this devastation of neutral trade, the British cabinet had at length resorted to the "sweeping system of blockades," under the name of orders in council,—an innovation fraught with complicated and transcendent injustice. It was indeed sufficiently evident, that the American trade was to be sacrificed, not because it encroached on the rights of a belligerent power, or supplied the wants of an enemy of that power, but because it interfered with a rapacious desire of monopoly. When a minister plenipotentiary proposed an adjustment of disputes, his scheme of accommodation was disavowed. A secret agent was even employed in intrigues, tending to the subversion of the established government; and there was reason to believe, that emissaries had been tutored to instigate the savages to war. "Such (said the irritated republican, without a strict regard to truth) is the spectacle of injuries and indignities which have been heaped on our country; and such is the crisis which its unexampled forbearance and conciliatory efforts have not been able to avert." This aspect of affairs left a solemn alternative to the consideration of the legislature. He would not anticipate the decision; but he was convinced that it would be fully consistent with the character of a "virtuous, free, and powerful nation."

This message was too important in its nature and consequences to be adopted without a warm debate. The president's inclinations were well known; and, however impartial he might wish to seem, a pacific decision was not that result which would gratify his feelings. But Mr. Randolph and other independent members, without regarding his opinion, pronounced the war to be as inexpedient as it was unjust; denied that any reasonable hopes of attaining by arms the alleged object of the war could be entertained; and represented the exhausted state of the treasury as an additional reason for the preservation of peace. These arguments were wholly unavailing; and the animated discussion terminated in an act, importing, that war should be declared to exist between Great Britain and the United States, and that the president was authorized by the legislature to use the whole force of the republic, "to carry the same into effect." Mr. Madison authenticated the act by his approbation and signature, June 18. and letters of marque were granted without delay to private armed vessels.

An expedition to Canada excited the hopes of the friends of war, who probably expected, from occasional reports of popular discontent, that many of the provincials would be ready to join the invaders. Brigadier Hull was employed in this service; and, having assembled about 2300 men, he "passed into the territory of the enemy (says the president) with the prospect of an easy and victorious progress." He advanced to Sandwich, and ravaged the country in his way to the Canard; but, in three attempts to cross that river, he was repelled with loss. Major-general Brock could only collect 730 men for the immediate defence of the province: but, when the fort of Michilimachinac had been taken, the savages, who had for some time been at war with the United States, were so animated and encouraged, that 600 of them requested permission to serve with the British and Canadian troops. Such auxiliaries disgraced the warriors whom they joined: yet it is affirmed, that in this campaign they submitted to the restraints of discipline, and even treated their prisoners with humanity. With this force Brock marched to Amherstburg, which he rescued from the dangers of a siege. Dreading the hostilities of the barbarians, Hull retreated to Fort Detroit; and, when the British commander made preparations for an assault, the dispirited republican surrendered himself and his whole force Aug. 16. to captivity; and a cession of the Michigan territory accompanied the unexpected submission.

A second invasion of Canada was not more fortunate. Wads-

worth marched with a body of regulars and militia to the Niagara river, and assaulted Queen's Town. Major-general Brock, who hastened to the scene of danger, lost his life while he was encouraging the garrison to a spirited resistance. The fall of a gallant and able officer discouraged the defenders, who immediately yielded the position; but, when major-general Sheaffe had arrived with a small force, he quickly defeated the Americans, above nine hundred of whom, with their commander, became prisoners.

The maritime engagements were less favourable to the British arms; for, although the navy of the United States consisted only of nine frigates, eight sloops, brigs and schooners, a hundred and seventy gun-boats, and four bomb-vessels, while that of Great Britain comprehended four hundred and thirty-nine ships of the line and frigates, besides a multitude of vessels of inferior rate, the Americans were frequently successful in actions with single ships. Their frigates were built on a much larger scale than British vessels of the same denomination; in weight of metal, and in the amount of seamen, they were nearly equal to our ships of the line; and, it may be added, not only that many of the men were natives of Britain or Ireland, but that, from the small number of the national fleet, it was far less difficult to fill the ships with experienced seamen than for the English navy to provide a complement proportioned to its uncommon extent. The *Guerriere* was so severely treated, in an engagement with the *Constitution*, from the causes which have been stated, that it became an "unmanageable wreck;" and the killed and wounded almost quadrupled the number of the republicans who suffered from the collision. A contest between the *Macedonian* and a frigate called the *United States*, had a similar termination, and the attendant loss was much greater. The *Java* was also captured, with a considerable loss of its brave defenders.

Soon after the declaration of war, the president, not then knowing that the orders of council had been revoked, proposed to the prince regent that they should be repealed without a revival of the extensive and unjustifiable system of blockade; that all American seamen should be immediately discharged from British ships, and the practice of impressment be suspended during the negotiation. In answer to these propositions it was intimated, that no other blockade would be enforced than that which was regular and legitimate; that, when this species of hostility was duly notified, and supported by an adequate force, it could not properly be arraigned as illegal on account of its

extent, or because the blockaded ports or coasts were not at the same time invested by land; and that a suspension of the right of seizing British seamen, when found in neutral mercantile vessels, might furnish an opposing power with a pretence for alleging, that the late assertors of the claim were not unwilling to admit the irregularity of the practice.

Overtures for an armistice were subsequently made, both by the Canadian government, and by sir John Borlase Warren, who commanded a fleet on the North American station: but the subject of impressment formed a serious obstacle to a negotiation. Mr. Monroe merely stated the probability of the enactment of a law to prohibit the admission of British seamen into the service of the United States: yet no pledge to this effect was given; nor could it be supposed that the minister would acknowledge the facility, allowed by the government, of establishing a claim to the privileges of an American citizen, so as to evade the demands of a foreign power. Pretended certificates of that import were purchased for a small sum; and, as it was particularly ordered, by the lords of the admiralty, that persons who had procured these ostensible documents should not be impressed, unless there were strong reasons for concluding that they had previously been British subjects, it was not expected that a promise of redress would preclude a frequency of evasion.

As all governments boldly vindicate the wars in which they engage, Mr. Madison, in the message with which the congress was opened, boasted that the American people had “the ^{Nov. 4.} inestimable consolation” of knowing, that the war did not arise from “ambition or vain glory;” that it was waged, “not in violation of the rights of others, but in the maintenance of their own;” and that it was preceded by a “patience without example, under wrongs accumulating without end.” With regard to the negotiation, he had such faint hopes of a conciliatory disposition on the part of the British ministers, that he thought it would be unwise to suspend or relax the preparations for war.

The correspondence between the hostile governments being submitted to the consideration of the parliament, the American pretensions were deemed, by the majority, unreasonable A.D. and offensive. It was inferred, from the conduct of the 1813. president, that he, and the leading members of the congress, did not wish for peace. Mr. Foster affirmed, that it had for many years been the policy of the republican rulers to cherish and prolong disputes, with a view of irritating the people against this

country. Mr. Whitbread was disposed to vindicate the American government from the charge of intemperate animosity, and was of opinion that the war might have been avoided by a less arrogant exercise of our supposed maritime rights. Mr. Canning accused the Americans of an unyielding spirit of hostility, and lamented the feeble prosecution of that war which they had provoked. Each house voted an address, recommending a vigorous war, if a treaty could not be adjusted without impolitic concessions.

LETTER XXII.

Sketch of Public Affairs in Great Britain and France.

A.D. 1812. WHEN the prince regent opened the first session of a new parliament, he congratulated the members on that improvement of the national prospects, which had taken place in the course of the year. He panegyricized the skill and judgment with which the marquis of Wellington had conducted his operations in the peninsula; boasted of the "ever-memorable victory" obtained at Salamanca; and, while he acknowledged that some recent incidents exhibited a less favourable aspect, expressed his conviction that "these efforts of the enemy had been attended with important sacrifices on their part, which must materially contribute to extend the resources and facilitate the exertions of the Spanish nation." As this contest had first given to the continent of Europe the "example of persevering and successful resistance to the power of France," and as not only the independence of Spain and Portugal, but the essential interests of his majesty's dominions, were connected with its fortunate termination, he had no doubt of the continuance of a general and strong inclination to promote such an interesting cause. He stated with pleasure, that the relations of peace and amity had been restored between Great Britain and the Russian and Swedish courts; and, adverting to the formidable combination of the French and their numerous allies or dependents for the ruin of the northern emperor, he rejoiced at the signal disappointment of their presumptuous expectations. Admiring that enthusiasm which had increased with the difficulties of the contest, and that self-denial which had submitted to sacrifices almost unexampled

in the history of the world, he indulged the confident hope that the perseverance of his magnanimous friend would be crowned with ultimate success. He then mentioned his new arrangements with the king of Sicily, intimating that it had been his object to provide for the more extensive application of the military force of that prince to the purposes of offensive hostility. On the subject of his disagreement with the North American states, he could not speak so satisfactorily as he wished. He had flattered himself with the expectation, derived from the nature and circumstances of the dispute, that the interruption of amicable intercourse would not be protracted: but he found, with sincere regret, that the conduct and pretensions of the republic opposed the speedy restoration of peace.

The early debates of the session were not particularly marked by the vehemence of opposition. Objections were made by the marquis Wellesley to the limited scale on which the war was prosecuted in Spain, and to that impolicy which neglected the due support of the views and schemes of his illustrious brother: but the minister declared, that all the proposals and requisitions of that commander had been adopted, and that every exertion, not incompatible with a due attention to the other branches of the war, had been made against the invaders of Spain. Mr. Whitbread, the determined and conscientious advocate of peace, proposed an immediate negotiation; but he did not call for a division, as the current seemed to run so strongly in favour of war.

A benevolent consideration of the severe distress to which a great number of the subjects of Russia were exposed, by the conflagration of Moscow and other towns, and by the ravages which both friends and foes had inflicted upon the country, prompted the prince to recommend to the two houses the expediency of effective relief. The opulent Russians, and even many who were comparatively poor, had already commenced a subscription for that laudable purpose; the higher and middle classes in Great Britain followed the example; and the parliament voted 200,000 pounds for the alleviation of that poverty and misery which the zeal of patriotism had produced. As the French war against Russia was unprovoked and iniquitous, unanimity might have been expected when this donation was proposed; but Mr. Whitbread and sir Francis Burdett, with that illiberality which too frequently attends a spirit of party, opposed the grant as particularly unseasonable, when distress, in consequence of the war, was keenly felt at home. Both these orators pretended, that the

sum was too small to be extensively beneficial ; yet, if a larger grant had been requested, they would, in all probability, have complained of its magnitude, because they evidently wished that nothing should be given.

The incidents of war and politics were diversified by an introduction of the concerns of a lady of high rank into parliamentary discussion. In a chronicle of scandal, or a work devoted to the foibles, follies, and vices of fashionable life, the disagreement between the regent and his princess would form a fruitful topic of remark and stricture ; but, in a general history of Europe, it does not require a length of detail. The lady who had been *recommended* to the prince, not *selected* by him, was born and educated in a country, where the manners of females are not tinctured with extraordinary delicacy,—where, on the contrary, their demeanour is masculine, their deportment forward and bold, and their conversation free and unreserved. It may be said that the manners of women of rank and fashion in England are so far removed from the modesty of the middle class, as to border upon the freedom of the German ladies ; but there is still a considerable shade of difference. It was not, however, any disgust at the behaviour of the princess, that produced, in the first instance, a disunion between her and the prince : he appears to have conceived a personal dislike, which prompted him to wish for a separation¹. Thus thrown back into a state of “ single blessedness,” deprived of a husband’s protection and advice, she suffered the strictness of decorum to be relaxed by levity, and indulged in that dissipation which is so prevalent in the higher circles. For many years her conduct, although it could not escape observation, did not so far excite deliberate attention as to subject her to the severity of general animadversion ; but particular circumstances occasionally transpired, which led to investigation and scrutiny.

Reports of extraordinary freedom of behaviour, and even of the pregnancy and delivery of the princess, reached the ears of her husband ; and not only the voice of rumour aspersed her character, but written declarations, containing charges of criminality, were presented to his royal highness. Lord Thurlow advised an immediate inquiry into the foundation on which these

¹ In a letter written in the year 1796, he said, “ Our inclinations are not in our power ; nor should either of us be held answerable to the other, because nature has not made us suitable to each other.” As he did not pretend to assign a reason for his want of affection, he might have said, in the language of Martial, *Non amo te,—nec possum dicere quare.*

particulars rested ; and the king commissioned the lord chancellor Erskine and three other peers to investigate the important affair. The depositions taken on this occasion implicated the princess in such charges as would have led, if they could have been verified, into the most unfavourable conclusions. If the testimony of lady Douglas should be thought deserving of credit, not only an abandonment of all sense of shame in her conversation and remarks, but the pollutions of actual criminality, must be imputed to the exalted personage¹. But there is not sufficient reason to believe any other part of this lady's evidence, than that which relates to levity of behaviour and to an occasional want of delicacy in familiar discourse. It is very improbable that even the most imprudent woman would have made such confessions as are alleged. By another deponent the princess is said to have gratified a naval officer with "a very close kiss;" but this act of familiarity was not positively seen, being stated to be reflected from a mirror; and not only is the assertion denied in the most peremptory terms by the supposed gallant, but it has been declared that the room had not a mirror among its furniture. She was certainly too fond of male society; and, when gentlemen were at her table or in her company, she neglected the conversation of her own sex. Whether she preferred that of men as more *rational* does not appear, but she evidently found it more *agreeable*.

When the delegated peers had terminated the inquiry, the recorded result was far from being so exculpatory as the friends of the princess wished, and, at the same time, was not so unfavourable as, in the prince's opinion, it ought to have been; for, when the ministers² faintly recommended to his majesty the admission of his daughter-in-law into his presence, her husband requested a delay, until he should have submitted the evidence to the consideration of his legal advisers. The four lords declared, that they had no reason to believe the princess guilty of that adulterous commerce which had been imputed to her; but they could not refrain from intimating, that some of the circumstances of indecorous behaviour, stated in the evidence, "must be credited until they should receive some decisive contradiction; and, if true, were justly entitled to the most serious consideration." When new ministers swayed the cabinet, they were ordered to examine the whole process of the dispute; and their decision not only acquitted the princess of the charge of adultery, but denied

¹ *Report of the Commissioners*, July 14, 1806.

² Earl Grey, lord Grenville, and their associates.

the credibility and consequently repelled the effect of the other particulars alleged against her. They also deemed it "*essentially necessary*, in justice to her royal highness, and for the honour and interest of his majesty's illustrious family, that she should be admitted without delay into the presence of the sovereign, and received in a manner due to her rank and station¹."

As the prince affected to apprehend that the morals or the politics of his daughter might receive a sinister bias from the conversation or advice of her mother, they were only allowed to enjoy the occasional gratification of a mutual visit. Shocked at a treatment which seemed harsh and illiberal, the princess did not tamely submit to this restriction of her natural rights and

Jan. 14, her legitimate influence. She addressed a letter to the 1813. regent, complaining of the injury offered to her character, demanding (if suspicions yet remained) a full investigation of her conduct, remonstrating against the unnatural separation of a child from her mother, and condemning, as injudicious and impolitic, the exclusion of a future sovereign from all intercourse with the world. This epistle was read and returned: it was again sent, and treated with the same mark of contempt. In such a case expostulation was useless; and an appeal was therefore made to the public by the indignation of a deserted wife.

The appearance of this letter in a daily print so displeased the court, that an intended visit from the princess Charlotte was countermanded. A strong impression was made upon the public feelings by the complaint, and general sympathy seemed to prevail. After frequent consultations with the ministers, the prince resolved to institute a new inquiry. He desired the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the chief ministers, and some of the judges, to examine the documents connected with the former investigation, to deliberate upon the letter of the princess, and state their opinion, whether the intercourse between her and her daughter might properly "continue to be subject to regulations and restrictions." On this point an affirmative answer was given; and, as the perjuries of *suborned traducers* had been pointedly mentioned by the complainant, it was declared, without a dissentient voice, that the documents afforded the most ample proof of the falsity of such an aspersion.

The treatment which the princess had received more particularly disgusted the middle and inferior classes of the community; and respectful addresses were voted to her by the common coun-

¹ Minute of Council, April 22, 1807.

cil of London, by the liverymen, and by some of the provincial corporations. Her adversaries were accused of having basely conspired against her honour and life ; and insinuations, not the most decorous, were thrown out against an elevated personage by the freedom of public indignation. The subject was repeatedly brought forward in the house of commons, but the majority, when a letter had been sent by the princess to the speaker, requesting a full investigation of her conduct, rejected a motion for a regular inquiry.

The claims of the catholics were again debated in this session. As the ministry had promised to leave the question to the uninfluenced decision of the parliament,—as the king's sentiments on the subject no longer formed a powerful or insurmountable obstacle to the grant of the desired rights or indulgences,—as the prince regent was supposed to be not unfriendly to the asserted claims,—and as a great number of senators, of all parties, were willing to promote, by acquiescence, religious union and harmony,—it was expected by a considerable part of the nation, that all the remaining disabilities of the complaining sect would be finally removed ; yet there were many who entertained strong doubts of the success of a renewed application, and who were decidedly of opinion, that the two houses were bound to reject it.

The important question was fully discussed, but with little novelty of remark ; and it was voted, by a majority of forty, that the claims should be referred to the consideration of a committee. Mr. Grattan then moved, that the civil and military disqualifications under which the catholics laboured should be removed, with such exceptions and regulations as might be deemed necessary for the security of the protestant succession and of the established church. The speaker of the house, Mr. Abbot, protested against the hazardous grant, as it was not precisely known what securities would be offered ; but the majority agreed to the proposition, and a bill was introduced for its accomplishment. Sir John Cox Hippesley expressed his wish, that various inquiries might be instituted before the bill should be permitted to take effect. It was expedient, he thought, to examine the state and number of the catholic clergy, the nature of their intercourse with the see of Rome, the regulations respecting the appointment of prelates, and the opinions which were entertained of oaths and tests enforced by the rulers of the state, and to investigate other particulars, with a view to such an illustration of the subject, as might determine the question of security : but this

motion was rejected, as an act of insidious hostility ; and a more open attack from Dr. Duigenan was also exploded. The bill invested the king with the right of disallowing an episcopal nomination, and of opposing the reception of a bull, brief, or other instrument, sent by the pope, unless it should be pronounced unobjectionable by a council, consisting of distinguished catholics and protestants. It imposed an oath of the most comprehensive kind ; and, having thus secured submission and loyalty, gave the right of sitting and voting in parliament, and of holding every office except the chancellorship of Great Britain and the viceroyalty of Ireland. But the conscientious protestants in the house were so dissatisfied with the proposed securities, that, when a motion was made by Mr. Abbot, and strongly supported by sir John Nicholl, for the continued exclusion of catholics from the two houses of parliament, a majority of four assented to it, and the bill was then abandoned by its advocates, as imperfect and nugatory.

The demand of a new charter for the India company furnished the advocates of a free trade with an opportunity of asserting their claims by an application to the parliament. Alarmed at this encroachment upon supposed rights and established interests, the directors held many conferences with the ministers, and earnestly solicited a continuance of their support. They alleged that, as the territories belonged to the company, political functions were a necessary appendage to such possession ; that the due exercise of these functions depended on the preservation of those commercial privileges which had long been connected with the administrative power ; that the new scheme, by ruining the trade of the company, would lead to its political dissolution, and thus deprive the country of many advantages, which were “ much too valuable to be sacrificed for a trifling reduction in the freight of Indian goods to Europe ;” that the trade to which the innovators objected had ceased, in consequence of former arrangements, to bear the character of a strict monopoly ; that the pretence of augmenting the exports by the use of private capital, beyond that which the chartered society could employ, would be found inapplicable, as it was a well-supported opinion, that no large or sudden addition could be made to the amount of merchandise sent either to India or China ; that to open the out-ports to the import trade would be a ruinous transfer of it into new channels, tending to the destruction of immense establishments ; and that a general intercourse of Europeans with our Indian empire might prove extremely injurious, in consequence of that unlimited com-

petition of commercial agents, which, operating under the peculiar circumstances of the country, would produce a boundless scene of confusion and fraud. These and other statements, arguments, and remarks, although they did not make that complete impression which the directors wished to propagate, had some effect in diminishing the intended latitude of concession to the public. After a long examination of witnesses, whose evidence exhibited a full view of the concerns of the company, lord Castlereagh moved for the adoption of the ministerial arrangements, which allowed to that corporation the continuance of an exclusive right to the Chinese trade for the term of twenty years, but opened the other branches to private merchants, to whom the directors were required to grant licences. A spirit of religion, on this occasion, was associated with a regard to commercial objects; and, by the act of regulation, a bishop and three archdeacons were appointed, and encouraged by liberal salaries to extend the influence of Christianity.

An attempt was made by a popular baronet to procure a settlement of the regency, in the event of the prince's death during the king's incapacity. His object, he said, was to prevent that irregular assumption of authority, which had, on two occasions, marked the proceedings of the parliament. His arguments were plausible; but he could not convince the house of the immediate necessity of the proposed arrangements. It was deemed more respectful to the court, and equally safe, to leave the case, whenever it might occur, to the discretion of the two houses.

A proposition of regency in France was more successful, because it was dictated by the ruling power. It was ordained by the senate, that, on the eventual decease of the emperor during the infancy of his son¹, his widow should govern in the name of the young prince; that the empress regent should not contract a second marriage; and that, on her failure, the first prince of the blood should be regent; but that no French prince, filling a foreign throne, should be permitted to enjoy this dignity. It was also enacted, that a council, consisting of the princes of the imperial family and the grand dignitaries, should deliberate with the regent on the most important subjects, but without precluding that plenitude of power, or that supremacy, which ought to attend the exalted function.

While Napoleon thus provided for the continuance of political

¹ The birth of a son, who was named Charles Napoleon, and styled the king of Rome, had gratified the hopes of Bonapartè in the year 1811.

power in his dynasty, he attended to the concerns of the ecclesiastical establishment. The pope had ventured to complain of his conduct; and he was, at this crisis, condescendingly inclined to pacify the pontiff, whom he had long defied. He had before wished to reduce him to the state of a mere bishop; but he now recognized him, in some degree, as a sovereign, by allowing to his ambassadors the same privileges which were enjoyed by the representatives of the most powerful princes; permitted him to nominate his friends to ten prelacies in France and Italy; and consented to the re-establishment of six suburban bishoprics, which were to be filled by the uninfluenced choice of his holiness.

Having conciliated the religious part of the nation by these concessions to the pope, he prosecuted with redoubled zeal his military preparations: for all his affectation of piety, and of zeal for the church, could not induce him to cultivate "peace on earth and good-will toward men." He was eager to demonstrate his superiority to the hostile princes, and his ability of continuing the war with vigour and effect, notwithstanding the ruin of a mighty army. The adjunction of Sweden to the alliance against him, if it particularly roused his indignation, did not discourage him, while he flattered himself with the consoling idea of the forbearance of his father-in-law, whose orders for the arrest and prosecution of many of his subjects, for no other offence than a spirited opposition to the French interest, served to amuse and delude the Corsican.

Leaving the administration in the hands of his chief adherents, who acted under the eye of the empress, he prepared to join his army beyond the Rhine, without apprehending internal commotions. His tyranny was so systematically established, that he had little fear of the effect of his absence. A conspiracy, it is said, had been detected in the preceding year: and some military officers had been put to death as enemies to the government: but the intrigues and operations of these malcontents did not wear so formidable an aspect, as to overbalance the alleged necessity of his personal exertions in the ensuing campaign.

LETTER XXIII.

A View of the Progress of the new War, to the Rupture between Austria and France.

AN honourable and high-spirited nation would have risen *en masse* against the tyrant by whose sway it was disgraced, when an opportunity of exertion was offered by the ruin of his army, by the decline of that military fame which had dazzled the eyes of the world, and by the exposure of that contemptuous apathy which had suffered him to view the miseries of the campaign, without a sigh of regret or an emotion of sympathy. When, instead of hiding his shame in an obscure retreat, he dared to return to Paris, and to boast of the glories of the expedition, the senate and all the constituted authorities ought to have arrested him without hesitation, and have deprived him of that power which he had so long and so wantonly abused : but they had not the common spirit of men, and were content to bow under an ignominious yoke.

While Napoleon was organizing a new mass of strength, he began to feel the effect of his late reverse of fortune, in A.D. the secession of an injured prince from the league of 1813. iniquity.

In entering the Prussian territories after the recovery of Lithuania, Kutusoff apologised for the intrusion, and justified the motives of his sovereign, who, far from intending to take vengeance upon any of those princes or states whose troops had lately acted against him, wished to furnish them with an opportunity of shaking off a burthensome yoke, and particularly hoped to procure the co-operation of Frederic William in the pursuit and chastisement of a routed enemy. Alexander also, in a well-timed proclamation, called the attention of the European powers to the abortion of an unjust enterprise, and the ruin of Napoleon's proud hopes and lofty schemes ; stated his earnest desire of restoring the balance of power ; and urged the expediency of immediate exertions for the rescue of the harassed continent from the miseries of servitude.

When the king of Prussia sent an army to act against the Russians, he did not follow his own inclinations, but was subservient, from constraint, to the arbitrary will of Napoleon. He had long sought an opportunity of emancipation ; and the great success of Alexander, having a tendency to rouse the enslaved nations

of the continent, pointed out the present conjuncture as highly favourable to his views. Although he had lost a fourth part of his army in the disastrous expedition, the soldiers who returned had profited by the experience of the campaign; and their resentment was so aggravated and embittered by the unfeeling selfishness with which the tyrant had abandoned his followers, that they thirsted for an occasion of vengeance. Their sovereign fanned the rising flame, and resolved to take advantage of the prevailing zeal for a recovery of national independence. For some years, he had exercised and disciplined his adult population with anxious diligence: he had greatly augmented, by manufacture and by purchase, his stock of arms and artillery, and had furnished his principal fortresses with additional means of defence.

A remarkable association, called the League of Virtue, which had arisen in Prussia amidst the misfortunes consequent upon the triumph and tyranny of Bonapartè, had a considerable effect in rousing the subjects of Frederic from their depression, and promoting a new confederacy against the enemy of the nation. It was a respectable and dignified society, sanctioned by the king, and encouraged by the most distinguished characters. Its grand object was to re-animate the intellectual and moral energies of the people; but it did not neglect the grant of that relief which might supply the wants of the poor, and recruit their physical strength and animal spirits. An object, not openly declared, was the recovery of that political strength which the war had so seriously impaired. Six directors, resident at Koningsberg, formed a supreme council, under which were provincial meetings, local chambers, and official circles. Persons of sullied character, or of doubtful integrity, were excluded from the association: yet all the honest and upright part of the nation did not belong to it; for many, whose patriotism was undisputed, were not inclined to subject themselves to any particular rules; and these were not censured or reviled by the members, as they would have been by the anti-Jacobins of Great Britain, who were taught to say, "He who is not with us, is against us." It could not be supposed that the existence of such a society would escape the notice of the French officers and emissaries, or that its progress would be quietly suffered in those districts which were in hostile occupancy; but, while its extension was so far checked, that its ramifications were not very exuberant in Brandenburg, it made great progress in East and West Prussia, Pomerania, and Silesia. The members were elevated with hope, when the retreat from Russia confounded the views of the invader; and to their per-

suasions and efforts the king was indebted for that returning vigour which enabled him to take the field with a respectable and well-disciplined force ¹.

While the routed troops were still retreating, about 15,000 Prussians, ostensibly attached to the division of marshal Macdonald, were separated from the French by the manœuvres of count Witgenstein; and their commander Von Yorck, pretending that they were exposed by the approach of the Russians to the danger of destruction, concluded a convention of neutrality. This conduct was stigmatized by the French as a treacherous desertion of their interest; and the king, dissembling his joy at the incident, issued an order for the seizure of the general, who secured himself, however, by the aid of his new friends. On the retreat of Macdonald, the Russians took possession of Königsberg; and an administrative council was re-established in the name of Frederic, while Yorck assumed the command of such as were willing to defend their country, and restore the legitimate authority of their sovereign; who, retiring from Potsdam, while the French yet domineered at Berlin, presented himself to his Silesian subjects at Breslau, and, without disclosing his views, prosecuted his military preparations. Rejoicing at the progress of Alexander, he opened a friendly communication with that prince; and a treaty of close alliance was adjusted for Feb. 22. mutual interest, and for the general benefit of Europe.

The French were so alarmed at the revival of patriotic zeal among the Prussians, that they quitted Berlin, and hastened to the Elbe.

After the organization of a great force, Bonapartè again made his appearance in Germany, menacing the bold confederates with his vengeance. He fixed upon Saxony for the scene of his early operations, and the seizure of Naumburg, Weissenfels, and Merseburg, quickly followed his arrival. He was eager to try the effect of a general engagement, in the hope of checking the career of the allies, whose detachments had already driven the enemy from the cities of Hamburg, Lunenburg, and Lubeck, from the duchy of Mecklenburg and Swedish Pomerania.

All the zeal of enlistment could not prevent the confederates from being greatly out-numbered by the enemy; but, as they apprehended that a retreat might be more detrimental to their cause than the hazard of an immediate battle, it was determined that the army should advance to the plain of Lutzen, and await

¹ *The Correspondent*, consisting of Letters between eminent Writers in France and England, part ii.

the approach of Napoleon, who was expected in that direction. After the distribution of troops in various stations, the force which was concentrated on this scene of action did not far exceed the amount of 75,000 effective men, while the number of the opposite host reached 110,000; but the allies had a great superiority of cavalry. Witgenstein, who, by the death of Kutusoff, had obtained the chief command, disposed the troops in three lines, the first being conducted by Blucher, the second by Yorck, and the third by Winzingerode. Both Napoleon and the count had particular views in their movements; and each disappointed the object of the rival commander. The aim of the former was to cross the Elster, and to put himself in the rear of his opponent: the latter hoped to turn the right of the French; but other arrangements and manœuvres were substituted for the intended operations.

The French and their auxiliaries were posted behind a long ridge, and also occupied several villages and hamlets, with a hollow way in front, and a rivulet on the left. They had planted, on those stations, a formidable range of artillery; and their moveable batteries were supported by large masses of infantry in compact squares. The battle commenced with an attack
May 2. upon Grosz-Gorschen, which the first line long assaulted without the desired success, while the other villages were alternately taken and recovered. At the same time the cavalry charged the enemy's right, and made a considerable impression upon some of the squares; but their efforts could not give a decisive turn to the conflict. The exertions of the second line constrained the French centre to give way; but it was rallied by seasonable support, received from a fresh force, which, being spread to the left of the villages, obliged the advancing line to extend itself so much to the right as to lose the opportunity of pressing with due weight upon the centre. Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg, with a strong body of infantry, attempted to turn the left flank; but, by the approach of Beauharnois, he was so far endangered that he could not without the greatest difficulty secure himself from defeat. To assist in the repulse of the enemy on this point, the general recalled the cavalry from his left, and ordered an impetuous charge, which seemed at first so efficient, that the opposing ranks were broken and pursued; but these were supported by a powerful phalanx: and night put an end to the engagement¹.

¹ *London Gazette*, of May 25.—*Life and Campaigns of Field-Marshal Blucher*, by count Gneisenau.

The French claimed the honour of a complete victory ; and, on the other hand, the confederates affirmed, that they kept possession during the whole night of the line on which the enemy had stood, and, without losing a single piece of artillery, had taken some trophies of that description. The number of killed and wounded, on both sides, amounted to 30,000 : but it is doubtful whether more or less than one-half of that number ought to be assigned to the French. Among the victims were some distinguished officers. While the enemy lamented the death of general Gouril, and, more particularly, that of marshal Bessieres, styled duke of Istria (who had fallen in a skirmish on the preceding day), the allies regretted the loss of the prince of Hesse-Homburg.

Alexander, who exposed his person in all parts of the field, escaped without a wound ; and Frederic, not less cool and intrepid than his friend, was equally fortunate. The result of the battle did not discourage these princes : yet, after so severe a loss, they deemed a retreat expedient, in the expectation of a reinforcement. Marching to the eastward, they reached, not without molestation, the banks of the Spree, and formed an encampment near Bautzen, having in their way attempted, with little effect, to obstruct the passage of the enemy over the Elbe. They were induced to proceed to this distance, by the displeasing intelligence of the adjunction of the king of Saxony to the French interest. That prince, being of opinion that the allies would not be able to protect him, joined the enemy of Germany, from an apprehension of being dethroned by the powerful tyrant, by whom, under the specious name of an ally, he was plundered and impoverished.

After some spirited conflicts, in which the generals Miloradowitz and Barclay de Tolli inflicted severe loss on the encroaching enemy, a general engagement occurred near Bautzen. Both armies had recruited their strength ; but the French had still a very considerable superiority of number. They made a preparatory attempt to gain the heights near Burg, which ^{May 28.} general Kleist bravely defended, although they nearly turned his left flank : he kept them in check for many hours, and then retired to the general position. An attack upon the post nearest to the town was long sustained by Miloradowitz ; but he also fell back in the evening. Much blood was shed in these assaults ; but the effusion was far greater on the following day, when the French directed their operations with the utmost vigour against the left and right of the allies. They had stationed a strong corps in the mountainous country near Klein-Jenkowitz ; and the conflict near this post was particularly warm and obstinate. Even

the skill of Miloradowitz, the steady valour of the Russian infantry, and the indefatigable activity and alertness of the Cossacks, were for some time fruitless; but at length the enemy suffered a severe repulse. Barclay de Tolli was, at the same time, attacked at Glein, and nearly overwhelmed by the efforts of Ney, who had passed the Spree from the eastward: he was obliged to retreat with great loss, and with difficulty escaped, by the aid of Kleist, to Wurchen. Blucher, who was stationed between the extreme right and the centre, sent a brigade of reserve to attack the marshal on the right flank; but the troops had scarcely marched off, when he was assaulted in almost every part of his position. His division, being obliged to present an extended front on three sides, had only one opening that seemed to promise security; this was in the direction of Preitz; a village which his detachment had re-taken, after it had been lost by the retreating corps of Barclay. The heights in the front of his post were stormed; and, even if they could have been recovered, the battle would not be gained, while those manœuvres which had led to the enemy's success on the right exposed the rear to serious danger. Alexander expressed a wish for a renewal of effort; but the prudence of count Witgenstein checked the indiscreet ardour of his sovereign; and a retreat was ordered, which was conducted with coolness and regularity. On these two days, about 15,000 of the Russians and their associates were killed or wounded; and, on the part of the French, perhaps twice that number suffered¹.

The allies, in their retreat to Gorlitz, were attacked at Reichenbach, in consequence of the eagerness of Napoleon to bring his fresh cavalry into vigorous action. This assault was repelled by the valour of the rear-guard; but, when that division was out-flanked by the enemy, the town was hastily quitted, yet not with disorderly precipitation. In this conflict marshal Duroc, the favourite of Bonapartè, was mortally wounded; and the ball which struck him passed near his patron, who, shuddering at the thought of his own danger, instantly rode from the spot. The continuance of the pursuit suggested the idea of an ambuscade. A detachment being left in sight to amuse and allure the enemy, twenty squadrons suddenly appeared before the advanced guard of the French, put the cavalry to immediate flight, and routed the infantry, killing many, and capturing all who did not make the most rapid retreat. This manœuvre checked the alacrity of the

¹ Letter of Sir Charles Stewart, in the *London Gazette*, compared with the French Account.—*Life and Campaign of Blucher*.

pursuers; and the retiring army, entering Silesia, encamped near Schweidnitz.

Both armies had so severely suffered, that a truce became highly desirable. The proposal came from Napoleon; by whom, however, it was affirmed that the overture proceeded from the two confederate princes. He wrote to Alexander on the subject; but the letter was sent back unopened, because the king of Prussia was not treated with the same mark of respect. The omission was repaired by a proper application; and conferences ensued, which led to an armistice. It was stipulated, that the French should occupy the Silesian province from the frontiers of Bohemia to the mouth of the Katzbach, and the combined June 4. troops should trace their line of boundary along the Bober to its confluence with the Oder; and that the intermediate country should be considered as neutral.

The northern emperor and his ally, beside the wish of recruiting their armies and augmenting all the means of hostility from their own resources, had another inducement for their assent to the truce. They confidently expected the speedy accession of Austria to the confederacy; and they also had reason to conclude, that the Swedes would soon be prepared to afford that assistance which their sovereign had solemnly promised to grant ¹.

While the truce subsisted, the prince regent concluded such new engagements as seemed necessary to invigorate the hostilities of his principal allies. By a convention signed at Reichenbach, he promised to place the sum of 1,333,334 pounds at the disposal of Alexander, if this prince would employ 160,000 men, exclusive of garrisons, in the prosecution of the war; and to maintain the Russian fleet, then stationed in the British ports. To Frederic he granted a subsidy, amounting to 666,666 pounds, for bringing 80,000 men into the field; and it was also agreed, that, to supply the deficiency of coin, notes might be issued for five millions sterling, of which Great Britain would redeem one moiety, Russia one third, and Prussia a sixth part. But, without additional aid, even these stipulations of concert did not promise to be completely efficacious.

Alarmed at the progress of Napoleon, the Austrian emperor, after mature deliberation, resolved to add his strength to that coalition which was apparently too feeble to stem the torrent.

¹ A treaty had been concluded in the spring between the British and Swedish courts, requiring the latter to employ not less than 30,000 men against the French, in consideration of a subsidy of one million sterling, and a transfer of the island of Guadaloupe. The prince regent also engaged to promote the acquisition of Norway by the Swedes, whom Alexander had bribed by this alluring offer.

He had tried all the resources of negotiation : he had appealed to the honour of his son-in-law for a repression of the career of his unjustifiable ambition ; had urged him to reflect on the impolicy of those aggressions which might at length rouse almost every power in Europe against him ; and adverted to the happy effects which would result from moderation and equity. But all arguments and persuasions were rendered fruitless by the inflexible obstinacy of Napoleon, who would not restore even the smallest part of his ill-acquired possessions, or make a single sacrifice to the repose of Europe or of the world. Yet he pretended to be desirous of peace, and proposed that a congress should be holden at Prague for the adjustment of all disputes ; and, having accepted the mediation of Francis, he fixed a day for the commencement of regular discussion : but his insincerity was manifested by idle pretences and studied evasions ; and the emperor, losing all patience, sent a great army into the field.

LETTER XXIV.

Continuation of the History to the Invasion of France by the Allies.

THAT renovation of spirit which roused the Austrian emperor from his disgraceful subserviency to his arrogant son-in-law, promised the most beneficial effects to the general interest of Europe. It portended the ruin or the effectual humiliation of that overgrown power which the phrenetic and calamitous expedition to Russia had not sufficiently crippled or impaired ; and it therefore excited all the eagerness of hope and all the elevation of joy ; and, in the same proportion in which it animated the continental nations, it depressed and confounded the despot against whom this formidable array was pointed. The new alliance did not fall within the scope of his calculations. He boasted that he had in his sleeve a minister who had an emperor in his pocket ; but, as his expectations arose from unreasonable and overweening confidence, they merited no other result than absolute disappointment.

The armistice had scarcely been concluded, when it was basely violated by the perfidy of Arrighi, styled the duke of Padua, who,

on pretence of escorting an association of Prussian warriors, called the *Sable Knights*, to the Saxon frontier, ordered a sudden attack to be made upon the unsuspecting party, and put many to the sword, in revenge for the activity and success with which the gallant corps had harassed the enemies of Frederic. This inhuman act of treachery would have blasted the character of any other nation; but it could not aggravate the odium which a long series of iniquity and outrage had entailed upon the French.

When the truce expired, the confederacy stood on a formidable basis. The united army of Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, under the command of the prince of Schwartzenberg, reached the amount of 180,000 men, exclusive of many large detached bodies, and of the troops which the heir of the Swedish crown led into the field. It was not an ill-cemented union that bound the different powers in an ostensible league; but a strong sense of common interest matured the association, and produced a more amicable concert than that which is the usual effect of coalitions. The cause in which they were embarked was, in their opinion, one which reflected honour on its supporters; and the influence of moral sentiment increased the efficiency of the great physical force which this momentous crisis called into action.

That city which had been proposed as the scene of pacification, now became the spot on which the schemes of vigorous hostility were devised and arranged. Alexander visited his new ally at Prague; and the most friendly union was established between them. General Moreau, who had returned to Europe to offer his assistance, was admitted to their consultations; and the suggestions of his military experience were approved and adopted, the more particularly as they were recommended by the concurrent advice of the prince of Sweden.

Napoleon, from his central position, which he had fixed at Dresden, menaced three capitals—Prague, Breslau, and Berlin. His principal army consisted of 150,000 men; and it is supposed that his whole force in Germany amounted to 350,000. In preparing for the resumption of a hostile attitude, he directed his first view to Upper Silesia, where Blucher had 70,000 men under his command. The French were repelled with loss in their early operations near the Bober; but, in a more general action, they so far prevailed over the Prussian commander, that, in compliance with the cautious instructions which he had received, he retreated to Jauer after considerable loss, while the advance of the grand army from Bohemia induced Napoleon to order a retrograde march toward Dresden.

In the mean time, the prince of Sweden, aware of the eager wish of the French to humble the king of Prussia by the seizure of Berlin, made prudent dispositions for the security of that city. He had the command of about 75,000 men; but, in the battle of Grosz-Beren, few took part except the Prussians. General Tauenzien ably repelled the assaults of Bertrand: and Bulow, who had been dislodged from the village, re-advanced with his infantry formed in squares, and, at the point of the bayonet, stormed several batteries, and re-took the post, making great havock among its defenders.

After the return of Bonapartè from Silesia, Blucher found, near the Katzbach, a favourable occasion of conflict. Aug. 26. When his troops were marching to action, the French, under marshal Macdonald, being equally forward, anticipated the attack, by rushing impetuously upon Langeron's division. General Sacken promptly lined with artillery a commanding post at Eich-holtz, and endeavoured to turn the enemy's left flank with cavalry, while a brisk assault was made upon the front with troops of both descriptions. Yorck commenced his operations in the centre, leaning to the left, and met with strong opposition. The artillery made a great impression on both sides; but the bayonets of the allies destroyed a greater number than the amount of their own loss. The horrors of the scene were rendered more appalling by a darkened sky and by incessant rain. So vigorous were the efforts of the undaunted Prussians, and of their brave and zealous associates, that they at length secured the victory in all parts of the field. The vanquished, in their flight, were driven down the steep banks of the Katzbach and the Neisse, and many perished in the swollen streams. A body of reserve advanced to check the fury of the victors, when the pursuit had ceased for the night: but it was arrested in its course by the Russians, and compelled to retreat with no small loss. The renewal of pursuit was so successful, that, within a week from the battle, the number of prisoners amounted to 18,000; and Silesia was freed from the presence and the ravages of a brutal and merciless enemy¹.

Dresden was now exposed to a grand attack from the main army. Some of the exterior works were quickly taken; but the assailants were checked in their progress by the ample means of defence which the enemy enjoyed; and the dread of a vigorous sally in the evening induced them, after a great loss, to retire

¹ *Life and Campaigns of Blucher.*—Philippart's *History of the Campaign in Germany and France*, vol. i.

from the walls. Encouraged by the arrival of a reinforcement, Bonapartè resolved to risk an encounter with the allies, while he derived from a strong town the advantage of protection: but torrents of rain in a great measure obstructed his intention, as the humid state of the soil precluded the effectual movements of infantry. Yet a brisk cannonade was not prevented; and the cavalry entered into action. Several bold attempts were made to force the centre and right of the allies; but they were not so efficacious as to correspond with the hopes of the French, who were enabled, however, to destroy or capture a great number of their adversaries. Being informed of the movements of Vandamme, who threatened to interrupt the communication with Bohemia, the prince of Schwartzenberg at length called off his troops. He was apprehensive of being reduced to a scarcity of subsistence; and, although he deemed it probable that the French would construe his retreat into an acknowledgment of defeat, he flattered himself with the idea of having afforded to the prince of Sweden and the Prussian general an opportunity of moving forward, and acting with energy upon the flanks and rear of the concentrated army.

In this engagement, the allies were deprived of the valuable assistance of an able general, whose zeal in their service was apparently ardent and sincere. While Moreau was conversing with Alexander, a cannon-ball passed through his horse, and carried off both his legs. He lingered for some days, and then expired, to the great joy of his Corsican enemy. His new friends lamented his death: yet they were ready to admit, that it was useless to repine at the chances and calamities of war, when they were deeply engaged in a momentous and interesting cause, which, they thought, could not be relinquished with honour or security.

The retiring army, after very fatiguing marches, had nearly reached Toplitz, when count Osterman, followed by Vandamme, was obliged to risk a conflict. After a most gallant resistance, he was on the point of being overwhelmed by a force which more than trebled his own; but he was relieved and rescued by the opportune aid of the Russian guards and grenadiers. Vandamme, though repelled, was inflamed with an eager desire of trying his strength against the bulk of Schwartzenberg's army, which he weakly supposed to be discouraged and despondent. He therefore posted himself at Culm, and covered the adjacent heights with infantry and artillery. Hopes of crushing this rash antagonist were confidently entertained. The prince ordered
Aug. 30.
Barclay de Tolli to conduct the attack; and all the opera-

tions were successful. Count Coloredo assaulted the left, and Miloradowitz the right, with impetuosity and vigour; and, while they engrossed the enemy's attention, Kleist suddenly descended from the heights of Nollendorff, and threatened the rear of Vandamme, who, being also vanquished in every part of his front, thought only of an escape. His men threw down their arms, and fled, leaving all their artillery; and 9000 of their number, with the general himself, suffered the disgrace of captivity.

Bonapartè had made such movements as left it doubtful whether he intended to attack Blucher or the prince of Sweden; but both were prepared for the event; and the reported advance of the grand army induced him to return to the vicinity of Dresden. Ney, being ordered to attack the prince, marched from Wittenberg, dislodged general Dobschutz from Zahn after a well-contested and protracted combat, and hastened to Jüterbock, to check the meditated progress of the northern army to the Elbe and to Leipzig. The Prussians under Bulow Sept. 6. were detached to oppose the enemy, who had already assaulted Tauenzien's division with great fury; and 40,000 men long contended with 70,000, who, in addition to this superiority, were more amply provided with artillery. The circumstance which chiefly contributed to the decision of the contest, was the seasonable aid afforded by general Borstel, whose brigade stormed Gehlsdorff, and broke the enemy's line. Another brigade attacked the post of Dennewitz, and silenced its batteries. A select body of Swedish and Russian cavalry then rushed forward, and increased that disorder which was beginning to spread among the French ranks; and the approach of several strong columns diffused such terror as to produce a retreat. In vain did the marshal endeavour to rally his battalions. The cavalry, being furiously assailed, could no longer protect the fugitives; and, amidst the confusion, many rode over their countrymen and friends. This victory was not obtained without considerable loss; for about 5000 Prussians were killed or wounded, while the French who suffered were much more numerous. On that and the two following days, 10,000 of the vanquished were made prisoners: the rest of the army fled to the Elbe, and found protection in the Saxon towns.

When Napoleon reflected on his situation, he could not conceal from himself the danger to which he was exposed. He was menaced by three great armies, which seemed to have acquired the power of surrounding him. He marched to over-awe Blucher, who was boldly advancing: the grand army then moved forward;

and he immediately changed the direction of his march. Finding that 150,000 men were ready to receive him, near the scene of Vandamme's defeat, he became less forward and resolute, and retreated to his Saxon asylum. The advance of Schwartzenberg again drew the invader from his central post. He boasted of his success in several actions; but his accounts were absurdly exaggerative and palpably false. His repeated attempts being baffled, he retraced his steps, being desirous of avoiding a general engagement, unless the prospect of advantage should overbalance the risk.

While the sovereigns remained in Bohemia, they gave to their alliance the sanction of regular treaties. It was agreed, ^{Sept. 9.} between Alexander and Francis, that each should assist the other prince, in the event of an attack, with 50,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, well supplied with all the means of hostility; and Frederic also contracted, with the Austrian prince, engagements of the same nature: and the three allies were more disposed to exceed than to diminish the stipulated number of combatants.

Notwithstanding the occasional success of the confederates, their ultimate triumph was still doubtful. While they acted with scrupulous caution, alternately advancing and retreating, they indefinitely prolonged the war, and extended the misery which it necessarily produced. After such a deliberation as the importance of the subject required, they resolved to adopt a more determined system of operations, to concentrate the three armies, and make simultaneous efforts of the most daring kind for the ruin of their implacable foe. They had received a strong accession to their force from Poland and Russia; and, as it greatly exceeded that which the enemy could bring to one point against them, they considered all further delay as injurious to their cause.

In the execution of this scheme, the enterprising Blucher took the lead. He made forced marches to the Elbe, threw pontoons over it, and reached the left bank, after some opposition from Bertrand, who had taken a strong position at Wartenberg. This post being stormed with small loss, the general proceeded with alacrity toward the Saal. The prince of Sweden moved forward with equal spirit, and an easy communication was quickly opened between the armies. Bonapartè had advanced with a seeming intention of encountering the former host, while it was unsupported; but, as soon as he found that the two commanders had the means of co-operation, he retired with an air of sullen dejection. Suspecting, from some subsequent movements, that he intended to proceed to Magdeburg, the prince rapidly re-passed the Saal,

and threw himself in the way to that city, that he might stop the enemy in front, while the rear would be exposed to an attack from the Prussian commander. In the mean time, the principal army, leaving a strong division near Toplitz for the defence of Bohemia, entered Saxony, and advanced, amidst occasional and partial conflicts, to the southern side of Leipzig.

Since the battle of Lutzen, the French had made Leipzig their *depôt* and their infirmary, not merely from policy, but from a desire of taking vengeance upon the inhabitants for their Anti-Gallican sentiments. The city was afterwards declared to be in a state of siege; and, on that pretence, the people were robbed of every thing that the soldiers of the *great empire* either required or wished. Even its great resources were at length exhausted by the insatiable rapacity of the intruders: it became a dreadful scene of poverty and famine; and the miseries of the citizens were destined to be aggravated by the proximity of war in all its horrors. In addition to thousands who had long been its inmates, the vicinity was thronged with approaching multitudes: and it was reported, that Napoleon would soon transfer his head-quarters to this spot. Such an alarming rumour, it may easily be supposed, increased the general dejection and despondency. The presence of the hated tyrant was dreaded as the height of misfortune.

It was his intention (as stated in one of his bulletins) to manœuvre on the right bank of the Elbe from Dresden to Hamburg, to threaten Potsdam and Berlin, and to take Magdeburg as a central point: but, when he found that the Bavarian army had joined the Austrians, and menaced the Lower Rhine, he was induced to make new arrangements, that he might avoid the danger of too distant a removal from his regular communications. He, therefore, commenced a retrograde march, ordering Murat to precede him. That commander took his station near Lieberwolkwitz, to the southward of Leipzig; Bertrand occupied Lindenau to the westward, where the access to the city was most difficult; and several posts near the Mulda, the Elster, and Partha, were selected as points of defence.

The allies were not slow in their movements and preparations for a vigorous attack. Blucher's troops advanced to the
Oct. 10. northern posts, and quickly cleared some of the villages: but, at others, they experienced an obstinate resistance. At Mockern, the contest was particularly fierce and sanguinary. The place frequently changed its possessors: but it was at length secured by the division of Yorck. Count Langeron was opposed

by marshal Ney, over whom his superiority of success was evident. In the plain, the cavalry made some spirited charges, and repelled the enemy on every point. Yet nothing that was decisive occurred on this day; and even the imperfect advantages were purchased with great loss; for about 7000 men were killed or wounded. On the side of the enemy, the victims, wounded and prisoners, amounted to 12,000.

The grand army, on the same day, long contended to the southward. Kleist commenced the operations on this side by an attack upon Mark-kleeberg, which he forced and retained. The prince of Wurtemberg assaulted Wachau, which was the scene of repeated conflicts. The enemy directed the most strenuous efforts against the centre of the allies; and an impetuous charge, conducted by Murat, had nearly separated it from all communication with the right wing, when Alexander sent forward the Cossack guards, whose vigour confounded and dispersed the assailants.

As the rival commanders equally wished for a decisive engagement, a day of anxious and silent preparation was allowed to intervene. The prince of Sweden, who had no share in the late conflicts, had brought his army to the banks of the Partha; and, having received a reinforcement of 30,000 men from Blucher, he drove the enemy before him, and stormed the heights of Taucha, while the Prussian general advanced against other ^{Oct. 18.} posts bordering on the same river. Probestheide, in the French centre, was attacked by the grand army, and the posts in its front were several times seized and retaken. Connewitz was also the scene of an obstinate contest. The road from that village, along the Pleisse, was lined with batteries; but the Austrian artillery, being placed on an eminence, had a much greater effect on this spot; yet the enemy maintained it to the close of the day. Schwartzenberg, being debarred from a close communication with the other commanders, had not that accurate knowledge of their progress which would enable him to direct their future operations with judgment and propriety; but the desired opportunity was afforded by the defection of the Saxons from the cause of their domineering ally. They were posted near Taucha, and were seemingly ready to oppose the allies; but they suddenly shouldered their muskets, marched in close files, and joined with their artillery the army of Bernadotte, who instantly turned every piece against the French. The men earnestly desired permission to act; but, their service being declined, they retired from the field. Some French battalions, having advanced

to co-operate with the Saxons, were surprised into captivity. The confederates certainly profited by the desertion, as it occasioned an opening in the lines, and consequently discouraged the enemy; but they would, in all probability, have obtained the victory, even if no such event had occurred. In the meantime, the battle raged in various directions, particularly at Schonefeld and Probestheide. Count Langeron, who had with great difficulty taken the former post, was obliged to yield it to the renewal of hostile vigour; but, when Blucher had peremptorily ordered him to retake it, he directed a charge with the bayonet, and again dislodged the foe. In the centre, likewise, the repetition of attack prevailed; and, in the evening, the enemy retreated from all parts of the field¹. Above 40,000 of the tyrant's infatuated followers were killed, wounded, or captured; but he would only acknowledge that 4000 had suffered, and even denied that any of his men had been made prisoners.

These were not the only fruits of the victory. As Leipzig was still retained by the French, it was necessary to intimidate the intruders by a show of hostility: and, a battering train being brought forward, the troops advanced to force an entrance. To a request from the king of Saxony, that the town might not be destroyed, such an answer was given as did not altogether remove his apprehensions. The assailants intimated, that no farther violence or injury should be offered than the opposition of the French justified or required; and they added, that the persons and property of all the inhabitants, who should not encourage, assist, or harbour the enemy, would be protected and secured. Only the rear-guard of the French remained in the city, beside the sick and wounded, who are said to have amounted to 25,000.

Bonapartè, who had entered in the morning, was still at the palace with the king, when the cannonade commenced. The western side was the only part which seemed to afford to him and his soldiers the means of escape. Having given directions to Macdonald for the vigorous defence of the suburbs, that the troops might have time to reach the defile which led to Lindenau, he retired with a small train, and rode with speed to the Elster, while disorder and alarm pervaded the city. The streets were rendered almost impassable by mingled artillery and waggons: the troops pushed forward with that eagerness which left to every

¹ Letter of Sir Charles Stewart, in the *London Gazette Extraordinary* of Nov. 3. — *Narrative of the Events which occurred in and near Leipzig, from Oct. 14 to 19.*

one only a thought of his own safety : and, when the allies rushed in, the confusion and terror rose to the extremity of horror. Slaughter raged in the streets ; many of the fugitives were deprived of life by that closeness of pressure which they could not elude ; and not a few were driven into the Pleisse, where they miserably perished. In the way to Lindenau was a bridge, which Bonapartè ordered to be blown up ; and this obstruction of the retreat multiplied the deaths, and greatly swelled the amount of the prisoners.

After the capture of the city, the three sovereigns, and the prince of Sweden, made their entry, and were saluted with rapturous acclamations. They congratulated each other on the splendid success which had attended the arms of the coalition, and looked forward with all the alacrity of hope to the ruin of their malignant enemy. The distress and misery which the war had produced excited their compassion ; but they judged that he alone, from whose wanton ambition it originated, was reponsible for all its calamities ; and they considered farther opposition and resistance as necessary for securing an honourable and permanent peace.

The victory of Leipzig diffused general joy over Europe, more particularly in Great Britain, where the zealous exertions of the allied princes, the talents, skill, and courage of their generals, were properly appreciated, and highly applauded, not only by the prince regent and his ministers, but by the majority of the nation. The additional supplies requisite for the promotion of the common cause were readily voted, and hopes of crushing the tyrant were confidently entertained. It was observed with pleasure, that the public spirit which had been so signally manifested in the defence of the peninsula and the Russian empire against the powerful efforts of the invader, now began to operate with equal ardour in Germany and in Holland. Submission to the dictates of a power which had no right to control or direct any other nation, appeared in the most disgraceful light ; and the zeal of independence broke forth in the most animated form.

Hastening from the scene of slaughter, the fugitive adventurer passed the Saal, reluctantly acknowledging that the French army had lost its victorious attitude. As the pursuit was at first neglected by the conquerors, to whom a respite was necessary, he had an opportunity of resting at Erfurt, whence he proceeded to the Maine. The intelligence of his discomfiture had stimulated the activity of the Bavarians, who, under the conduct of Wrede, a brave and skilful commander, marched, after the reduction of

Wurtzburg, to stop his progress. But, when they had been joined by a body of Austrians, the advancing army only amounted to 30,000 men : a number apparently insufficient for the purpose of interception.

The probability of meeting Napoleon in the direction of Hanau, induced the general to detach a regiment of light horse to take possession of that town ; and the desired information was then obtained. The French soon made their appearance ; and, on the arrival of the greater part of the Bavarian army, some skirmishes arose, which terminated in the captivity of 4500 of the fugitives. On the ensuing day, partial and desultory combats were continued for seven hours ; but, as the whole army which retreated with

Oct. 30. Napoleon, exceeding the amount of 65,000 men, had then reached the vicinity of Hanau, the battle became more regular and systematic. Bonapartè hoped to crush the right wing by the efforts of a great mass of infantry : but the firmness of that division repelled the assailants, who suffered severely in the collision. His cavalry rushed upon the centre and the left, and made some impression ; and the allies at length so far gave way, that the enemy opened a passage, and the first column escaped to the northward of the town. The rest, after a renewal of conflict, effected their retreat. Above 6000 men were killed or wounded on the part of the allies ; but more than twice that number suffered in the French army ; and 10,000 prisoners were, in a few days, added to the former amount¹.

With such vigilant care did Napoleon provide for his safety, and so highly was he favoured by fortune, that he arrived at Paris within three weeks after his flight from Leipzig. During his retreat, he had issued an order for the speedy meeting of the legislative body ; and he took an early opportunity of stating his exigencies to the conservative senate, and of proposing such arrangements as were requisite for the defence of the country. It was decreed, that 300,000 men should be placed at the disposal of the minister of war ; but the assembly considered one half of this force as sufficient for immediate service, the rest being liable to be called out only in case of an invasion of the eastern frontier.

While the allies were ignorant of the fate of Bonapartè, their armies advanced toward the Rhine by different *routes*. Multitudes of prisoners, and a variety of spoil, indicated the disorgani-

¹ The writer of Bonapartè's bulletin of the 3d of November says, that, on the day which followed the battle of Hanau, the enemy was *in full retreat* : but this assertion is only true with regard to himself and his army ; for his adversaries were *in full pursuit*.

zation of the retiring troops ; and only the wreck of a mighty host could be discerned. The prince of Sweden, for some time, moved in a western direction ; but he was induced to turn to the northward by the desire of securing the mouths of the Elbe and Weser, and of expelling the enemy from the circle of Lower Saxony. As soon as he entered the Hanoverian territories, which the French had already evacuated, the inhabitants gladly embraced the opportunity of shaking off a detested yoke, and the authority of the elector was restored with universal assent. His attention was also directed to Holland ; for he ordered the baron Winzingerode to extend his line to the borders of that country, with a view to the emancipation of a long-harassed people.

The ruin of the grand army of France inspired the Hollanders with the most pleasing hopes. Few nations were ever more systematically oppressed than they had been. For that ready submission which ought to have excited the gratitude of the French, and to have ensured to them the most lenient administration, they were treated with the most supercilious arrogance, as if they had been the most contemptible of mankind. Enormous taxation, the increased rigours of military conscription, the extinction of that foreign trade which had formerly enriched the community, and, among a numerous class, the annihilation of the ordinary comforts of life, were the evils under which they had long groaned, and which they had borne with abject submission, or with exemplary patience. No prospect of relief seemed to dawn upon the darkness of their fate, before the expedition to Russia plunged their oppressor into difficulties and dangers. Hope then so far revived, that some of the distinguished friends of the house of Orange held private meetings at the Hague, in which public affairs were the topics of conversation, and schemes of deliverance were earnestly discussed. Even those citizens who had opposed that family were ready to concur in any efforts which the people might be disposed to make for the recovery of their independence. The same spirit was secretly propagated through the provinces ; and the flame of liberty was ready to burst forth with renovated lustre, as soon as an opportunity should be offered by the continued misfortunes of the tyrant. In some of the towns, that discontent which had been long repressed broke out too soon into action ; and, at Leyden in particular, the flag of the old government was hoisted, amidst loud cries of *Orange boven* ¹ ! These partial insurrections were speedily quelled by the ruling power,

¹ "Orange above !" or, "Up with the house of Orange."

and no farther commotion arose before the report of the battle of Leipzig gladdened an oppressed community. The leading partisans of the exiled prince then selected, chiefly from the middle class at the Hague, a courageous and faithful band, ready to act on the spur of the occasion; and they procured, by the influence of count Stirum, the adjunction of a corps of the national guard to the confederacy. On the advance of the allies, the people, in different towns, were eager for an explosion; but they were checked for some time by the prudence and caution of the higher class. At length, Falck, an officer of the guard at Amsterdam, thinking that longer delay would be useless, instigated the populace to make such a disturbance as might enforce the retreat of the French who were in power, and induce the Dutch municipality to agree to the formation of a provisional government. The scheme had the desired effect. The French officers of the government left the city on the following day; and twenty-four persons, named in a proclamation, began to assume the administrative functions; but they neither acknowledged the prince of
Nov. 16. Orange, nor renounced the authority of the emperor of France.

While the expected revolution was yet in suspense, from the indecision of the new rulers of Amsterdam, the confederates at the Hague started into action, desired count Stirum to act as governor, and convoked a meeting of those persons who had been ministers or deputies in the year 1794. The people were absolved from the allegiance which they had sworn to the tyrant: such as continued to obey any orders issued in his name were stigmatized as traitors to their country; and the prince of Orange was proclaimed with shouts of heartfelt satisfaction.

The means of supporting this insurrection were apparently inconsiderable, and even contemptible. About 1000 men, at the Hague, were indeed armed, but not in a soldier-like manner: money, and all kinds of stores, were deplorably deficient; and it was not known whether the prince would venture to put himself at the head of the confederacy. But the prospect of aid from Great Britain, and from the allied pursuers of the retreating army, gave encouragement to the boldest acts and most vigorous measures. The refusal of the invited statesmen to join the association gave a temporary check to the general ardour: but the appointment of Hogendorp and Maasdam to the chief administration restored confidence and preserved tranquillity.

Doubt and anxiety still prevailed at Amsterdam; but, after a week's deliberation, the magistrates proclaimed the prince, and

the people honoured him with the style of royalty. This example was followed at Rotterdam, under the auspices of admiral Kichert. At Leuwarden and Groningen, likewise, the authority of the prince was restored; but the apprehensions of hostility from the garrison of Utrecht damped the rising joy.

The appearance of some British vessels at Scheveling, and the disembarkation of a body of marines, inspired the patriots at the Hague with confident hopes of effectual aid; and the arrival of the prince from England, with the earl of Clancarty, whom the regent had sent as his ambassador to the rescued provinces, diffused, even among the phlegmatic Hollanders, a rapturous joy. He expressed his gratitude for the honour of that spontaneous invitation which he had received, and declared that he would devote his future life to the service of his country, and the promotion of public prosperity and private happiness. By the citizens of Amsterdam he was received with an equal warmth of congratulation: he was proclaimed sovereign prince of the United Netherlands: and, as it seemed to be the general wish of the nation that a monarchical government should be established, he promised to frame, with the aid of wise and experienced statesmen, such a constitution as would combine freedom with royalty. A Russian detachment arrived for the protection of the capital: the Briel was taken by the valour of the Dutch; Helvoet-sluys was recovered with facility; and Arnheim was stormed by the Prussians, who, in retaliation of a massacre recently committed at Woerden by the French, put the garrison to the sword.

While the Dutch were employed in the recovery of their independence, the allied princes, having reached the banks of the Rhine, stated to the world their views and intentions. They declared that they had no enmity against the French nation: they hoped to see it great, powerful, and happy: they considered France, in a state of vigour and respectability, as one of the foundations of the social edifice of Europe; and they were therefore willing to secure, to that empire, an extent of territory which the French kings had never known. But they could not tamely witness that preponderance which Napoleon laboured to establish, or submit to a series of encroachments upon states which had a fair claim to independence. They wished to check wanton ambition, to put an end to the calamities which Europe had for twenty years suffered, and restore peace upon the basis of a well-balanced partition of strength; and they would not lay down their arms without fixing such principles, and making such arrangements, as would secure the observance of treaties, and provide for permanent tranquillity.

LETTER XXV.

View of the fortunate Progress of the Spanish War.

THE regent's remark, extenuating the success of the French after their defeat at Salamanca, and adverting to those sacrifices which seemed prospectively favourable to the Spanish cause, had the air of prophecy. They appeared to be, in a great measure, incapable of the bold operations of offensive warfare. Content with their partial progress, they were disposed to remain inactive, while their sovereign was intent upon the reparation of the losses which he had sustained in Russia. On the other hand, the rulers of Spain were animated with fresh alacrity, and willing to correct the errors which had been found detrimental and pernicious. They gave their full confidence to the able commander who was destined to lead them to victory. He was invested with the dignity of generalissimo, and gratified with extraordinary powers; and a desirable unity of command pervaded the military system of the peninsula. He had procured from Britain a very considerable supply of troops; and the Spanish armies received great augmentations, particularly from Andalusia. He hoped that farther draughts would be made from Spain, for the exigencies of the war in Germany, and that an opportunity might thus be afforded for the expulsion or discomfiture of the military partisans of Joseph.

A.D. 1813. When the spring called the opposite armies into action, the marquis of Wellington assembled his principal force in the vicinity of Ciudad-Rodrigo. His first object was to cross the Douro. The enemy, having taken strong positions on the right bank of that river, might be expected to oppose the passage; but the marquis, by ordering a part of the army to cross it within the frontiers of Portugal, and to move along its northern side, over-awed the French into such a retreat as left the barrier undefended. He dislodged a small force from Salamanca, and proceeded to Palencia, while the French, with three united armies, occupied the country above Burgos. When he had turned their flanks by the terrific movements of his cavalry, they retreated toward the Ebro; but he resolved to anticipate their movements by crossing the river without delay, so as to threaten an interruption of their communication with France. The troops passed without opposition (while the French main body continued at

Pancorbo), and directed their march toward Vittoria. Alarmed at this advance, marshal Jourdan, who exercised the chief command under the nominal king, marched to the Ebro, rapidly passed it, and posted his right near the city.

The hope of terminating, by an indisputable and complete victory, the contest for the possession of Spain, animated the zeal of lord Wellington. He took as accurate a survey of the enemy's position as the distance would allow ; and, not being deterred by its apparent strength and defensibility, he made dispositions for an attack. The left wing of the French occupied the heights near La Puebla de Arlonçon ; their centre was posted on an eminence which commanded a valley near the Zadora ; and their right rested upon Vittoria.

So eager were the allied troops for action, that they did not require any exhortations to rouse or inspirit them : yet the short speech of their general, circulated among the ranks, may be supposed to have had an encouraging effect. "Remember, my friends, that you are the brothers of the heroes of Trafalgar, and that you have before you those whom you vanquished at Salamanca."

The battle commenced with the operations of sir Rowland Hill, who attacked the heights of La Puebla, on ^{June 21.} which Jourdan had not at first stationed a great force. When the French general, discovering the importance of that position, had sent additional troops to maintain it, successive reinforcements were detached to the assault ; and the contest was animated and severe. As the enemy could not, with every effort, secure the possession, the right of the confederates, protected by this acquisition, passed the Zadora, and attacked Sabijana, which was seized by their vigour, and retained by the firmness of their perseverance. The central body now crossed the river, and advanced with an air of intrepidity which intimidated the intrusive prince, who ordered the menaced division to retire in the direction of Vittoria. Sir Thomas Graham moved from the left ; and, by his direction, general Oswald impetuously assaulted the strong heights which covered Gamarra-Mayor. In this service, the Spaniards and Portuguese, according to the official report, "behaved admirably." The heights were gained, and the village was stormed at the point of the bayonet. Abechuco was resolutely attacked ; and, while the defence was continued with spirit, Joseph detached a select division to retake Gamarra : but this attempt was fruitless, and the efforts for the retention of the other post were also baffled. The retreat of the French now became universal ; and

it was so precipitate and disorderly, that they abandoned their artillery and baggage, and even left the military chest to hostile seizure. As the rugged nature of the ground, and its frequent intersections, obstructed the movements of the cavalry, the pursuit was not very effective; and, therefore, the far greater part of the routed army escaped¹.

This victory was purchased with severe loss. The British list of killed and wounded exceeded 3300: the Portuguese and Spaniards who suffered, amounted respectively to 1049 and 553. No accurate account has been given of the French loss of men²; but the captured artillery consisted of 150 pieces, and the stores and provisions were abundant and valuable.

The joy which this success diffused over the peninsula sparkled in every eye, and enlivened every countenance. Not only the independence of Portugal seemed to be established; but the throne of Ferdinand was considered as secure. Yet, if the allied princes had not been fortunate in Germany, a reverse of fortune might have occurred beyond the Pyrenees.

General Clausel, whose aid in the battle had been expected, was advancing to Vittoria with a strong division, when he found that it was occupied by a British corps. He hastily retreated toward Logrono; and, as there was a fair prospect of his interception, the marquis detached troops for that purpose. Mina and Sanchez were already pursuing him; but, by an uncommon rapidity of march, he escaped to Tudela, and even found an opportunity of reaching one of the Pyrenean passes. In the meantime, sir Thomas Graham continued the pursuit in the territory of Biscay, and Castanos drove the still-resisting enemy to the Bidassoa. A garrison which had been left in the castle of Pancorbo resolved to defend it with vigour: but, when the count of Abisbal (general O'Donnel) had stormed an inferior fort, the courage of the commandant declined into the humility of capitulation.

The operations of the allies, on the eastern coast of Spain, were far from being so well conducted as those which ensured the splendid triumph at Vittoria. Suchet advanced against the army which sir John Murray commanded, and a part of his force attempted to ascend a range of hills near Castalla: but

¹ *London Gazette Extraordinary*, of July 3.—*History of the War in Spain and Portugal*, by general Sarrazin.

² Lord Castlereagh, evidently speaking from conjecture, swelled the number of killed, wounded, and prisoners, to 12,000, when he moved for a vote of thanks to the victorious general. Some officers, in private letters, estimated the number at 6000: others at only 5000.

the defence was as firm as the charge was impetuous; and the marshal consequently retreated. A vigorous pursuit might have rendered this repulse advantageous: but the opportunity was neglected; for the movements were not so quick or so prompt as the occasion required. Soon after this engagement, sir John received instructions from the commander-in-chief, to aim at the recovery of the open part of the Valencian province, and at the expulsion of the French from the lower Ebro, so as to secure a communication with the army of Catalonia. An attack upon Tarragona was included in the scheme of hostility, as the apprehension of losing that town would probably draw Suchet from his position near the Xucar. Under the conduct of admiral Hallowell, the armament sailed from Alicant to Cape Salon; and the troops commenced the investment of Tarragona; but they had made little progress in the siege, when a report of the advance of Suchet from the south, and of Mathieu from the north-east, reduced sir John to a state of despair. He began to calculate the disparity between his force and that which threatened him with an attack; and, after garrisoning a fort which he had taken, and leaving a division to keep the garrison of the town in check, he concluded that only 16,000 men would remain, to meet "the best French troops in Spain," exceeding the amount of 20,000. The British and German soldiers, about 4500 in number, formed, he said, the only part of his army upon which he could firmly rely: the rest were Spaniards and Italians. He continued the siege for some days after he had convinced himself of the impossibility of success, and then re-embarked in disorder, leaving the guns in the advanced batteries, which the admiral had offered to secure. He lingered on the coast, and re-landed the troops for a trifling object, instead of expediting that return which might enable him to assist the Spaniards near the Xucar.

Lord William Bentinck, who arrived on the coast during the preparations for retreat, assumed the command; and, when the troops regained the Valencian coast, he led them against Suchet, who had returned to his former station. The defeat of his countrymen at Vittoria now induced the marshal to hasten into Catalonia. The allies followed him, and menaced Tarragona with a resumption of the siege. On his advance to the town, they retired: but he suffered them to take possession of it, when he had destroyed the fortifications and removed the garrison. Some loss and disgrace were afterwards sustained, in consequence of a bold incursion into the country near Barcelona. While the head-quarters were at Villa-Franca, an advanced body occupied

the pass of Ordal. The vigilant enemy, approaching in force, suddenly attacked the allies, and, after making some havoc in the action, captured or dispersed the detachment. In consequence of this check, the rest of the army hastily retreated to Tarragona.

As the success at Vittoria was incomplete without the acquisition of St. Sebastian and Pampeluna, one was besieged, and the other blockaded: but, from the mountainous nature of the country, the requisite communication was not maintained between the divisions which were thus employed. For the retrieval of the French glory in Spain, marshal Soult was dispatched from Germany to take the chief command; and, having reason to apprehend, that an invasion of France would quickly follow the reduction of the two fortresses, he resolved to make vigorous efforts for their relief. He formed a great army by a recal of the fugitives, and assaulted the post of Roncesvalles, which was defended by the brigade of major-general Byng, but which all the exertions of that officer, reinforced by the division of sir Lowry Cole, could not prevent from being turned. The dislodged troops retired toward Pampeluna; and sir Rowland Hill, being attacked on the same day in the Puerto de Maya, deemed a retreat expedient when he was apprised of the repulse of the right, even after he had recovered from the rude shock to which the impetuosity of a superior force had exposed him.

In expectation of the marshal's approach to the blockaded city, such positions were taken as seemed to afford a prospect of defence. In the midst of the arrangements, the marquis arrived to quicken and animate the operations; and, when the enemy endeavoured to seize the commanding post, it was resolutely maintained under his eye by a body of Spaniards and Portuguese. Upon the heights near the valley of the Lanz a more formidable attack was made; and, while the assailants were repelled with great loss on some points of the line, they effected a lodgment in other parts; but the intrusion was soon chastised by a sanguinary repulse. An attempt to turn the left was the enemy's next enterprise; and, for this purpose, the marshal so far weakened his line, as to present an opportunity of a general attack. His right and left were assailed with vigour and effect: his main body was also dislodged from a position of remarkable strength; and, at the same time, troops were detached for the support of a division that formed the extreme left of the allies, and which, after withdrawing from one height to another, ultimately maintained itself. A pass which the retiring troops boldly endeavoured to

secure did not effectually stop the career of their adversaries, who exultingly drove them to the French frontier.

St. Sebastian was defended with zeal and pertinacity. When two breaches had been made, an assault was risked; but, as the fire of the place was yet entire, and the breaches were flanked by well-manned works, the attempt was unsuccessful, and mischievous to the gallant besiegers. After a month's delay and a renewal of preparation, some batteries began to pour forth a more formidable fire; and dispositions were made for another assault. Soult advanced to the relief of the garrison, and repeatedly attacked a Spanish force, posted near the Bidassoa; but he met with such a vigorous resistance, that he abandoned the hope of success. So well had the Spaniards profited by ^{Aug. 31.} the military instructions of their friends, that the British troops, placed in their flanks to aid their operations, did not find it necessary to act on this occasion. On the same day, the storming party moved forward to a new breach, which was apparently so well secured by every kind of preparation, that the danger of entering might have appalled the stoutest hearts. "No man (says the director of the attack¹) outlived the attempt to gain the ridge;" and the enterprise seemed to be absolutely hopeless. But the expedient of turning the guns against the curtain changed the scene. It required extraordinary care and attention, so to point the artillery, as not to injure the assailants, over whose heads the balls were intended to pass; and this service was performed with unexampled precision. Its effect was speedy and important; and it was aided by a sudden explosion of shells and ammunition on the rampart, which produced confusion among the defenders of the works. Another attempt to reach the summit was crowned with success. A detachment, sent to the right of the breach, forced the barricades on the top of the wall, and entered the adjoining houses: all the complications of defence gave way; and the whole town was seized by the allies. The loss was severe; for about 500 of the assailants were killed, and 1500 wounded. In the following week, the castle was taken, above 1800 men became prisoners of war.

Repeated threats of an invasion of Britain had only served to evince the boastful presumption of the French, and to expose their preparations to ridicule and contempt: but without the parade of menace, the disgrace which they had been unable to inflict was hurled upon them: and the establishment of a rival war-

¹ Sir Thomas Graham.

rior and a hostile army within that frontier which they supposed to be sacred, proved a rankling thorn in the side of their ruler.

Oct. 7. Leaving the capital of Navarre under blockade, the allied troops crossed the Bidassoa, and forced the entrenchments at Andaye and other parts of the frontier. When the surrender of Pampeluna left the right wing of the army unemployed, the commander-in-chief made dispositions for an attack upon all the posts near the Nivelle, which the French had fortified with great care and labour. Their right, in the front of St. Jean de Luz, formed the strongest post; and this, it was hoped, might be turned with little difficulty, if the centre should be separated from the left, and subjected to an irresistible impression. In this preparatory service so many hours were employed, that the chief assault was postponed to the next morning: but the enemy prudently retired in the night to an entrenched camp near Bayonne. About 1400 of the French were made prisoners, and artillery and ammunition were captured in abundance, yet not without a considerable loss of lives in the attack. In the ensuing operations, a much greater loss was sustained. The new position had such an appearance of strength, that an assault in front did not promise to be successful. It was therefore resolved by the marquis, that movements should be made toward the Nive, to clear the right bank, and reach the rear of the French. Alarmed at these manœuvres, Soult marched out of his camp with the greater part of his force, and fiercely attacked the left wing of the allies, commanded by sir John Hope, with a view of drawing back the right; but so manly and vigorous was the resistance, that his aim was completely baffled; and his disappointment was aggravated by the conduct of two regiments of Dutch and Germans, who, immediately after the engagement, passed over to the ranks of the allies. Another attempt on this point proved equally fruitless, and a third trial terminated in disgrace. In these defensive actions, the Portuguese displayed the steady courage of well-disciplined warriors, and received high praise from the British officers. The marshal then turned his attention to the right wing, and sent a great force to storm its position; but sir Rowland Hill was so well prepared for defence, that, even Dec. 13. before the arrival of a reinforcement, he compelled the enemy to retreat with a great diminution of number. In these conflicts, which occupied five days, 650 of the confederates were killed; above 3900 were wounded; and 500 were reported to be missing. Thus the first fruits of invasion were punished at a dear rate: but, when honour is obtained, and success smiles upon

the progress of the war, soldiers do not keenly regret the loss of their brave associates; and the people for whom they shed their blood are content to say, that they fell in a glorious cause.

While the defenders of Spain were employed in delivering the country from a foreign yoke, the cortes endeavoured to free the minds of the people from the tyranny of the inquisition. A decree against the holy office could scarcely have been expected from the rooted bigotry of the Spanish nation. The clergy considered that institution as necessary for the preservation of religious purity; and, when it was suppressed by Joseph in those provinces which he ostensibly governed, they reprobated the arbitrary edict as a proof of his ignorance of the Spanish character, and of his contempt of all religion. Although the popular respect for that establishment had in some measure declined, a great part of the community still entertained a favourable opinion of a tribunal, which had for three centuries been incorporated with the hierarchical system. Not deterred by this consideration, the patriots declared that the inquisition, being contrary to the constitution of Spain, injurious to religion, and detrimental to the state, ought to be abolished: but the courage of the members did not pass beyond the limits of a vote. The resolution had not its due effect; for it was subsequently voted, that the propriety of authorizing other tribunals, to protect and preserve the purity of the faith, should be referred to a committee; and the result was a law, ordaining the erection of an episcopal court in every diocese, for the cognizance of heretical delinquency; accompanied with a declaration, importing that the ancient laws against heretics were in full force. The new courts were proposed to be so constituted, as to diminish the danger of inhuman tyranny: but they did not hold out the prospect of a remedy for the evils of the inquisition. The clergy even complained of this feeble attack upon a sacred institution; and, when the report of the committee was ordered to be read in every church, they refused to obey a mandate which had not received the sanction of the ecclesiastical body. Incensed at this disobedience, the cortes dismissed the regents, to whose weakness they imputed the disrespect with which the legislature had been treated: but the new appointments were not followed by an enforcement of the law. Some of the bishops, headed by the pope's delegate, strongly opposed it; and the banishment of the nuncio rather increased than allayed the ferment which the zealots had excited.

The efforts of the assembly for the regeneration of Spain were not so successful as they ought to have been; and even the

reforms which had been enacted were not so far carried into effect, as to be productive of that benefit which might reasonably have been expected. The views of the liberal members were obstructed by prejudice and bigotry, and the most pernicious and dangerous schemes of religious and political innovation were imputed to those representatives by their clerical adversaries, who were therefore pleased at the announced expiration of the extraordinary cortes. A new assembly was now summoned for the ordinary purposes of legislation, and for the promotion of just and equitable government.

LETTER XXVI.

Continuance of the War between Great Britain and the United States.

THE abortion of the negotiatory experiment seemed to aggravate and embitter the animosity of the contending powers. To the president and the majority of the congress, the British court imputed the guilt of aggression, and the additional culpability of an obstinate perseverance in flagrant injustice; while the leaders of the American government acrimoniously reprobated that progression of violence and outrage, with which the English had sustained their arrogant and unwarrantable pretensions.

Mr. Madison, being re-elected president by a considerable majority, in preference to Mr. Clinton, whose moderation would not suffer him to be zealous for war, continued to propagate resentment and hostility. In the public harangue which attended his A.D. inauguration, he declared that the war was "just in its 1813. origin, necessary and noble in its objects;" and boasted that it had been waged on the part of his countrymen, with a scrupulous regard to the precepts of courtesy and humanity, and to the usages of civilized nations, and "in a spirit of liberality which was never surpassed;" asserting, at the same time, that the enemy had pursued a very different course, in menacing the adopted and naturalized members of the political family of the United States with the punishment due to traitors and deserters, in letting loose the blood-thirsty savages upon the opposite ranks of honourable warriors, and in supplying the place of a conquering force by attempts for the dismemberment of a confederated

republic. The last instance of unjustifiable conduct, he said, "if it did not belong to a series of unexampled inconsistencies," might excite greater astonishment, as proceeding from a government which founded the very war, so long prosecuted in Europe, on a charge against the "disorganizing and insurrectional policy of its adversary."

Such was the intemperate language by which the republican ruler inflamed the minds of the people, and called their worst passions into exercise. It cherished and kept alive the flame of war; but it had not an equal effect in all parts of the states; for there were several provinces, particularly the northern territories, in which the people did not conceal their earnest desire of peace.

New attempts were made upon the Canadian province. Brigadier Winchester, advancing with 1000 men, seized Frenchtown, and was proceeding to attack Fort Detroit, when he was encountered by colonel Proctor, who had 500 civilized and 600 savage warriors under his command. He had stationed a part of his force in houses and enclosures, which, from a ^{Jan. 22.} dread of the barbarians, they defended with obstinacy; but, as those feeble posts could not be permanently maintained, the occupants finally surrendered at discretion. The rest of the republican army, in attempting to retreat, suffered almost total destruction from the fury of the savages, whose barbarity ought to have been checked by the superior civilization of their associates¹.

The operations of this war were not conducted on a large scale. From the smallness of the force which Great Britain sent into the field, it might have been considered as one of the most insignificant powers in Christendom; and the United States, though comparatively feeble, had a numerous and increasing population, which might have furnished a greater mass of disposable force.

Another invasion of Upper Canada was not so unsuccessful as Winchester's attempt. Major-general Dearborn, being informed that the town of York was weakly garrisoned, marched against it with above 2000 men, and, being aided by a flotilla on Lake Ontario, enforced the surrender of an important post.

After the transfer of Louisiana to France by a secret article of the treaty concluded with Spain in the year 1802, that ill-peopled but useful territory had been purchased by the United States:

¹ The commander coolly says, that the retiring soldiers were, as he believed, "all, or with very few exceptions, killed by the Indians."

but, in fixing its limits, they had encroached, in the opinion of the Spaniards, upon the province of West Florida. Hence had arisen disputes, which were not yet accommodated. A particular object of contest was the fortress of Mobile, against which major-general Harrison sent a detachment. The demand of an immediate surrender had a speedy effect, though the Spaniards possessed the means of a long defence.

This was an act which had no connection with the existing war ; but it served to evince the spirit of the American government, and its imitation of the selfish and encroaching practices of European nations. That spirit, in some instances, degenerated into malice and cruelty ; for it appears, from a proclamation of the president, that it was declared lawful, by an act of the congress, for any persons to use “ torpedoes, sub-marine instruments, or any other destructive machines whatever,” against British armed vessels ; and it is said, that a schooner was left to invite seizure, having casks of gun-powder concealed under a stock of provisions, subject to mechanical explosion. These practices were vindicated, but not justified or excused, by the brutality of that government which had brought forward the tomahawk and the scalping-knife, to aid the operations of the musket and the cannon.

During the campaign a prospect of peace arose ; but it was faint and distant. The emperor of Russia, being the friend of both powers, offered his mediation ; and, as “ his high character was a satisfactory pledge for the sincerity and impartiality of his offer,” it was readily accepted by the president, who commissioned three distinguished citizens to treat with British plenipotentiaries at Petersburg, and at the same time gave instructions for the adjustment of a commercial treaty with Russia. As it was not expected that this interposition would be efficacious in allaying the animosity of the Americans, it was declined by the British court.

The lakes and the neighbouring posts were, at this time, the chief scenes of hostility. Colonel Proctor, being aware of the enemy's intention of attacking him as soon as a reinforcement should arrive, resolved to assault a fortified station near lake Erie ; but, when he reached the mouth of the Miami, he found the Americans so strongly entrenched and covered, that not all the fire of his batteries could make the desired impression. While

May 5. he remained in suspense at this station, his men were exposed, on both sides of the river, to a sudden and violent attack. About 1300 men, commanded by brigadier Clay, had descended the stream in the hope of overwhelming the besiegers,

who were also harassed by a simultaneous *sortie* from the fort. Even the batteries of the British commander were seized by the foe ; but the vigour with which he inspired the troops enabled them to turn the tide of triumph. He had not 1000 men under his immediate authority ; but the deficiency was supplied by a body of savages, whose courage and activity (he says) contributed largely to his success. About 1000 of the Americans were killed, wounded, or captured.

Near the head of Lake Ontario, a strong body of Americans disembarked, and attacked Fort George, which all the efforts of colonel Vincent could not maintain. At Sacket's harbour, on the same lake, an attempt was made upon the fort both by land and water ; but the courage of the enemy secured it against every assault. Fortune was more favourable to the English in the nocturnal attack of a camp, which, though it was defended by a great superiority of number, was gallantly forced ; and a more considerable advantage was obtained near Queen's-town, in the surrender of a detachment sent out by major-general Dearborn for the interception of British supplies.

Some naval engagements occurred on the lakes. On that of Ontario, Sir James Yeo could not effectually prevail over captain Chauncey ; and, on Lake Erie, Barclay found an able opponent in Perry, with whose squadron he had a close conflict. Each attributed to the opposing commodore a superiority of force ; but it does not appear that the disparity was considerable. The chief American vessel, though disabled, was not captured, because the Canadians were too fully employed to take advantage of the apparent surrender. When both parties had sustained a severe loss, five British vessels, of which only two are dignified by the appellation of *ships*, fell into the power of the enemy.

This misfortune did not efface the glory which the British marine had acquired in an engagement near the port of Boston. Broke, commander of the Shannon, having long watched the Chesapeake frigate, beheld with joy its approach to action. He had only 330 against 440 men ; and, in the weight of metal, the enemy had a very great advantage : but no consideration of hostile superiority could discourage his men, who, after a short firing, boarded the American ship, and subdued all opposition. Seventy-nine were killed or wounded in the Shannon, and one hundred and seventy in the Chesapeake. Captain Broke, who first leaped into that vessel, received great personal injury ; and Laurence, the republican commander, died of his wounds.

The enemy's success on Lake Erie was followed by the recovery

of the whole Michigan territory, except Michilimachinac ; and it encouraged Harrison to march into Upper Canada, with confident hopes of advantage. Major-general Proctor, being too weak to withstand the invaders, dismantled several posts, and destroyed the stores ; and, being attacked in his retreat, he escaped with difficulty, securing less than one-half of his force.

As both powers, soon after, increased their armies, it was expected that some great exploits would be performed. Major-general Hampton, having collected above 7000 men, made an irruption into Lower Canada, and his advanced guard endeavoured to overpower the provincial troops posted near the Chateauguay ; but the defence was so spirited, that the assailants, who were greatly superior in number, were repelled with loss and disgrace. With a view of rendering this invasion more effectual, Wilkinson, having embarked on Lake Ontario with a considerable force, proceeded down the river St. Laurence, and had nearly reached Prescott, before his progress was observed. A violent cannonade then harassed the advancing armament ; but it did not discourage the general, who sent brigadier Boyd, with above 8000 men, to attack a corps which lieutenant-colonel Morrison commanded on the Canadian side of the river. The Americans first assaulted the left wing, but could not disorder its ranks : the right withstood their efforts with equal firmness ; and the whole line, not exceeding the amount of 1000 men, at length defeated the invaders at all points.

The impulse which had been given by this contest to the warlike spirit of the savages, involved the republicans in those hostilities which they more particularly dreaded. Not only the tribes to the north-west of the United States, but those hordes which occupied the territory to the westward of the southern provinces, were engaged in a war with the enemies of Great Britain. Expeditions were undertaken for the chastisement of these ferocious warriors ; and the Creeks, among others, felt the resentment of the neighbouring provincials.

When the congress had another session, the president could not boast, with truth, that the campaign had been uniformly successful ; but he said, that its progress, in addition to the importance of the naval success, had been filled with incidents highly honourable to the American arms. He could not be insensible of the calamities with which war is attended ; but he consoled himself by reflecting, that, if it had increased the interruptions of commerce, it had cherished and multiplied manufactures ; that, if it had given a latitude to spoliations on the ocean,

Dec. 7.

and to predatory incursions on the land, it had developed the best means of retaliating the former, and of providing protection against the latter; and that the result promised a greater respect, on the part of foreign nations, for the rights of the republic, and a longer duration of future peace, than could be expected without the signal proofs which had been exhibited of the national spirit and resources.

LETTER XXVII.

View of Public Affairs, and of the Progress of extended Hostilities, to the Capitulation of Paris.

THE glorious incidents which had diffused joy over the continent, excited correspondent emotions in Great Britain. A.D. 1813. Every patriotic subject, every advocate of justice and equity, every friend of peace, predicted the ultimate success of the confederate princes, and looked forward to the ruin of the tyrant.

In addressing the two houses, the prince regent congratulated them on the decided conviction which happily prevailed throughout so large a portion of Europe, that the war was the result of necessity, and that the “views of universal dominion,” entertained by the ruler of France, “could only be defeated by combined and determined resistance.” As a relaxation of vigour, at this crisis, might promote the views of the common enemy, it was proposed by the ministry, that the disposable force of the country should be augmented, and the militia be encouraged by a liberal premium to enlist in the regular army, or (if that should be disagreeable to their feelings) to serve on the continent for a limited period. A bill to this effect was quickly enacted, and the call was answered with zealous alacrity. At the same time, to promote the exertions of the allied princes, six millions were allowed, beside four millions for the service of the peninsula. These grants were voted with unanimity; for even Mr. Whitbread, being of opinion that peace would soon be obtained by the efforts of so formidable a coalition, relinquished his opposition to the military and subsidiary system of the court. The loud tones of complaint, and the harsh accents

of censure, ceased to be heard ; and harmony was the order of the day.

So quietly were the parliamentary proceedings conducted, and every point which was suggested was so easily gained, that, instead of proposing an adjournment to the beginning of the
Dec. 20. ensuing year, the ministers gratified the members with an unusual prolongation of the recess ; and, when the two houses re-assembled in the spring, the debates were not very interesting or important, with an exception of those which related to the forcible occupation of Norway. That arbitrary arrangement reflected disgrace on the allies. It could only be vindicated on the plea of expediency ; for rectitude formed no part of the question. It was defended by feeble arguments, and by loose casuistry ; yet, in both houses, the motions for remonstrating with the prince regent on the subject were rejected by large majorities.

The proceedings of the senate and representative body in France, were calculated for a vigorous continuance of that war which a just prince would have averted by manifesting a sincere desire of peace. It was decreed, that 300,000 conscripts should be at the disposal of the government, ready to ward off the storm of invasion. Some of the imposts were doubled, and others heavily augmented ; and these demands were declared to be necessary for enabling the army to obstruct the dangerous views of the allies, who intended to dismember France. By this falsehood, the ministers endeavoured to rouse the people to a defence of the country, when their zeal might otherwise have declined.

However great were the preparations for another campaign, Napoleon could not conceal from himself the peril with which he was menaced. He feelingly lamented the secession of the princes who had lately co-operated with him, and began to think that his ambition had overshot the mark at which he aimed. In a moment of pride, he had declared that he would not condescend to court the people by urging them to identify their interests with those of their sovereign, and to meet the dangers of the crisis ;
Dec. 19. but, in haranguing the legislative body, he regretted the necessity of demanding new sacrifices from a generous nation, while he trusted that a regard for the honour and security of France would invigorate the exertions of defensive zeal. He wished for a great display of strength, because, without an imposing aspect, there was no chance of obtaining favourable terms of peace. The offer of the allies to treat, he said, had induced him to consent to a negotiation ; and it was proposed that plenipoten-

tiaries should be sent to Mannheim; but a delay, not imputable to him, had occurred in this interesting concern. On his side, he assured the members, there were no obstacles to the restoration of peace: but the falsehood of this assertion was soon apparent. However strong might be his allegations of pacific views, it was his firm resolution to retain, almost in their whole extent, the French conquests and usurpations.

The declaration from Frankfort, which had suggested to Napoleon the idea of negotiation, did not give general satisfaction. The promise of allowing, to the malignant and restless disturber of the peace of Europe, a greater dominion than the French kings had enjoyed, excited strong disgust. To conclude peace with such a man, was to give him an opportunity of violating it, and to prepare him for a renewal of mischief: to suffer him to reign, after the horrible course which he had pursued, was an encouragement of wickedness and atrocity, and an insult to outraged humanity. In such a cause, it was the duty of every state to interfere, and to insist upon the dethronement of an arbitrary usurper, who had subverted the small remains of feeling, honour, and virtue, which the revolution had left to the French, and had armed them against all other nations. The commencement of the war against him was not strictly justifiable; but the incidents and circumstances which arose in its progress, and his full development of his flagitious character, imparted, to the continuance of hostilities, the sanction of equity.

After the late success of the allies, it required little preparation to bring their troops within the limits of France. Blucher, who, beside the grand army of Prussia, had under his command some Russian and Saxon divisions, commenced the new year A.D. with an invasion of Napoleon's territories. General Bistram 1814. led the way; and, having forced the entrenchments near the Lahn, he crossed the Rhine, and took possession of Coblenz. Baron Sacken passed over near Mannheim, and count Langeron near Bingen; and, in three days, the invaders slew or captured 1500 men. They were received with joy by the people: the *douaniers* fled in consternation; and trade was restored between the French and German districts. Thus encouraged, the army prosecuted its march to the Moselle, and thence to the Marne, without any serious opposition.

The Austrian army, strengthened by Russian and Bavarian divisions, and by the troops of Wurtemberg, invaded Alsace, under the direction of the prince of Schwartzenberg, who so far distributed his force as to threaten, at the same moment, Nancy,

Langres, and Lyons. While he was making arrangements for a speedy co-operation with Blucher, Alexander and his Prussian ally crossed the Rhine near Basle, with their respective bodies of reserve. Count Witgenstein, with a strong corps of Cossacks, had already passed; and some spirited conflicts had occurred, in which the Bavarian general De Roy, the prince of Wurtemberg, and count Platoff, particularly distinguished themselves.

It was pretended by the emissaries of the government, that the apparent acquiescence of the French in the progress of the invaders arose from a pre-concerted plan, by which they hoped to draw their enemies into the heart of the country, so as to enable themselves more effectually to crush them. But this neglect may more reasonably be attributed to the disorder of the administration, the weakness and insubordination of the frontier troops, and the want of a firm dependence on the exertions of the new conscripts. Napoleon, however, if he at first entertained the idea of connivance, soon became sensible of the necessity of checking the advance of his foes. He knew that their resentment was directed more against him than against the people; and he was now convinced, that, if he wished to preserve his power, he must identify himself as much as possible with the nation. He therefore laboured with the most strenuous zeal to produce an universal opposition to the intruders, whom he accused of aiming at the dismemberment of France; and, when a considerable force had been collected between the Seine and the Marne, he took the field with an appearance of animation, and a seeming confidence in the justice of his cause.

When he found that marshal Mortier had been attacked at Bar-sur-Aube, and constrained to retire, he did not scruple to pervert the truth, by affirming, that the French were victorious; and it was announced to the Parisians, that this first advantage had electrified the army with joy. On his approach to St. Dizier, which the Prussians had seized, he ordered that village to be assaulted; and, as it was occupied only by a small force, it was retaken without extraordinary difficulty. This trivial exploit was extolled in the usual style of French exaggeration.

Brienne, the seat of that military school which called Bonapartè its *élève*, was the scene of a more important conflict. Being defied by the enemy, Blucher readily accepted the challenge; and the engagement was maintained without drawing upon either party the imputation of an exposure of pusillanimity. The allies endeavoured to profit by the deficiency of cavalry on the part of the French; but they gave in their turn an advantage

to their adversaries, by attending less to the defence of the castle than to the operations of the field. An officer, detached by marshal Victor, was thus gratified with an opportunity of taking that post in the night. Either (as the writer of the French account affirms) by the torches of the confederates, or from the vivid fire of the artillery incessantly played by the assailants, the town was involved in flames: and, in the consequent confusion, the troops of Blucher retreated, but not before they had made a vigorous effort to retake the castle ¹.

Another trial of strength and courage quickly followed. Having received a reinforcement from the prince of Schwartzenberg, the Prussian commander advanced with about 75,000 men, and engaged a nearly equal number of the enemy, at La ^{Feb. 1.} Rothière and other posts. That village formed the centre and the key of the French position: the right wing was stationed at Dienville, and the left at Chaumenil and Giberie; and the cavalry occupied an intervening plain. The prince of Wurtemberg strenuously contended with marshal Victor; drove him from the left; was dislodged in his turn; recovered and maintained the post. Count Guilay attacked the right, but could not force it before midnight. Sacken's movements were directed against the centre; and, with great difficulty and loss, he expelled the enemy from La Rothière, which he defended against a personal attempt of Napoleon for its recovery. After a considerable loss, the French made a retrograde motion to Troyes and Arcis.

The Austrian and Prussian armies continued their advance toward Paris in different directions. Schwartzenberg proceeded along the banks of the Seine, while Blucher chiefly guided his course by the Marne. General von Yorck overtook the rear-guard of Macdonald's army, and gained such an advantage as led to the capture of Châlons. Bonapartè having retreated to Nogent, Troyes was easily taken by the prince of Wurtemberg, who also reduced Sens to submission.

Alarmed at the progress of Blucher, whose troops were within three marches of the French capital, Napoleon, whose reputation had visibly declined, and whose genius was supposed to have deserted him, resolved to make a bold attempt for the retrieval of his credit. An opportunity of signal success seemed to be afforded to his eager hopes by the wide separation of one corps from another. He attacked and defeated, at Champ Aubert,

¹ *Campagne de Paris*, par Giraud.

the division of general Alsufieff, too distantly situated to be seasonably assisted. Sacken now advanced, and his division, aided by that of Yorck, fought with obstinacy at Montmirail, but could not ensure a triumph. The hostile leader affirmed that, in this battle, the Russians and their associates fled in the greatest confusion: but, according to a British officer¹, the two armies remained, at the close of the engagement, in their respective positions. Upon an impartial consideration of the different statements, it appeared that the enemy had the advantage, and that, on the following day, farther success attended a vigorous pursuit.

Blucher, who had remained inactive near Vertus during these three days of conflict, roused himself when he was apprised of the advance of Marmont, and, attacking that commander at Etoges, compelled him to retire. Recalled by this movement from the pursuit of Sacken and Yorck, Bonapartè resolved to risk another engagement. He stopped the retreating marshal, and encouraged him to turn upon the foe at Vauchamp. The battle which ensued was, almost entirely, a contest between the French cavalry and the allied infantry. The former made a furious assault, which the latter coolly resisted by the formation of squares, presenting on every side a firm front. So destructive was the fire from these compact bodies, which were supported by the occasional charges of a small number of horsemen, that the French sometimes recoiled in disorder; but, being amply reinforced, they made such bold and direct attacks, that Blucher found a retreat expedient and even necessary. For more than three leagues, his men were incessantly harassed by their pursuers: yet we are assured, that not a single square was broken². At sunset, a strong body of cavalry made a circuit, and endeavoured to stop the retreat in front; but even this alarming movement did not discourage those who were determined to break through every obstacle. The artillery, being admirably served, opened such a fire as concurred with well-directed volleys of musketry to clear the line of march; and, although a body of infantry at Etoges flanked the squares, and made considerable havoc, the bulk of the harassed army escaped to Bergères.

Bonapartè now turned his arms with redoubled confidence against the prince of Schwartzenberg, who had sent detachments

¹ Colonel Lowe. *London Gazette*, February 26.

² Colonel Lowe's *Letter*.—The French narrator of the action says, on the contrary, that three squares were totally broken.

within forty miles of Paris, and had driven the enemy even from the left bank of the Seine. Count Witgenstein was now attacked, at Nangis, by a force which he was too weak to withstand. As his loss was considerable, and as count Wrede was also dislodged from Villeneuve, the prince recalled his troops to the right bank. Three attacks were made upon that part of his army which occupied Montereau and its vicinity; and all were repelled by the prince of Wurtemberg: but a fourth assault compelled him to retreat, without allowing him an opportunity of destroying the bridge, over which the French passed in great force.

Blucher, sensible of the danger of a march not sufficiently connected with the progress of the Austrian army, marched from Châlons with 55,000 men, with the view of more effectual co-operation. He had only reached Meri, when Troyes was evacuated by the Austrians on the approach of Napoleon, who from his head-quarters in that city, fulminated a vindictive proclamation, not only against all Frenchmen who accompanied the invading armies, but against all who, in the places occupied by the enemy, had worn the white cockade, or any other badge of the house of Bourbon.

The prince of Schwartzenberg continued to retreat, but without the least appearance of disorder. As soon as an opportunity offered itself, he resumed an offensive attitude: and, judiciously directing the operations of the Russian troops, dislodged the French from all their positions on this side of the Aube. He detached the prince of Wurtemberg with instructions to attack marshal Macdonald, who was repelled with little difficulty; and, advancing against Oudinot, he easily retook the city of Troyes.

Still anxious to prevent a junction between the Austrian and Prussian armies, Bonapartè marched against Blucher, and constrained him to alter his *route*; but, when general Winzingerode had intimidated the commandant of Soissons into a surrender, and his division and that of Bulow had reinforced the field-marshal, he resolved to make a grand effort for victory. While his force extended from Laffaux to Craone, Soissons was assaulted with great fury. The French seized the greater part of the suburbs, and, from the unroofed houses, kept up an incessant fire on the Russians, who occupied the other portion, and also on those who manned the walls of the town: but their exertions were rendered fruitless by the obstinacy of the defence. Bonapartè now crossed the Aisne, and attacked the left with such vigour as to make a considerable impression; the consequence of which, after no small loss, was a retreat to Laon. In the front of that town, Blucher

concentrated his army, which considerably out-numbered the French host. Bulow's division occupied the town itself and an adjacent conical hill: the corps of Winzingerode, Sacken, and Langeron, formed the right; and the left positions were defended by Yorck and Kleist. Before day-light, when the darkness was increased by a thick fog, the enemy commenced the attack, and seized two villages, from which the fire of the small arms could reach Laon. Amidst this obscurity, the battle raged for many hours, the right and centre of the allies rather gaining than losing ground. As soon as the day became clear, the field-marshal ordered the cavalry to move from the rear, and turn the left flank of the French; but the irregularity of the ground, and other difficulties, prevented the accomplishment of that operation. In the mean time, a numerous body of infantry, not unsupported by cavalry, marched against the left of the confederates, pouring a dreadful fire from forty pieces of artillery. To assist in repelling this attack, troops were sent from other parts of the field, where the vigour of conflict began to decline; and the whole phalanx so firmly sustained the assault, and so ably profited by the first moment of advantage, which a charge of cavalry presented, that the enemy fled at night in confusion and terror. A brisk pursuit was carried on during the night; but, the next morning, those divisions which had not retreated again engaged the centre and the right, and the villages and small woods were the scenes of spirited conflicts. No great disparity of fortune appeared on this day before the approach of evening; but then a select body advanced to a village near the walls, and, failing in the attempt to storm it, retreated in disorder. Napoleon, who had been cautioned by some of his generals against the attack of Laon, now lamented that he had not taken the advice, and retired to Soissons, which had lately been recovered. For his disappointment in the result of these actions, he received some consolation at Rheims. This city had been taken by the allies; but it was re-captured by Marmont and Merlin, while he viewed the operations from a neighbouring hill. Pleased with the sight of a multitude of prisoners, and flattered with the congratulations of the citizens, he rested for some days from his military labours. The Austrian general was preparing to resume his march to Paris, when he was checked by the intelligence of this event.

While the destiny of France was yet unascertained, the war exhibited some striking features in other scenes of action. The prince of Sweden, pursuing the great object of extinguishing the French interest in the north of Germany and in Denmark, met

with rapid success; and, after a series of military advantages, he intimidated the Danish court into a treaty of peace and alliance. He even procured an explicit assent to the transfer of Norway, upon the mere promise of eventual compensation. Jan. 17.

After an active campaign, he stationed his troops in the Netherlands, and, with anxious attention, observed the progress of the grand army, keeping the Belgians in awe, and preparing himself for offensive operations, as occasion might require. The British troops, in that territory, were commanded by sir Thomas Graham, with whom general Bulow and a Prussian division co-operated. From some posts near Antwerp, the French were dislodged; but the rigours of the season, and the want of a proper supply of artillery, suggested the propriety of forbearance with regard to a place of such strength. After some weeks of inaction, sir Thomas was induced to make an attempt for the reduction of Bergen-op-Zoom. He sent four columns on that hazardous service. Two of these divisions mounted the ramparts, and one even entered the body of the place: but the defence was so spirited, that the rash assailants suffered considerable loss, and about 1800 were obliged to surrender.

In the south-west of France, the marquis of Wellington resumed offensive operations by the seizure of posts, which, in that part of the country, were numerous. Near Orthez, the attack was particularly spirited, and the resistance obstinate; but the division of sir Rowland Hill prevailed. The enemy did not merely retire, but fled in the utmost confusion; and so great was the discouragement which ensued, that desertion from the ranks became very frequent. The whole army passed the Adour, notwithstanding its swollen state; and the citadel of Bayonne was closely invested.

The progress of the allies in this part of France, although their commander had not declared his sentiments in favour of the house of Bourbon, encouraged the friends of the exiled family to assert those claims which were more entitled to general support than the pretensions of a base adventurer. At the close of the preceding year, strong symptoms of discontent had been manifested in La Vendée; and many conscripts had refused to march, even opposing by force the attempts of the soldiery to fix them in the ranks. Dreading a civil war at such a crisis, the government relaxed its rigour in that part of the country, and indulged the people with an abatement of the various demands for the public service. These concessions, and the prospect of a treaty between the allies and the usurper, kept the provincials quiet for a time; but they

communicated to each other their wishes for a subversion of the existing government, and anxiously waited for an opportunity of testifying their loyal zeal. The marquis de la Roche-Jacquelein, whose name was a passport to the favour of the Vendéans, wished to appear among them, that he might make secret arrangements for a revolt: but his person was so well known, that his friends alleged the danger of his being discovered in his journey; and M. Jagault, who was equally attached to the royal family, undertook a tour of observation through many of the departments. M. Lynch privately promoted the same cause at Paris, assuring the Polignac family, that, if the inhabitants of Bourdeaux (of which city he was the chief magistrate) should be disposed to concur in the elevation of Louis to the throne, he would be the first to assume the white cockade.

Bourdeaux took the lead in promoting a counter-revolution. The marquis, after the return of the mayor, concerted a speedy insurrection, dependent upon the co-operation of the British general and the duke of Angoulême, which he had no doubt of securing. The duke was then at St. Jean de Luz, where he was visited by the marquis and M. Queyriaux, who, in the name of a royal council recently formed, requested his presence at Bourdeaux. Pleased at the zeal of the citizens for the interest of his family, and at the favourable intelligence which his two friends gave him of the popular disposition in other parts of France, he expressed his joy in strong terms. The deputies proceeded to the head-quarters of the marquis of Wellington, who, not having then gained the battle of Orthez, declined an immediate interference. Another deputy being sent to inform the general that Bourdeaux was unoccupied by the troops of Napoleon, and the late victory having contributed to open the direct road to that city, he ordered sir William Beresford to take possession of it. On the approach of the detachment, the council requested that

Mar. 12. no foreign troops might be suffered to appear within the walls, before the royalists had completed their arrangements. The mayor then advanced, with his municipal associates and the royal guard, to meet the field-marshal, whom he thus addressed: "If you are prepared to enter Bourdeaux as a conqueror, I will submissively deliver up the keys, because I have not the means of defence; but, if you wish to be admitted in the names of the king of France and his British ally, I will surrender my trust with joy, and receive you with unfeigned gratitude." Sir William replied, that he considered himself as entering an allied city, obedient to Louis XVIII.; and he promised all the

assistance which the army could afford for the support of the royal interest. The troops now marched into the city, and were hailed as friends and protectors. While the people were exulting at this unusual scene, the duke of Angoulême, escorted by a guard of honour, made his appearance, and was received with the most enthusiastic transports¹.

An apprehension of the speedy ruin of Napoleon had induced one of his vassal kings to desert him. Murat, in the hope of securing his usurpation, entered into an alliance with the Austrian emperor, with whose army in Italy he engaged to co-operate. Eugene Beauharnois, not being disposed to follow the example of revolt, resolutely opposed the troops of Francis; but, after some sanguinary conflicts, they baffled his efforts, and maintained their superiority near the Mincio. Murat then attacked general Grenier with success; and, after gaining other advantages, he penetrated, but not without considerable loss, to Placentia.

In the mean time, the fate of France was decided. Dreading the advance of the prince of Schwartzenberg, who was attended in his progress by Alexander and the king of Prussia, and followed by the Austrian emperor, Napoleon returned from the Aisne to the Aube, while his adversaries retreated before him. He fancied that he sufficiently secured his interest by alternately opposing each army. Neither of the chief commanders, however, felt any serious discouragement. Both pressed forward to the same object; and Blucher, in particular, was inspired with all the animation of the most ardent zeal. He had apprehended the regular completion of a treaty which had for some time been discussed at Chatillon; and, as he had no doubt that it would quickly be violated by the restless and perfidious tyrant whom it tended to restrain within the limits of order and forbearance, he exulted in the discontinuance and failure of the negotiation. In a proclamation which he had issued during the conferences, he had expressed his firm confidence of ulterior and final success; had warned the French of the inutility of resistance; and severely condemned that folly and blindness which suffered them to be duped by the deceptions and artful instigations of an unprincipled ruler, who, without feeling for any one but himself, continued to sacrifice their lives and property at the shrine of ambition and false glory. Their sovereign alone, said the veteran, threw obstacles in the way of peace, and was willing (he might

¹ *Supplément aux Mémoires de Madame la Marquise de la Roche-Jacquelein.*

have added), with desperate frenzy, to incur the risk of losing all, rather than resign any part of his acquisitions. He might have retained, with the consent of Europe, a great and flourishing monarchy; but, instead of abandoning his ill-gotten spoils and appendages in Germany and Italy, of which the allies insisted upon the dereliction, he resolved to persist in the war, in the vain hope of dictating the terms of pacification. He was so weak as to be elevated by partial and trifling success; he trusted to his high fame, and his influence over a servile nation; and he rejected with scorn such terms as were only censurable for the unmerited advantages which they afforded to a base usurper, who ought to have been deprived of all power, and excluded from the pale of civil society.

It was fortunate for Europe, that his pride was so pertinacious, and that his infatuation rendered him so intractable. His dethronement was the wish of every advocate of honour and humanity, and every friend of peace; and even a short continuance of the war promised that result. A proper direction of the great mass of strength, armed and embodied against the tyrant's authority, could not fail to produce the most beneficial effects, unless fortune should be peculiarly adverse to the cause of justice and of social order.

The exertions of the Austrian army were now directed to the recovery of the command of the Aube and Seine. The courage and skill of the prince of Wurtemberg contributed to the success of an engagement near Arcis, in which the enemy suffered a severe loss. Driven from that post, Bonapartè moved against Vitry, which was then occupied by a Prussian garrison. Being unable to procure an immediate surrender of the town, he advanced still farther to the eastward, and thus placed himself on the right of the principal army, which, he hoped, would be intimidated into a retreat, by the danger of losing its communications: but the ill-judged movement produced an opposite effect.

Having marched back to Vitry, on pretence of pursuing Napoleon, the Austrian general prepared for the execution of his grand scheme, and made arrangements for a junction with the army of Blucher. One division immediately advanced from Châlons for that purpose, and the field-marshal soon placed the rest of his force within the limits of an easy co-operation. About 200,000 men were thus put in motion for a march to Paris.

This memorable march was conducted with circumspection and judgment. The cavalry led the way, moving toward Sezanne; and three great columns of infantry followed. A consi-

derable corps moved slowly in the rear, to provide against a surprisal, and to secure the means of supply ; and Winzingerode was detached with 10,000 horse to observe, amuse, and employ Napoleon.

Between the metropolis and the advancing host, there only remained one army ; and the small amount of this force rendered it unable to stem that torrent of invasion, which rolled so forcibly toward Paris. Marmont and Mortier were moving to co-operate with their harassed emperor, with whose immediate object and recent movements, however, they were unacquainted : and, when they were approaching Vitry, which they supposed to be possessed by their friends, they found themselves exposed to the danger of ruin. Being fiercely attacked by the Wur-^{Mar. 25.}temberg cavalry, they began to retreat : by a Russian corps under the grand duke Constantine they were still more vigorously charged, and driven with great loss through Fere Champénoise. A detached column of 5,000 men, belonging to the army of the two marshals, soon after appeared to the right, conducting copious supplies ; and some of Blucher's squadrons were observed to be in its rear. Alexander and Frederic eagerly displayed, on this occasion, their zeal and courage, and directed the operations which led to the encompassment of the column. Although it consisted of new levies and of detachments from the national guard, the men defended themselves with great spirit, and refused to surrender, before a battery of Russian artillery and repeated charges of horse menaced them with destruction.

This conflict seemed to decide the fate of Paris. The allies continued their march with no opposition but such as they could easily quell. Before their right wing reached Meaux, a body of the national guard, encouraged and aided by a party of veterans, made a show of resistance, and the passage of the Marne was disputed at Triport. These attempts did not long delay the progress of the invaders, who crossed the river on temporary bridges. At Claye, Yorck's division suffered some loss, but severely chastised those who continued to resist. Leaving Wrede and Sacken in possession of Meaux, where the retreating soldiers had blown up a large magazine of powder, the confederate generals at length advanced within view of Paris.

The adherents of the despot had frequently derided the presumption of his enemies, for entertaining the hope of reducing the metropolis, and had affected to prognosticate the ruin of the besieging army : but the allies were not deterred from the attempt by such idle gasconade. They knew that the orders for

the erection of many new works had been only executed in part, and that the city was incapable of a long defence ; and, even if the fortifications had been much more extensive and formidable than they really were, the confederate troops would not have despaired of success.

Joseph Bonapartè nominally conducted the defensive preparations ; but, when the two fugitive marshals had arrived with all the force which they could collect, he resigned the direction to their superior skill and judgment. Little dependence, on this occasion, could be reposed on the national guard ; and the regular troops were not sufficiently numerous for the defence of so large a city. The principal posts were those of Mont-martre, Belleville, and Romainville ; which, with Pantin and other stations, employed 150 pieces of artillery.

Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg, being ordered to commence the attack, directed his attention to the heights of Romainville ;
Mar. 30. and, after being exposed for some hours to a very galling fire, he stormed the post, the enemy retiring to Belleville. His brother attacked Vincennes, and met with similar success. General Rieffski gained possession of Belleville by spirited perseverance, and Pantin was taken by the Prussians at the point of the bayonet. Blucher more particularly superintended the reduction of Mont-martre. To facilitate this object, he sent a strong division to take or to blockade Saint Denis, and to seize Aubervilliers. At both these posts, a manly resistance was made. In the mean time, the defenders of La Villette tried the effect of a charge of cavalry, not without the support of infantry and artillery ; but this opposition was baffled by the vigour of Woronzoff. The allies had already offered to treat with the enemy, that the farther effusion of blood might be avoided. Marmont, who had haughtily refused to receive any proposals, now consented to listen to reasonable offers, as Mont-martre was on the point of being stormed, and as only the feeble palisaded barriers remained to check the intrusion of foreign arms. Satisfied with that capitulation which could now be enforced, the allied princes were not so inhuman as to wish to take vengeance on the Parisians for the horrible outrages which their countrymen had perpetrated in Germany and Russia, and in the peninsula. They readily granted an armistice, and the terms of surrender were soon adjusted. It was agreed, that the troops of the two marshals should retire from the city in the morning, with their equipage and baggage ; that hostilities should not recommence before the lapse of two hours from their retreat ; and that

the national and municipal guards should remain on their present footing, or be disbanded, at the discretion of the allied powers, to whose generosity, by a particular article, the city was recommended¹.

LETTER XXVIII.

Survey of the Politics of Europe, comprehending the Abdication of Napoleon, and the Restoration of the House of Bourbon to the Thrones both of France and Spain.

THE subjugation of Babylon did not, perhaps, excite a greater sensation in the ancient world, than the fall of Paris in our own time. Both cities were immersed in luxury, corruption, profligacy, and vice; and the rulers of both, with the apparent acquiescence of the citizens, had long exercised the most oppressive tyranny over other states. To check such a career was both the duty and interest of every community which had been brought within the vortex of oppression; and the joy of success was proportioned to the magnitude of the enterprise.

Alexander and Frederic now made a triumphal entry A.D. into that capital, into which the former opposers of the 1814. French revolution had not dared to penetrate. Notwithstanding all the endeavours of the tyrant's emissaries to excite resistance or tumult, the princes and their troops moved forward uninsulted and unmolested; and the procession (says a French writer) even assumed the character of a festival. Joy seemed to animate the countenance of every spectator. Even the appearance of an invading army was hailed as a blessing. The northern potentate was applauded and extolled as the liberator of France from an odious despotism, and the beneficent restorer of peace and justice. Many voices were heard in the throng, calling for the re-establishment of the house of Bourbon; and the white cockade began to supersede the *tri-colour* badge of usurpation, tyranny, and war.

This friendly reception of those who had so lately been considered and treated as the enemies of France, announced the subversion of the power of Napoleon. As soon as he was informed

¹ *London Gazette—Campagne de Paris.*—About 7,500 men are said to have been killed or wounded on the part of the allies, in storming the different positions; while the French, being better protected, suffered much less injury.

of the dreaded junction of the two armies, he returned to the westward; but, as the nearest *route* was unsafe, his approach to Paris was delayed until the capitulation had been signed. His indignation and regret at the surrender assumed the appearance of rage and frenzy. He accused the marshals of having betrayed him, inveighed against the cowardice of the Parisians, and promised, to his followers, the liberty of pillaging the city. He denounced vengeance against all his enemies, and declared that he would not relinquish his power but with his life.

While he was eagerly employed at Fontainebleau in the augmentation of his army, a provisional government was formed at Paris, without the least regard to his authority. The Russian emperor declaring that the allies would not condescend to treat with him or any of his family, and promising more favourable terms of peace to the French than they would have obtained under his sway, invited them to frame a new government and constitution. The senate, profiting by this permission, immediately assembled, and selected five members, of whom Talleyrand was the chief, for the executive administration. At the

April 2. next meeting it was voted, that the emperor Napoleon had forfeited all right to the throne, and that the French people and army were absolved from their oaths of allegiance to him. Alexander now admitted the senators to an audience; expressed his approbation of their patriotic conduct; declared himself the friend of France; and, as a proof of his desire of contracting a firm alliance with the nation, promised to restore, unconditionally, all the French prisoners who were in his dominions.

At this crisis, the friends of the Bourbon family were inspired with confident hopes of the elevation of Louis to the throne. They no longer concealed their sentiments, and zealously impressed upon the minds of their countrymen the preferable nature of a government founded upon law and justice, to the degrading tyranny of a base upstart. An address was signed by a great number of Parisians, recommending the royal exile to the patronage of the allied princes, and urging them to complete, by his enthronement, the liberation of France. Talleyrand, who had been long disgusted with the government of Napoleon, and had particularly disapproved his treatment of the Spaniards, more perhaps for its impolicy than its iniquity, promoted the same object by all the weight of his authority; and this wish soon became general; but it did not obtain the full sanction of universality; for the army, and the unprincipled and demoralized part of the

nation, desired the continuance of that government which the efforts of Europe had overthrown. A rage for military glory influenced the admirers of Bonapartè: his great public works, and his various institutions, were also alleged in his praise; and, on these grounds, they preferred the arbitrary sway of the most unfeeling of men to that of a benevolent, patriotic, and virtuous prince.

Some days of suspense intervened; and, during that time, tranquillity prevailed in Paris. A new constitution was then announced by the senate. The first article recognised the French government as monarchical and hereditary; April 6. and the second declared, that the people freely called Louis Stanislaus Xavier to the throne. This code, in some important respects, resembled that of England. It invested the king, the senate, and the popular representatives, with the concurrent legislation. Schemes of laws, in general, might originate in either assembly; but points of finance and contribution could only be proposed in the chamber of deputies. The dignity of senator was to be hereditary, and dependent on the royal nomination, with a proviso that the number should not be augmented beyond 200. The deputies were to be chosen, immediately or without intervention, by the electoral bodies: they were to exercise their functions for five years; and they could only be tried for any offence by the senate. On a fixed day, in every year, they might meet by their own authority; and, after a dissolution, only three months were to elapse before the convocation of a new assembly. In case of a vacancy among the judges, the king might appoint a successor out of three candidates, named by the respective tribunals. Religious freedom was guaranteed; and the general liberty of the press was allowed. In some particulars, the royal prerogative was more restricted than it ought to have been among a volatile people, not sufficiently prudent, sedate, or well-principled.

A regard for a friend, or a sense of honour which dictated a wish for the preservation of the life and liberty of a commander and a sovereign, prompted marshal Marmont, when he proposed the submission of his corps to the new government, to stipulate that no violence or injury should be offered to the person or freedom of Napoleon, if he should fall into the hands of the allies. Ney and Macdonald, still more zealous in his cause, ventured to demand a continuance of his dynasty; but, if they had coolly reflected on the subject, they would not have been so weak or so blind as to expect, that any of the princes, except the Austrian

emperor, would listen to such a requisition ; and even Francis was not disposed to outrage the feelings of Europe by supporting the pretensions of his reputed grandson to a throne, which had been obtained by military intimidation, rather than by the uninfluenced voice of the people.

The humbled tyrant, aware of the necessity of yielding to the urgency of imperious circumstances, declared his readiness to sacrifice every personal advantage, not excepting even life, to the interest of France ; and, as his continuance in his exalted station was deemed the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, he renounced, for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy.

Some of his friends would have advised him, rather than submit to such degradation, to rush upon the enemy with all his remaining troops, and meet an honourable death in the field ; but this was a desperate expedient, of which he had no idea. To an act of wilful suicide, which one of his Mamelouks recommended, he was still less inclined. Indeed, he was so fond of life, that he would have humbly thanked the most hated foe for suffering him to preserve it. It was fortunate for him that his conquerors retained those feelings of humanity which he had discarded, and were even disposed to lighten his fall by the grant of favours and indulgences, to which he had no pretensions.

He was gratified with a treaty, of which the terms were far too honourable for one who had so shamefully abused his power. It was agreed, that he should not merely reside unmolested on the isle of Elba, but should exercise supreme sway over that territory : that he should retain the imperial title, and annually receive from France, for the support of his rank, two millions of francs, a moiety of which should on his death be transferred to the empress Maria Louisa ; to whom, and to her issue, the duchy of Parma and its dependencies would be immediately assigned in full sovereignty : that his mother, and his brothers and sisters, should be accommodated with a liberal allowance : that his private property in France should, to a certain extent, be reserved as a fund for the occasional gratification of such friends as he might recommend to the notice of the government ; and that he might take 400 men to Elba, and retain them as defenders of his person.

With these concessions he pretended to be satisfied. He was escorted through France by a detachment of the guard, and, having with difficulty escaped, in his progress, the violence of popular resentment, he reached St. Tropes, and embarked for

Porto-Ferraio, where he had leisure to reflect on the extraordinary change of his fortune.

The war which his wanton ambition had excited, did not immediately cease on the reduction of Paris. The intelligence of that great event was not transmitted with the requisite celerity to the southern parts of the country ; and, even after it had been received, it was concealed (as there is reason to believe) by the cruel malignity of Soult, who wished for an opportunity of taking vengeance upon the English and their associates, for daring to invade the territories of his imperial patron. Much blood was shed in a contest for the possession of Toulouse, which, however, the allies obtained. In a *sortie* from Bayonne, also, some loss was sustained ; but these hostilities at length yielded to an armistice. In Italy, an expedition was undertaken by lord William Bentinck, who wished to annihilate the French influence over the Genoese. With the aid of commodore Rowley, he reduced their capital, and left it at the disposal of those powers which were proceeding to a general settlement of the affairs of Europe.

Louis XVIII., who had long lived in England in tranquil retirement, now roused himself from the indolence of a private life, and was ready to undertake the arduous task of royalty. At the request of the prince regent, he made his public entry into Westminster with the pompous parade of a sovereign ; and, having received, from all ranks of the community, the most pleasing marks of respect, he proceeded to Dover, where his embarkation was witnessed by his royal friend, and by a multitude of the rejoicing votaries of peace. At Calais, he was hailed with the loudest acclamations ; and, if the congratulations of the Parisians were less lively, the difference arose from their more corrupt and demoralized character. May 3.

The senate and the representative body had connected the acceptance of the new constitution with the inauguration of Louis, ordering that he should not be proclaimed king before he should have sworn to the observance of the code : but, though a mild and moderate prince, he was unwilling to be thus fettered ; and trusting to his own judgment, and to the good sense and patriotism of his friends, he declared that he would present to the people such a constitution as they would have no reason to disapprove.

Aware of the influence and power of the marshals, the king endeavoured to conciliate them by respectful attention, and by a general confirmation of their honours and emoluments ; and, to

extend his own interest among the troops, he gave to his brother, his two nephews, the duke of Orleans, the prince of Condé and his son, the command of regiments, subjecting the former colonels to the authority of these princes, with the title of inspector-general. At the same time, he pleased both the army and the people by hastening the departure of the foreign troops, whose presence, notwithstanding their orderly and exemplary demeanour, necessarily excited displeasing sensations.

The negotiations between France and the combined powers were conducted without acrimony. Louis and Talleyrand were sensible of the necessity of abandoning Napoleon's conquests, and of restricting the kingdom to moderate limits, as peace could not
May 30. otherwise be obtained from the four allied princes. It was

stipulated with these potentates, that the general boundaries of France should be fixed at those points within which it was circumscribed at the beginning of the year 1792, but not without a particular allowance of additional districts in various parts of the frontier; that Great Britain should restore all the colonial establishments which the French at that time possessed, except Tobago, St. Lucia, the Isle of France, and the Spanish part of St. Domingo; and that the kings of Sweden and Portugal should respectively surrender Guadaloupe and French Guiana. The king readily promised to abolish the slave trade, as far as his subjects were concerned, within five years; and to the meditated continental arrangements, and the restoration of the independence of the German states, of Switzerland, and other countries, he gave his preliminary assent. There was another important article in the treaty, ordaining a convocation at Vienna of the plenipotentiaries of the contracting powers, for the adjustment of the balance of power, and of a durable peace.

The loss of those extensive territories which had been annexed to the monarchy since the revolution, and the annihilation of the great influence arbitrarily obtained over less powerful nations, wounded the ambitious pride of the French, and excited strong disgust; but, if they had dispassionately reflected on the multiplied acts of violence and injustice of which their rulers had for a long course of years been guilty, they would have been disposed to acknowledge the lenity of their conquerors, who, instead of listening to the suggestions of animosity and vengeance, evinced only a reasonable desire of reducing their ferocious enemies within the limits of moderation and equity.

Before the allies reached Paris, the impracticability of preserving Spain had prompted Napoleon to release Ferdinand from

captivity, and to conclude a treaty with that prince for his restoration to actual royalty. In announcing this convention to the regency, the king expressed his gratitude for the unalterable attachment of his countrymen to his interest, and for the persevering courage and energy of his British allies; at the same time acknowledging his obligations to the emperor of France, for the comforts which he had enjoyed during his exile, and the spontaneous offer of an advantageous pacification. The answer which he received was respectful and polite; but it was accompanied with a prior decree of the cortes, tending to the annulment of every convention which the king might be induced to sign while he remained in captivity. In reply to another communication, the regents, evading the desired ratification of the late treaty, informed his majesty, that an ambassador had been deputed in his name to assist at the proposed congress of the chief European powers, the result of which would in all probability be a general peace; and the council of state declared, that he ought not to be permitted to resume his authority, unless he would bind himself by oath to an observance of the constitution. The cortes confirmed this arrangement; adding, that no Spaniard who had obtained any employment, received any mark of honour, or enjoyed a pension, by the grant of Napoleon or of Joseph, or who had retired with the French troops, should be allowed to accompany the king on his return.

Trusting to his authority and influence, Ferdinand disregarded these attempts to control him, and resolved to pursue his own inclinations, or follow the advice of his favourites. He quietly entered Spain by a different *route* from that which the regency had recommended, and proceeded to Valencia, where he indicated, by two decrees, an intention of sacrificing the interests of the two parties which divided the nation, to the benefit of a third set of men, then beginning to take the form and consistence of a party. These advisers were the friends of the ancient system, the votaries of superstition and prejudice, who had temporized during the progress of the obtruded settlement at Bayonne, and opposed the constitution adjusted at Cadiz. Influenced by these unenlightened counsellors, the king stigmatized the existing cortes as illegally framed and composed; and, having condemned the new constitution, dissolved the assembly, with a promise of convoking a regular national council. By another decree, he restrained the liberty of the press, declaring that the censors should be such individuals as were not attached to the cortes, and had not been in the service of that prince whom the French

had imposed upon the nation. Forgetting or neglecting that protest against despotism, which was included in the former of these decrees, he ordered the commandant of Madrid to apprehend two of the regents, several members of the cortes, and some authors of periodical publications, without stating their particular criminality or delinquency; and many other arbitrary arrests and imprisonments speedily followed. Intent on the re-establishment of monasteries, he ordained the restitution of the estates belonging to those foundations, without making compensation for the purchase or for the subsequent improvements of the property. He concurred with the late assembly in withholding the confiscated or sequestered lands and goods of supposed traitors, and thus enforced a decree which he ought rather to have annulled. He also prohibited the return of those fugitives who had served the usurper as ministers or counsellors, or had filled any considerable station, civil or military; and such as were permitted to re-appear in Spain, were declared to be ineligible to public employments, and debarred from residing within twenty leagues of the capital¹.

The restoration of the pope's authority was almost as agreeable to Ferdinand as the permission of his own return to power. That favour was readily granted by the statesmen who governed France during the *interregnum*; and Pius, like an incorrigible bigot, exhibited the same superstitious zeal which marked the character of the Spanish monarch, instead of displaying a just regard for incorrupt religion and enlightened government.

In consequence of the humiliation of Napoleon, the northern parts of Italy were quietly seized by the Austrians, who restored the principality of Piedmont to the royal family of Sardinia, with a promise of additional dominions. Murat was suffered, for the present, to retain the kingdom of Naples, and even to withhold some provinces from the pope; but it was not intended, by the arbiters of the continent, that this usurper should be a permanent sovereign.

Bernadotte, being less irregularly elevated to the prospect of a throne, was permitted to enjoy his dignity; and that offer by which he had been allured into the confederacy, was faithfully completed. It was policy, not justice, that dictated the promise of procuring Norway for the Swedes: but, as the allied powers had deliberately involved themselves in the obligations of such a transfer, strict faith was suffered, in this instance, to triumph

¹ *Mémoires*, par Nollerto, chap 14—16.

over natural equity and the legitimate rules of conduct. In ordinary leagues or associations connected with war, a neglect of justice is too frequent to excite surprise ; but, in such a confederacy as that which armed the European princes against the tyrant of France, it could not reasonably be expected that any imitation of the conduct of a base violator of all laws would be sanctioned by the professed votaries of justice. Even the British cabinet, as much addicted as any government to the practice of self-praise, and accustomed to boast of its moderation and equity, sacrificed its ostensible maxims to political convenience, and obstinately urged the completion of the irregular and anomalous engagement, without regard to the wishes or the remonstrances of a defenceless community. The cession, on the part of the king of Denmark, was extorted by imperious circumstances and by the exigency of the crisis : but, even if it had been altogether voluntary, it gave no right of seizure to another prince or nation. He might justly resign the authority which he had exercised over Norway ; and the people ought to have been left at full liberty to choose a new government, uninfluenced by foreign dictation, unawed by a hostile confederacy.

The feelings of ancient animosity rendered the Norwegians particularly unwilling to submit to a nation which seemed to bear an hereditary hatred to the Danes and their fellow-subjects ; and, in the hope of maintaining their independence, they treated with contempt the promises of the king of Sweden, who held out the prospect of a free constitution, and of the most friendly and cordial protection. All subjection to a foreign power was disclaimed by their patriotic leaders ; and Christian Frederic, hereditary prince of Denmark, was invited to govern their kingdom. He readily accepted the offer of political power ; and, presenting himself at Christiania, began to provide for the defence of the country. In concert with some of the most intelligent natives, he prepared a constitution resembling that of England : but this compliment to Great Britain did not secure the friendship of our court, which, in answer to an application from the new government, sternly ordered a blockade of the Norwegian ports. An assembly of national representatives adopted the new constitution, and assigned to Christian the regal title. As this was deemed a declaration of war against the allies, the envoys of the four great powers repaired to Christiania, and, announcing themselves as heralds rather than mediators, peremptorily insisted upon the full submission of the Norwegians and their pretended king to the treaty which had been adjusted for their

June 30.

particular benefit and for general convenience. Being now convinced of the inutility of resistance, the Danish prince requested a forbearance of hostilities, that the proposals of the confederate powers might be submitted to the free discussion of the diet. But the terms of the armistice were disapproved, because the envoys demanded the admission of Swedish troops into the principal fortresses, and would only promise a partial suspension of the blockade. The prince of Sweden, having made preparations for subduing the proud spirit of the Norwegians, exercised his argumentative and persuasive powers in an address to the unyielding community ; but his reasoning was not so forcible as his sword. He and the king entered the country with a numerous army ; and, although the insulted people repelled the enemy in some actions, the invaders quickly accomplished their object. Christian submitted to their dictates, and advised the Norwegians to accept the offers of the Swedish court. A commotion arose in the capital ; but it soon subsided ; and the people acquiesced in the decision of the diet, which, in consideration of the

Nov. 4. acceptance of its constitution, with only such alterations as appeared to be necessary for the complete union of the two realms, acknowledged the sovereignty of the king of Sweden.



LETTER XXIX.

Sketch of the History of Great Britain, including the Progress and Termination of the American War ; with a Survey of the Affairs of France, to the Re-appearance of Napoleon in that Country.

A. D. 1814. AFTER the conclusion of peace with France, it was the wish of many of the subjects of Great Britain, that the opportunity of inflicting signal chastisement on the Americans might not be neglected, while the advocates of moderation hoped that an immediate termination of this branch of the war would ensue. The prince regent, at the prorogation of the parliament, seemed more inclined to gratify the zeal of the former, than to adopt the softened tone of the latter. He spoke with asperity of the unprovoked aggression of the republican government ; and, while he professed a desire for the restoration of peace on con-

ditions honourable to both nations, he was persuaded of the necessity of availing himself, in the intermediate period, of the "means now at his disposal to prosecute the war with increased vigour."

The animosity of the contending parties had been repeatedly and strikingly evinced. In the invasion of Upper Canada, a large village had been burned, and its inhabitants exposed to the risk of perishing by the severity of the season. After the capture of Fort Niagara, about 1400 men, savages included, proceeded to Black Rock, where 2000 warriors were strongly posted, and, having stormed the batteries, dispersed the enemy. That village, and also the town of Buffalo, were consigned to the flames. The officer who performed this service was major-general Riall, whose subsequent operations were less effective and fortunate. Brown, an American commander, entered the Canadian province near Fort Erie, and proceeded, after the reduction of that fort, toward the post of Chippawa. Riall, advancing to meet him, found him in an advantageous position near the Niagara river; and, not being discouraged by the great superiority of the hostile force, he risked an attack, which was so unsuccessful, that a retreat became necessary, when above 460 men had been killed or wounded. In the next conflict, his division being repelled, he fell into the hands of the enemy; but lieutenant-general Drummond, who commanded on this occasion, so far prevailed, as to put the assailants to flight. About 1600 men bravely con-^{July 25.}tended for three hours against 5000; and, though the former received succours during the action, the whole British force did not exceed the amount of 2800. Of these, 640 were killed or wounded; but the Americans suffered far more severely. Two attempts were made in the ensuing month for the recovery of Fort Erie; and both were not merely fruitless, but were attended with great loss.

For the termination of this war, discussions were now in progress at Ghent; where, without reference to the mediation of Russia, three British negotiators met five American citizens. The requisitions of the former for the exclusive military command of the lakes, and for a guarantee of the territories belonging to the savage tribes, were treated as imperious and unreasonable; and the republicans applied to their government for new instructions, before any decisive adjustment could be adopted.

The distant conferences did not obstruct the prosecution of the war. An expedition was undertaken against the capital of the United States, when the enemy had not a sufficient force for its

defence. When rear-admiral Cockburn had occasioned the destruction of a flotilla in the Patuxent, the troops commanded by major-general Ross advanced from that river to the Potowmac, and found 8000 Americans posted on elevated ground at Bladensburg. The first division attacked this position with such impetuosity, that it was quickly forced ; and the city of Washington, deprived of due protection by the flight of the army, was exposed to the fury of the invaders. Some of the buildings were defended by armed parties ; but all opposition was soon quelled, and the work of devastation commenced. The inhabitants set fire to the naval storehouses and to some vessels ; but greater havoc was made by the captors, who, not content with the destruction of all the establishments which furnished the means of hostility, burnt the structures appropriated to the habitation of the president and to the meetings of the congress, and exhibited other marks of illiberal animosity, yet did not molest the submissive citizens, or invade private property. Fort Washington, which protected the city of Alexandria on the Potowmac, was bombarded and reduced by a squadron under captain Gordon ; and that town was deprived of its stores and vessels. Baltimore was also menaced with an attack. In advancing toward this city, when the foremost ranks were harassed by a brisk firing from a wood, major-general Ross was mortally wounded. Still pressing forward, the troops approached a position, which the enemy seemed determined to defend : but, after a Sept. 12. short conflict, the post was abandoned, and a confused flight ensued. Yet this engagement, in which the Americans suffered considerable loss, did not enable the invaders to accomplish their object ; for, when it appeared that the harbour was so far secured by sunken vessels, as to preclude the effective aid of that squadron which had hitherto attended the movements of the army, a consideration of the strength of those works which surrounded the town produced a dereliction of the enterprise.

About the same time, the British arms were honoured by one expedition and disgraced by another. Rear-admiral Griffith and lieutenant-general Sherbrooke sailed to the Penobscot, and, with small loss, subdued the extensive district between that river and the frontier of New Brunswick. Sir George Prevost, with above 10,000 men, marched into the territory of New York ; and, while he meditated an attack upon Plattsburg, near Lake Champlain, trusted to the effective co-operation of a small squadron commanded by captain Downie : but this officer lost his life at the commencement of the action, and all the vessels were

taken; and, when the troops, after a fierce cannonade and bombardment, were advancing to an assault, they were recalled by the general, although the garrison scarcely exceeded the amount of 1500 men.

After some other enterprises of little moment, the war was closed by a treaty which was concluded at Ghent. It was stipulated on this occasion, that conquests should be mutually restored; that the disputes respecting boundaries should be referred to two persons, one of whom should be delegated by each state for that decision; that the savage tribes should be restored to the same state, in point of possession and privilege, in which they stood before the commencement of hostilities; and that both parties should use their earnest endeavours for the abolition of the slave-trade. This treaty was very imperfect, as no agreement was adjusted by the plenipotentiaries on the subject of maritime search and neutral rights. Dec. 24.

Before the intelligence of the pacification could reach North America, an attempt was made for the reduction of New Orleans. In assaulting the lines formed for the defence of the town, major-general Pakenham lost his life; and the resistance was so serious and resolute, that, although colonel Thornton had forced a strong position on the opposite bank of the Mississippi, the enterprise was abandoned. Fort Mobile, however, was attacked in the sequel, and taken with small loss.

While this war was yet in its progress, the emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia visited Great Britain, to offer their personal thanks to the prince regent for his zeal in the cause of the continent, and to congratulate him on the restoration of peace to Europe. They were accompanied by two sons and the brother of Frederic, by the veteran Blucher, the ministers Hardenberg and Humboldt, count Nesselrode, and other persons of distinction. Their reception in this country was highly grateful to their feelings. Public applause and private respect, attended their appearance. They were splendidly entertained by the regent, by many of the nobility, the merchants and bankers, and the corporation of London. Alexander was more lively and social than his royal friend, whose aspect had an appearance of gravity bordering on melancholy, which is said to have more particularly adhered to his character since the death of his queen. After the departure of these princes, a general thanksgiving was solemnized for the return of peace; and a national jubilee served to commemorate, not only that happy event, but also the completion of a century from the accession of the house of Aug. 1.

Brunswick to the throne. Temporary structures, with emblematic and appropriate decorations, appeared in the royal parks near the metropolis: a *naumachia* in the Serpentine canal amused the idle throng: fireworks dazzled the eye; and multifarious diversions banished all thoughts but those which related to mirth and enjoyment. Many were so censorious as to view this scene with disgust, and to reprehend the wasteful extravagance with which it was accompanied; being of opinion that the pacification of Europe, and the exploits of our soldiers and seamen, would be sufficiently remembered without this superfluity of exhibition: but they ought to have considered, that this jubilee was calculated to afford high gratification to a numerous portion of the community, and that the expenditure of mere thousands, even in times of calamitous impoverishment, would not be seriously felt amidst the waste of millions.

Although peace was thus restored, its usual advantages did not immediately appear. Commerce, if it did not suddenly fail, rapidly declined. Not merely the cessation of the demand for articles connected with war, but the wish of the impoverished nations of the continent to encourage every branch of manufacture among themselves, stopped the progress of those multiplied orders which had employed the industry of our countrymen. At the same time, the cultivators of the soil, being unable to procure, for the produce of their farms, that exorbitant price which they had long been accustomed to receive, were deprived of the means of paying their advanced rents and the heavy imposts to which they were subjected. Great distress consequently prevailed, and ruin was the fate of a considerable number of families. This unfortunate state of affairs seemed to obscure, for a time, even the glory of the war, and to check the effusions of that gratitude to which the defenders and liberators of Europe were justly entitled.

The restoration of peace was hailed with joy by the more respectable part of the French nation: yet it would have been still more agreeable, if it had not been accompanied with circumstances obviously disgraceful. The manner in which it was imposed could not please a high-spirited nation: but prudence dictated and justified an acquiescence in its stipulations.

When the king had prepared the constitution which he had
June 4. promised to his people, he presented it to the senate and the legislative body. The chief points in which it differed from the code proposed for his acceptance, were these. For an hereditary senate limited in number, he substituted a chamber of

peers chosen for life, to be augmented at his discretion. All the deliberations of this assembly were to be secret. The deputies, or popular representatives (262 in number), were not to be chosen under forty years of age; and only such persons were eligible as paid 1000 francs in direct taxes. To the king alone belonged the right of proposing a law, or of suggesting hints for the emendation of laws; and the assemblies were merely allowed to request, that he would submit a particular subject to their discussion. He was required to convoke them in every year, that the public might not long remain without the benefit of their deliberations. His ministers might be impeached by the chamber of deputies for treason or extortion, and tried by the peers. He had the liberty of naming all the judges; and, though the trial by jury was allowed to subsist, occasional changes might be made in the management of judicial affairs.

This constitutional charter was readily accepted, and generally applauded; and, as the known character of Louis seemed to repress all fears of its violation, the people looked forward to a course of just and equitable government. The king of Spain professed an equal regard for the freedom and prosperity of his subjects; but he did not follow the example of the French monarch; and, while he promised to convoke the cortes, and to grant such a charter as might preclude the exercise of arbitrary power, he was not fully disposed to adhere to his declaration. He considered the friends of liberty as foes to royalty, and propagators of sedition.

In forming the assembly of peers, Louis added, to the old nobility, some of Napoleon's titled courtiers and marshals. Talleyrand, prince of Benevento, and Clarke, duke of Feltre, were among the favoured number; and the former acted as the chief minister for foreign affairs.

The first object of the court was to repair the evils which the war had occasioned. The conscription was discontinued: economy was substituted for wanton and wasteful expenditure: commerce again reared its head; and those branches of art which had been neglected during the war were prosecuted with zeal. Provision was made for the regular payment of the interest of the national debt; and credit, both public and private, gradually revived.

An interesting subject of legislative discussion was connected with the freedom of the press, which neither the king nor the two assemblies were inclined to allow, at a time when a strong and

numerous faction, particularly the military class, cherished an attachment to the banished tyrant. The debates on this topic, which excited great attention, were terminated by an act, placing printers and booksellers under the *surveillance* of the chancellor, and subjecting all publications of twenty sheets, or a smaller number, to the inspection of censors. This statute exposed the new court to animadversion; but it did not produce so much acrimony of reflection, as arose from that religious spirit which prompted the king to order the theatres and shops to be shut on the Sabbath-day.

It was natural to suppose that the emigrants would obtain some relief from the prevalence of their royal patron; but the difficulty of favouring them, without giving offence or disgust to their numerous adversaries, obstructed their gratification. It was at length resolved, that such parts of their property as had not been sold should be restored; and the privileges which they had lost by their departure from their native country were re-established. The concessions were voted by a great majority of each assembly. Marshal Macdonald, who eloquently supported their interest on this occasion, proposed that those loyal citizens whose estates had been sold should receive an annuity, at the rate of two and a half *per cent.* upon the aggregate value; and the scheme was sanctioned by the legislature.

The grant of these favours to a party which could not be termed popular, did not tend to allay the apprehensions which many had conceived of the revival of arbitrary power. It was well known, that the king was disposed to concur with the friends of the constitution: but there was some danger of his yielding to the advice of his brother, and other bigoted royalists. Those who expected the immediate return of prosperity, as if the severe wounds inflicted by a pernicious and execrable system could be healed without the least delay, were of opinion that the court had been negligent of its duty, and that the promises which the king's friends had lavished would not be realized. The disbanded soldiers, and those who yet remained in the ranks, eagerly promoted the rising discontent. Reverting to the former glory of the nation, they lamented the disgrace of being subjected to the sway of an unwarlike prince, whom foreign powers had compelled the nation to accept upon the most ignominious terms, and called for the restoration of a hero who would retrieve the honour of France.

The debates in the British parliament, at this period, were not

particularly remarkable. Mr. Whitbread was, as usual, eager to inquire into every branch of public affairs ; but his interrogatories were not always answered, and his animadversions and strictures were disregarded. The ill success of the American war, the expected dismemberment of Saxony, the transfer of Genoa, the erection of the Hanoverian electorate into a kingdom, the odious bigotry and abominable tyranny of the Spanish monarch, and many other topics, were brought forward by this indefatigable speaker, in a manner which amused and sometimes edified the house.

Ample supplies were voted by the liberality of the A.D. commons. The amount nearly reached ninety millions of 1815. pounds. In France, for the same year, the proposed expenditure did not amount to twenty-three millions sterling. But, when the French financiers adjusted their accounts, the prince of Elba had not emerged from his retreat ; and, on the other hand, the English estimate was not fixed before there was a certainty of the renewal of hostilities.

No one who had an accurate knowledge of the character of Bonapartè could expect that a zealous votary of ambition, precipitated from the height of imperial power, and banished from a populous and flourishing country, would be content with the sovereignty of a small and comparatively contemptible island. He seemed, indeed, to forget that he had ever governed France, or extended his commanding influence over Europe. He affected to be pleased with retirement ; and, like a philosopher, he left the agitated political world to itself, while he superintended the improvement of his obscure mansion and capital, and endeavoured to render the produce and resources of Elba as beneficial to the islanders as their industry and his judgment would allow. But, amidst all his exertions, and all his affectation of content, he secretly repined at his loss of exalted dignity, and cherished hopes of a return of prosperity. With a well-poised mind, he might have enjoyed ease and comfort ; but he considered his present lot as only another name for misfortune and adversity.

In the mean time, his partisans at Paris studiously intrigued for his restoration. They malignantly vilified the acts of the king, and took every opportunity of fanning the flame of discontent. Their base machinations, not being sufficiently checked by the court, were eagerly continued ; and traitorous emissaries were easily found, who conveyed such intelligence to Elba, as stimulated the hopes of Bonapartè. He no longer exhibited an air of resignation to his fate : he ceased to attend with apparent zeal to

the government of the island, or to the various objects of internal policy : he avoided society, and brooded, with a gloomy aspect, over his secret thoughts. This change might have induced an acute observer to conclude, that the ambitious exile meditated a scheme of escape, and was constantly pondering on the means of its accomplishment.

The banishment of Bonapartè was a nugatory measure, on the part of the allied powers, if they did not provide for his strict custody : but they seem to have thought, that, when he was removed from France, he ceased to be formidable. They neglected all the hints and notices which were given of the existence of an extensive conspiracy in his favour, and quietly suffered him to make his treacherous arrangements. It was alleged, as an excuse, that the whole navy of Great Britain would not have sufficed for a strict blockade of Elba : yet a small squadron, which our ministers, from a sense of delicacy, forbore to employ, might have prevented the evasion of a dangerous enemy.

It appears, that the members of the European congress began to suspect that an improper choice had been made of a place of detention for their artful adversary. His removal to a situation from which he would find an escape impracticable, was repeatedly proposed : but no determination ensued ; and the hints which he received of his danger accelerated his departure from the scene of supposed insecurity.

Not being destitute either of money or of credit, he procured arms and vessels, and made preparations for a bold enterprise. Taking advantage of the absence of sir Neil Campbell, the British supervisor, he assembled his guard and an additional troop of adventurers, and harangued them in support of those pretensions which he had been compelled by foreign arms to relinquish. He accused the allies of acting only from the most illiberal and selfish motives, and ridiculed the imbecility of the Bourbon family. He represented himself as the only leader qualified to retrieve the glory of France, and rescue the nation from a degrading yoke. His speech was received with the most animated shouts ; and the whole party, consisting of 1140 men, embarked at night in a brig and six transports. Some French cruizers were seen in the morning ; but they did not obstruct the course of the flotilla,

Mar. 1, which safely reached the Gallic coast. The fugitives
1815. landed near Frejus without opposition, their chief exclaiming, “ Now the congress is effectually dissolved ! ” He soon met with a check ; for the governor of Antibes arrested a detachment, which dared to invite him to an act of treason. He also

found the mayor of Grasse faithful to the king; while the inhabitants, less loyal, supplied the invaders with provisions. If the commandant of Marseilles had been well disposed, the adventurous party might have been crushed; but he suffered the enemies of his sovereign to continue their march unmolested. In the neighbourhood of Digne, the peasants received with apparent joy the man whom they ought to have detested; and at Gap, he was encouraged to issue two proclamations, one addressed to the French army, the other to the people, boasting of his exploits and his services, and reproaching the Bourbon princes and the emigrants for their depreciation and neglect of that martial glory which was the admiration of the world. In advancing toward Grenoble, he met a battalion, which had been detached from that city to oppose him. Having probably received notice, that the officers were inclined to espouse his cause, he coolly presented his bosom to the foremost rank, saying, "Any soldier who bears ill-will to his emperor, may freely kill me." The sense of loyalty was instantly overwhelmed by a profound respect for the *hero* who could act so *magnanimously*. Hundreds of voices exclaimed, *Vive l'Empereur!* and the whole body joined the exulting invader, who promised to rescue the nation from disgrace, from feudal tyranny and complicated grievances. Approaching the town, he was still farther gratified with the submission of lieutenant-colonel Labedoyère, who, although he had been favoured and promoted by Louis, joined the enemies of that prince with the greater part of a regiment of the line. The rest of the garrison, and the municipality, followed the example of treason; and thus were sown the seeds of a new war.

As some official letters, stating the formation of a conspiracy for the restoration of Napoleon, had been negligently suffered to remain for many weeks unopened, the king and his ministers had no suspicion of its being so fully organized, when they received the alarming intelligence of the actual disembarkation of their formidable adversary. Some of the courtiers ridiculed the enterprise, as rash and hopeless: but Louis was aware of his danger, and sensible of the difficulty of crushing the revolt. By a proclamation, he denounced Bonapartè as a traitor, and commanded his magistrates and officers to apprehend him, that he might be punished by the summary process of martial law; and all his partisans and assistants were menaced with exemplary vengeance. He enrolled an army of volunteers at Paris, and commissioned his brother, and the duke of Angoulême, to preside over military operations in the southern parts of the kingdom.

To the troops in general, he made an interesting appeal, urging them to defend their liberty, their property, and their families, against the atrocious tyranny with which they were threatened; to baffle the base attempts of a public enemy, who had wantonly sacrificed the population of the country at the shrine of ambition, and who, if fortune should favour him, would again purchase, by an ocean of blood, that dominion which the indignation of Europe would not suffer him to retain. But this address had little effect;—so strong was the impression which the martial talents and fame of Napoleon had made upon the infatuated minds of the soldiers.

Predicting, from the events which had occurred at Grenoble, the most auspicious result of the invasion, Bonapartè slowly prosecuted his march, as celerity no longer seemed requisite for his success. The count d'Artois, assisted by marshal Macdonald and the duke of Orleans, reached Lyons before the enemy approached that city, and endeavoured to rouse the inhabitants to a vigorous resistance: but the majority of the number, grateful for the protection with which Napoleon had particularly favoured their commerce, were more inclined to assist than to oppose him; and the troops testified so strong a predilection for him, that neither the menaces nor the persuasions of the friends of Louis could re-animate their expiring loyalty. Prudence now required the retreat of the count, who was deserted even by his own guard of honour. The revolvers of Grenoble soon after appeared, with the invading party; and their leader, declaring himself the lawful sovereign of France, kept his court for some days at Lyons, surrounded with military pomp. He annulled the king's acts, regulations, and appointments; dissolved the legislature; and ordered a new constitution to be framed by the electoral assemblies.

The court had been amused with false reports of the success of the royalists in the south: but the real incidents were soon known, and the king was advised to seek safety in flight. He received strong protestations of regard from the most respectable part of the Parisian population, and even from the troops. The marshals professed the most loyal zeal; and Ney, in particular, requested that he might be employed against the traitorous *brigand* who had dared to lead his fellow-ruffians from Elba, and whom, he said, he would bring to Paris dead or alive. He was therefore sent to Lons-le-Saulnier to take the command of a considerable army; but, finding that the officers were unwilling to resist Napoleon, and being exhorted, in a letter from Bertrand, to co-operate with the friends of the emperor, whose cause had

every appearance of success, he published a proclamation against the house of Bourbon; and, while he expressed a fervent zeal for liberty, he joined the unprincipled adventurer, whose determined aim was to enslave the nation.

While the people (some with anxiety, and others with indifference) waited the result of this momentous contest which involved the dearest interests of society, the two chambers met in compliance with that royal command, which was adverse to the wishes of the constitutional courtiers, who apprehended that the zeal of the majority for the pretensions of high prerogative would injure the true interest of the restored family. Louis addressed them in terms well suited to the occasion. He expressed his satisfaction in having reconciled his country to all foreign nations, of whose faithful observance and support of the late treaties no doubt could be reasonably entertained. He spoke modestly of his labours for the benefit of his people; and, as they had given him striking proofs of their regard and affection, he could not, he said, make a better return, than by hazarding his life in their defence. The daring enemy who had returned from exile, had not only brought civil war in his train, but would expose the country, by his perfidious intrusion, to the dangers of foreign hostility; and if he should be successful in his unjustifiable enterprise, would annul the constitutional charter, and re-impose the iron yoke which had so long oppressed and disgraced the nation. "Let us rally (exclaimed the king) round the standard of the constitution. All good Frenchmen will follow our example; and the happy termination of a war, so truly national, will prove how much can be effected by loyal and patriotic exertions."

In the session which followed, some courtly errors were corrected, and some unconstitutional irregularities were acknowledged with a view to emendation. But the deliberations of the two assemblies had not the desired effect: for, as the enemy advanced, the zeal of the royalists declined; and the king found that he could not depend on the service of the army. About 28,000 men were assembled near Melun: and, if these should join his adversaries, the royal cause seemed to be ruined. The troops were arranged in order of battle, and their courage was less disputable than their loyalty. When they expected the approach of the revolvers, they preserved an anxious silence. Surprised at the tardy movements of the enemy, they watched every appearance on the side of Fontainebleau. At length a small escort presented itself to view; and, when the men who com-

posed it moved forward, they offered to their armed countrymen the fraternal embrace. A carriage was seen, in which was seated a warrior, whose features were immediately recollected. He addressed the soldiers in mild and friendly terms, and was saluted with the same joyous sounds and acclamations which he had been accustomed to receive in the meridian of his prosperity. No thoughts of resistance were now entertained; and when the rest of the usurper's troops appeared, a complete reconciliation ensued, and general harmony prevailed.

The king was still inclined to remain in his capital; but, as it was incapable of a long defence, he was earnestly exhorted by the courtiers to retire from the danger which menaced him. Repeated persuasions induced him to comply; and, with the hope of a speedy return, he left Paris to his rival; having previously proclaimed a new session of the legislature, and declaring any assembly either of peers or deputies (except that which he should hold in the provisional seat of his government) usurpatory and illegal. The city, for some time after his departure, remained quiet; but commotions and tumults at length arose, which the national guard with difficulty suppressed. After the successive arrival of military detachments, Napoleon gladdened his Parisian friends with his presence, and was hailed by the populace with loud acclamations. In approaching the palace from which he had driven the king, he was exposed, by the pressure of the throng, to the risk of suffocation, from which he was rescued by his officers. He found some of his former ministers ready to receive him; and he assured them of his intention of acting as a constitutional sovereign, and of securing peace and prosperity to France. Being convinced, however, of the expediency of being fully prepared for defence, he took an early opportunity of reviewing the troops, and harangued them on the trite topic of national glory.

From a desire of gratifying the people, and more particularly the party that demanded a free constitution, Napoleon promulgated various decrees, which his friends loudly applauded, and which his enemies could not reasonably condemn. By one, he gave that freedom to the press, which, amidst the agitation of the popular mind, Louis had deemed it prudent to withhold. By another, he abolished that atrocious traffic in slaves, of which the king had consented to the continuance. By a third, if he did not suppress the obnoxious *droits réunis*, or consolidated duties, he alleviated their pressure upon the public. But these and other concessions appear to have been mere devices for the acqui-

tion of popularity. He dreaded a renewal of hostilities from the allied potentates, and was therefore eager to strengthen his interest in France by all the arts of conciliation.

LETTER XXX.

A Narrative of the most remarkable Incidents, both Political and Military, which followed the Return of Bonapartè from Exile.

So little attention had been paid to the restriction and A.D. confinement of Napoleon, that his escape might easily have 1815. been foreseen. The dreadful intelligence alarmed the assembled directors of the congress. They were conscious of their neglect of the means of vigilant precaution: yet they had no expectation of so mischievous a result. But, if they were for a time confounded at the event, they were not long undetermined how to act. They could not forget the great motives which had urged them to action; and, as the same impulse continued to operate, they were ready to draw, with all the warmth of indignation, the sword which had been so recently sheathed.

While they knew not the course which Bonapartè had pursued, they abstained from the public avowal of their sentiments: but when they had received information of his descent on France, they declared their intentions in a spirited manifesto. Mar. 13. By violating the convention which had fixed him in the island of Elba, he had destroyed (they said) his only legal claim to indulgence or protection, or even to existence; and by re-appearing in France with views of perfidious hostility, he had forfeited the benefit of the law, excluded himself from the pale of civil and social relations, and rendered himself a fit object of public vengeance¹. They therefore announced, without reserve, their determination of uniting their efforts to secure Europe against any attempt which might threaten to replunge it into revolutionary disorders and miseries.

¹ Mr. Boyce says, that the terms of this manifesto "plainly contained a provocation to assassination, and disgracefully leagued the stiletto of the bandit with the unstained sword of the soldier." But this is an unjustifiable assertion; for the expressions which he condemns merely refer to the exercise of public justice, for the infliction of national vengeance.

This was not a *brutum fulmen*, or an idle menace. The chivalrous ardour of the Russian emperor prompted him to send immediate instructions to his capital, for the march of troops and for new enlistments. Francis and the Prussian monarch issued their peremptory commands for the same object: and no one could doubt the corresponding zeal of Great Britain. The declaration was soon confirmed by a treaty, which bound each of Mar. 25. the four powers to bring 150,000 men into the field, and not desist from their exertions, until they should have rendered Napoleon wholly incapable of disturbing the tranquillity of Europe. The British regent was allowed to substitute pecuniary payment for part of the stipulated force; and he also gratified the three other princes with a subsidy of five millions sterling, without which, they declared, they could not execute their engagements¹. Louis was requested to accede to this alliance; and it was understood to be the *wish* of all the contracting powers, that he should be restored to the throne; but the prince regent declared, in a separate article, that he did not consider himself as *bound* to reinstate that monarch, or, “to prosecute the war with a view of imposing upon France any particular government.”

While the allied powers were preparing to crush the invader of France, the fugitive king, who was followed to the frontier by the household troops, safely arrived in the Netherlands, where he resolved to await the result of the new war. The duke of Bourbon had endeavoured to rouse the inhabitants of La Vendée to exertion; but, as his followers were unable to procure a sufficiency of arms, and had no military experience, he advised them to accept the offer of an amnesty, and embarked at Nantes for Great Britain. The duke and duchess of Angoulême had been actively employed in the south-western part of France, in maintaining the cause of their family; but their exertions were far from being successful. The garrison of Bourdeaux favoured the cause of Napoleon; and, when general Clausel appeared with a body of revolvers, the national guard and volunteers, after a show of hostility, yielded to the torrent. The duchess seemed ready to act like a heroine on this occasion; but, concluding, on cool reflection, that resistance would be attended with an useless sacrifice of lives, she desired the guard not to persist in the defence of the city, and sought an asylum in England. Her husband, who had proceeded into Languedoc, attacked the enemy

¹ This treaty was merely a renewal of a convention which had been signed in the preceding year at Chaumont, while the allies were treating with Napoleon.

the spirit; but he was obliged to yield to superiority of force; and, when he had obtained favourable terms for his troops, he was permitted to retire from France.

As the manifesto of the confederate princes seemed to require an answer, a declaration appeared in the name of Napoleon, ^{April 2.} accusing them of a violation of the treaty of Fontainebleau, not only as far as it concerned him and his family, but as it respected the rights and interests of the French. The emissaries of the court of Louis, he said, had sought an opportunity of murdering him; his pension had been withholden; the territories assigned to the empress had not been ceded; his faithful friends had been disappointed of the promised rewards; and it was the known intention of the congress to banish him to St. Lucia or St. Helena. These infractions of treaty, he presumed, justified his return; and, as the French had honoured him with the most favourable and friendly reception, and had gladly permitted him to reascend their throne, he could not conceive that any just grounds existed for the interference of foreign powers. The French wished for that independence which they had a right to expect: they wished for peace, and would faithfully observe the stipulations of the treaty of Paris; and, as no change, ominous to the repose of Europe, had occurred in their country, they demanded, from the allies, a respect for their rights, and a forbearance of injury. No nation could be justified in compelling them to submit to an unpopular dynasty, or to the yoke of feudal and superstitious tyranny.

Not content with the dissemination of this manifesto, he addressed a letter to each of the allied potentates, deprecating a renewal of war. He affirmed, that his resumption of authority, and the retreat of the Bourbon family, were the results of an irresistible power, the effects of national unanimity, displayed in a just cause; and he expressed a strong desire of rendering that restoration, which was necessary for the happiness of the French, instrumental to the maintenance of the tranquillity of Europe. That tranquillity, he said, might be permanently secured, if other princes would follow his example, and, instead of rivalry in war, would contend for pre-eminence in the great duty of promoting public welfare, and private felicity.

He had no reason to suppose, that any of the potentates who had concurred in the indignant menace of bringing him to justice, as an enemy of mankind, would condescend to answer this communication, or listen to his delusive overtures; yet he could not conceal his mortification when his letters had not produced a

single reply. As he could not be unconscious of his own villainy and the blackness of his heart, he must have secretly acknowledged to himself the superiority of the confederate princes in the moral attributes of man, and must have felt an internal conviction of the justifiable nature of the war which they meditated against him. He must have seen that they stood upon high ground, and that, whatever might be their occasional demerits, they had acquired the good opinion of the world by their late exertions against him. Their lofty demeanour keenly wounded his feelings, and humbled his pride. He became unusually reserved and thoughtful; gloom sat upon his brow, and discontent rankled at his heart.

When the prince regent requested the support of the parliament, for the renewal of hostilities, earl Grey, Mr. Whitbread, and several other senators, denied the necessity of interference, and neither admitted the policy nor the justice of the new war, as the ruler of France had regained his power with the consent of the nation, and had no aggressive intentions; but both houses voted for war, in the proportion of more than three to one. The supplies which would be granted by such a majority, at so critical a period, might be expected to be unusually great; yet this new appeal to the loyalty and patience of an overburthened people, while it provoked incidental murmurs, met with general acquiescence.

Disappointed in the hope of deluding foreign princes into an opinion of his being influenced by sentiments of moderation, Napoleon made preparations for war, but not with his usual confidence and alacrity. With a view of conciliating the people, amidst the danger which hung over him, he relaxed the rigours of his former sway, held out the prospect of just and equitable government, and promised to improve the constitution of the empire by the most beneficial enactments.

The *additional act*, which emanated from his delusive policy, contained some judicious regulations. It instituted two assemblies, which, in imitation of the lords and commons of Great Britain, were to exercise the legislative power in concert with the sovereign. It gave to the emperor the right of nominating the members of the higher chamber, and rendered the dignity hereditary; while the people were allowed to choose their representatives, to the number of 629, and to renew the election after an interval of five years. No members were to be prosecuted during a session for any crime or offence, unless the chamber to which they belonged should countenance the accusation.

The emperor alone was to submit the draught of a new law to the deliberation of the chambers; but they were not bound to agree to his propositions. If they wished for a particular law, they might request him to bring it forward: yet it does not appear from the act that he was obliged to introduce it. No taxes were to be raised, no loans contracted, and no military levies ordered, without the intervention of an express law; and all these points were to be decided only by the popular deputies. The ministers were declared to be responsible for particular acts of government, and for the execution of the laws; and, in cases of supposed delinquency, they might be impeached by the representatives, and tried by the peers. Judges were to be appointed by the emperor for life, not being removable except for flagrant misconduct; and the trials were to be publicly conducted. Courts-martial might still take cognizance of military offences; but, if any other acts of delinquency should be committed by soldiers, they were amenable to the civil judicature. No citizen could be apprehended, prosecuted, or punished, without a strict adherence to the forms and requisites of law. Religion was to be unfettered, property inviolable, the press free, and the right of petitioning universal¹.

This act was offered to the assent, rather than submitted to the deliberation of the public. Bonapartè being seated upon a temporary throne in the Champ de Mars, a deputation from the electoral colleges applauded the fruit of his political June 1. wisdom; and the confirmation of the act was announced by the arch-chancellor. He then stated, to the electors and the military and naval deputies, the necessity of opposing with vigour the confederacy of princes, and expressed his hopes of victory and triumph. When he had sworn that he would maintain the new code, the assembled people declared, in general terms, that they would obey the laws, and be faithful to their restored sovereign. Eagles were presented in form to the electoral presidents, to be conveyed to the troops of the different departments; and the soldiers swore that they would rally round the imperial standard,

¹ The conclusion of the act was as inconsistent and absurd, as it was malignant and vindictive. It tended to prohibit all proposals for the recall of Louis, or the elevation of any prince of his family to the throne, even if the succession in the imperial line should fail. It also exploded the revival of feudal customs and claims, and the re-establishment of any privileged or predominant religion. If Napoleon regarded himself as a legitimate sovereign, because the people (in his opinion) had freely elected him, he was bound to admit the exercise of the same right of choice, if any prince of the Bourbon dynasty should assert his pretensions; but he hated all the members of that family, and more particularly wished to *proscribe* them, in revenge for the disgraceful stigma with which their imperial and royal friends had lately branded him.

and, acting in defence of their country, would repel the enemy or die. Sports and diversions followed the ceremony, and fountains of wine gladdened the spectators.

That enthusiasm which Napoleon hoped to excite did not enliven this *spectacle*. The decline of his influence could not escape his observation; but he dissembled his chagrin, and seemed to be satisfied with faint appearances of regard and attachment. He soon after opened a session, and congratulated the legislature on the commencement of a constitutional monarchy; proposed that the laws should be simplified and methodized; coolly noticed the hostile and formidable coalition; and recommended the prompt application of a remedy to the internal divisions of the country. Many of the representatives were so unfriendly to his authority, that he was not very willing to leave them unchecked; but the advanced state of his military preparations called him into the field. On his arrival at Avesnes, he issued a proclamation, which disgraced him by its scurrility and falsehood, if any thing could disgrace a man of his stamp and character. It requires no other notice than the transient remark, that the allies, who are stigmatized in this address as the enemies of justice and of the rights of all nations, had taken arms, on this memorable occasion, as the champions of justice and the defenders of the rights of all the European communities, except the French, who, by their unjustifiable encroachments and infamous outrages, and by their subserviency to the restless ambition of a bold adventurer, had forfeited all claim to favour and indulgence, and deserved to be treated with that exemplary rigour which would deprive them of the power of aggression and the means of hostility. The soldiers answered the address of their leader by loud shouts, and by promises of vigorous exertion.

Unwilling to lose time when he found his troops ready for action, Napoleon advanced with a considerable body of infantry and the greater part of his cavalry, and attacked the Prussian posts at Thuin and Lobez, which he forced. He then approached Charleroi, gained possession of the town, and drove general Ziethen toward Fleurus. Marshal Ney, having crossed the Sambre at Marchiennes, dislodged the Prussians from other stations, and harassed a Belgian brigade, which, however, secured itself at a post called *les Quatre Bras*.

Such were the incidents of the first day of action. The succeeding conflicts were far more important and memorable. The duke of Wellington and many of his officers were at Brussels when the campaign was thus opened, partaking of amusement

and festivity. The first intelligence which he received did not announce any serious attack; but the second courier brought an alarming account, which occasioned the immediate advance of all the British and subsidiary troops toward the Sambre.

Expecting a general attack, Blucher concentrated his force near Sombref, having St. Amand and Ligny in his front. He had 80,000 men at these stations; and they were fiercely attacked by 90,000, under Grouchy, Vandamme, and Girard, while 30,000 marched against the duke of Wellington. The assault upon St. Amand was, for some time, bravely repelled; but the enemy at length forced the post. A battalion, under the immediate conduct of the field-marshal, retook a part of the village, and regained an adjacent eminence. Sombref was long maintained by general Thielman, who did not retreat from it before the dawn of the following day; but the most sanguinary contest occurred at Ligny, where, for many hours, the opposite troops, respectively possessing one part of the village, could not by all their efforts dislodge each other. Occasionally, the battle extended along the whole line, with great loss on both sides: but the exertions of the French seemed to prevail; and a division of their infantry, having made an unobserved circuit round Ligny in the night, while several regiments of cuirassiers had forced their way in another part, suddenly attacked the main body of the Prussians in the rear, and disordered their line, yet not so seriously as to prevent a deliberate retreat to the heights of Bussy, whence, with the harassed cavalry, the battalions fell back upon Tilly. In one of the conflicts between the cavalry, Blucher, being entangled under his dead horse, remained with an adjutant, neglected by his own soldiers, and unnoticed by the enemy, two of whose squadrons successively galloped near the prostrate hero. About 15,000 Prussians are supposed to have been killed or wounded in this engagement; while the French, who only admit that 3000 suffered in their army, might increase the number with truth to 8000¹.

The duke of Wellington would have afforded powerful aid to the field-marshal, if he had not been obliged to resist a fierce attack upon his own position. While the prince of Orange kept a considerable body of the enemy in check, one division of the British army, and the Brunswick troops, were exposed to the impetuosity of Ney, who could not, however, triumph over them. The battle soon became more general; and both parties con-

¹ French and Prussian accounts compared.

tended, with equal courage, for fame and victory. The duke of Brunswick, inspired with hereditary valour, and eager to take vengeance for the death of his illustrious father, made repeated charges at the head of his cavalry, and received several wounds before a ball pierced his heart. The French were at length repelled, by the advance of fresh troops, when, by their own acknowledgment, 4200 of their number (and probably a much greater proportion) had been killed or wounded. On the side of their opponents, above 2470 suffered, beside 250 German subsidiaries.

As Blucher had found it expedient to retreat, the duke of Wellington, to preserve an opportunity of being assisted by that commander, also fell back, and directed his course toward Waterloo. During the march, a considerable body of French cavalry so harassed the rear of the retiring army, that the earl of Uxbridge undertook the task of repelling the assailants; and, when his regiment of hussars had suffered severely in two charges, the life-guards, being better mounted and more heavily armed, put the enemy to flight.

The duke's new position extended from Merke-Braine to Tella-Haye. He arranged his army, consisting of about 65,000 men, in six divisions; and, by the last or the left of these, he maintained a communication with Blucher, who, being requested to send two divisions, promised to support him with his whole army, and proposed to act offensively, if the enemy should not be disposed to commence an attack. The French began to move in the forenoon from the heights near Planchenoit. Their number exceeded 85,000, exclusive of a corps which watched the motions of the Prussians. The count de Lobau commanded the right wing, D'Erlon conducted the central body, and Jerome Bonapartè the left. From an observatory in the rear, near the station of the imperial guard, Napoleon took a survey of the field; and he occasionally placed himself in the centre, with some select squadrons.

June 18. The first attack was directed to the seizure of a post, which, if taken, would have given him the command of an eminence, whence he might have attacked the duke's right with peculiar advantage. It was therefore defended with the most determined perseverance. It consisted of a chateau, a garden, and a wood. A part of Jerome's division gained possession of the two last stations: a great number of men fell in the garden; and many of the wounded of both parties, being left in an out-house, perished in the flames which enveloped the chateau and its appendages: but the house, though reduced to a shell, was still retained by the remains of a brigade of guards.

The conflict raged, at the same time, on the duke's left, which Napoleon wished to turn, so as to preclude the expected support from the Prussians. That division which sir Thomas Picton commanded, instead of waiting for an attack, which was threatened by a strong column, formed itself into a compact square, and so intimidated the French by its firmness of countenance, being ready to make the most forcible use of the bayonet, that they fled after firing a volley, which, while it did little execution upon the corps, killed its gallant leader. The enemy, returning to the charge, drove back the regiments of Highlanders; but these, being seasonably supported, re-advanced, and repelled their opponents. In this part of the field, the Scotch Greys not only slew or captured the greater part of a body of infantry, but, with the aid of a corps of dragoons, routed a column of cavalry, at whose head were the cuirassiers. This was the most severe and murderous cavalry-engagement that modern times have exhibited.

Beside many desultory attacks upon various parts of the line, a third grand assault was ordered by Napoleon, who hoped to force the duke's centre by a powerful impression, before the Prussians could arrive. A numerous body advanced toward La Haye Sainte, a farm near the road from Charleroi to Brussels, and, after a fierce contest, seized that important post. Columns of horse and foot now penetrated to the centre; and, being well supported by incessant discharges of artillery, made great havoc among the opposing ranks. Encouraged by this success, Bonapartè sent the bulk of his cavalry to complete that victory which he expected to obtain. They rushed upon the squares which the duke had judiciously formed, and into the midst of which, with the most undaunted courage, he occasionally threw himself to animate his men; but very few, if any, of the squares were forced.

During this spirited contest, general Bulow emerged from a wood with two brigades, and attacked Lobau's division in flank, thus occupying that mass of infantry which, if it had been detached to the centre to aid the cavalry, might perhaps have given victory to the French. Blucher soon after advanced from Ohain, and made dispositions for joining in the conflict. These veteran commanders arrived at a critical time, when the French were on the point of prevailing. Napoleon, expecting the arrival of Grouchy with a considerable force, hoped to complete his success; and, when he saw the distant movements, concluded that this general was advancing, and that the day was his own: but he was justly and miserably disappointed. Placing himself at the

head of his guard, he now advanced to another attack. A corps of British guards repelled this assault ; and the duke, being confident of support, and animated with all the ardour of hope, resolved no longer to be employed merely in checking the advance of the enemy, but to assume an offensive attitude, and rush forward with all his remaining strength.

The French, impetuous only in aggression, were confounded at the dreadful shock to which they were now exposed. They did not long resist this vigorous charge, but fled with precipitation. About the same time, their right wing began to give way ; and the corps of general Ziethen, arriving at Smouhen, so effectively aided the efforts of Blucher and Bulow, that the line was broken in three places. The enemy retired to Planchenoit with some appearance of order : but, when that village had been stormed, the retreat became an absolute rout.

As the duke's troops were so fatigued with their long-continued exertions, that they could not pursue with effect, Blucher, who met and congratulated the British hero at the farm of *la Belle Alliance*¹, declared that he would superintend the completion of the victory. He gave directions for the most vigorous and unre-mitted pursuit ; and the Brunswick cavalry, still breathing revenge for the lamented death of their sovereign, took the lead on this occasion. A multitude of the fugitives were massacred, particularly at the villages in which they made a show of resistance. The chase was continued to the Sambre : many, amidst the confusion, perished in the stream ; and not more than 40,000 men, out of the whole army, could again be embodied.

While the pursuers were thus gratifying both their policy and their revenge, the duke and his victorious soldiers, without taking that repose which their labours and fatigue required, attended to the relief of the wounded who thronged the field. The sight of the dead, whom the light of the moon enabled him to discern, drew a tribute of tears to the memory of so many intrepid and zealous defenders of their country and of Europe. He feelingly deplored the miseries of war, and lamented the dire necessity which had driven the allies into arms.

The consternation of the vanquished commander was extreme. All his ambitious views, all his prospects of continued power, seemed to vanish into air. Even his hopes of personal safety were nearly annihilated, as his life depended on the will of those

¹ Blucher proposed, that the battle should bear this denomination : the French borrow, from Mont St. Jean, its distinctive appellation ; but it is more generally named from Waterloo.

princes who had marked him out for public vengeance. No other resource was left to him, in the language of some of the French prisoners, than to cut his own throat, and rescue himself from disgrace and misery. But it was not necessary that he should follow the example of Roman hardihood, or, as it may be called, of pagan weakness. It was more proper that he should fall a victim to violated justice and outraged humanity.

After some hours of silent and melancholy flight, he reached Charleroi, having with difficulty eluded the eager grasp of his exasperated pursuers; and, on the second evening after the battle he arrived at Paris in deep dejection. The inhabitants were then unacquainted with the particulars of the disastrous conflict. Some unfavourable reports had succeeded the intelligence of the victory at Ligny; but it was not generally believed that any great misfortune had occurred, until the emperor's return was known. It was immediately suspected that he had been completely vanquished; and the truth was disclosed in its full extent.

Four parties divided the legislature. If the emperor had triumphed over the allies, all would have acquiesced in his government: but, as victory had ceased to attend his steps, schemes of dethronement were eagerly entertained by three of these political associations. One party wished for a republic; a second favoured the restoration of Louis; and the third aimed at the establishment of a limited monarchy, under the duke of Orléans; while the fourth adhered to Napoleon with zeal and fidelity, or, if he could not preserve himself on the throne, wished for his son's succession, under the regency of Maria Louisa. His friends, aware of the intrigues of the mal-contented, advised him to dissolve the two chambers, and, on pretence of public danger, to assume a dictatorial authority: but, as he apprehended that this early violation of his solemn promises of constitutional government might be injurious to his interest, he firmly resisted these solicitations. Fouché, who, foreseeing that fortune would not again smile upon his patron, had turned his eyes to the reviving lustre of the house of Bourbon, amused Bonapartè with assurances of the zeal of all parties for the support of his power, and protested against the adoption of that arbitrary advice which, he secretly thought, would baffle the views of the emperor's opponents. He renewed his objections at a meeting of the ministers; and Napoleon again disclaimed all intentions of deviating from the maxims of the constitution. When he received intelligence of the rising spirit and high tone of the popular deputies, he was inclined, in

an emotion of rage, to enforce the suggestions of his partisans: but he was soon humbled into forbearance.

Addressing the representatives at this crisis with a spirit suited to the occasion, La-Fayette proposed, that all attempts to dissolve the assembly should be considered as high treason. The motion was readily adopted by both chambers; and it was also voted, that four of the ministers should be summoned to the hall, to explain the emperor's views and intentions. They denied that any other orders, hostile to the continued freedom of deliberation, had been given, or that any arbitrary or improper schemes were in agitation. On the ensuing evening Napoleon held a council, to which (beside the ministers) some peers and popular deputies, and other persons of distinction, were invited. He acknowledged that a severe misfortune had befallen the nation, and confessed that he had committed various errors; but he hoped that the good sense of his auditors would rectify his judgment, and provide for the safety of France. Some proposed an immediate application to the allied powers for peace; but La-Fayette ridiculed the idea of negotiating, on the part of the emperor, when it was known that the enemy would not treat with him; and he plainly hinted at the necessity of abdication;—a suggestion which roused the anger of Maret, who attributed the increasing danger of the country to the traitorous intrigues of Napoleon's adversaries. After a warm debate, it was resolved, that the two chambers should be requested to treat with the confederate princes, and that money and troops should be raised without delay; but, when these propositions were reported to the representatives, with a hint of the emperor's readiness to make any sacrifice which the people might require, if the offer of negotiation should not be accepted, the countenances of the majority exhibited strong marks of dissatisfaction, as it was concluded that he only wished to gain time for maturing his schemes of violence. Duchesne advised, that the assembly should desire him, for the safety of the state, to abdicate the sovereignty; and even some of his ministers earnestly exhorted him to resign, with a good grace, that power which he could no longer exercise for the benefit of France. The glory of such a sacrifice, they said, would immortalize his name: but he smiled with disdain at the offensive remark; for he had no other ideas of glory than those which involved the splendor of sovereignty and the lustre of military fame. His brother Lucien endeavoured to rouse him to violence, by intimating that, if he did not exercise the prerogative of dissolution, the representatives

would proceed to extremities, and depose him by an explicit and peremptory vote.—“They dare not!” exclaimed the enraged emperor, who, before his anger cooled, asked Davoust what force he could employ against his political adversaries; but, when that minister dissuaded him from all rash attempts, he secluded himself for an hour, and brooded over his declining fortune, without daring to have recourse to violence. Boulay and general Solignac, remonstrating with him, extorted a promise of resigning, if his son should be immediately acknowledged as emperor. He signed a declaration to that effect, and gave it to the general, who carried it in triumph to the hall. The deputies, exulting ^{June 24.} in the advantage which they had gained, placed his person and interests under the safeguard of the national honour, and sent their president to thank the illustrious citizen for his devotion to the public welfare, and to applaud his extraordinary magnanimity.

The two chambers, readily accepting his resignation, appointed a council of state, composed of five members; namely Fouché, Caulincourt, Carnot, Grenier, and Quinette; and these ministers issued a proclamation, recommending concord and union, and intimating that plenipotentiaries had been sent to negotiate a peace in the name of the nation. Lucien brought forward, in the assembly of peers, the question of his nephew's succession, and moved, that they should acknowledge Napoleon II. as emperor of France; but the majority, content with a provisional government, evaded the proposition. Exasperated at this seeming breach of faith, Bonapartè threatened the peers with his vengeance; but both chambers pacified him by complying with his request.

He manifested his folly and weakness, in having recourse to this idle subterfuge. He had no reason to suppose that the allies would suffer him to govern the state in the name of another prince, or even to exercise the smallest degree of power, as they not only bore arms against him, but against his whole family and all his devoted partisans. He pleased himself, however, with the idea that his dynasty still subsisted, though the new emperor was absent from France, and even in a state of confinement. He declared that he would faithfully adhere to his abdication, and would act the part of a loyal and orderly citizen. But, as his presence in the centre of a large and licentious population encouraged disorder and tumult (for the army and the rabble were still attached to him), the committee of government requested him to remove to a considerable distance from the capital. However

displeased he might be at this intimation, he consented to transfer his residence to Malmaison ; and he also, at the desire of the new rulers of the nation, stated to the soldiers, in a public address, the necessity of his removal from Paris ; but he disgusted the prevailing party by omitting the mention of his retreat from power. His remains of ambition prompted him to solicit the dignity of military command ; but the administrators were so far from being inclined to gratify him in this respect, that they urged him to expedite his escape from the danger with which he was menaced. He was advised to seek refuge in North America, or at least to remove to the coast ; and, after complaining of the ingratitude of those who had servilely bowed before him in his prosperity, and who now wished to banish him like a convicted felon from the country which he had so long governed, he repaired to Rochefort with a party of friends and domestics. He continued above a week in that town, in a state of gloomy discontent, anxiously observing the course of events, and sometimes employing himself in preparations for departure.

He might have easily been seized by the active and vigilant emissaries of Fouché ; but this minister did not wish that a person who had filled so high a station, and whom he had so long served, should be delivered up to public justice, to which he knew himself to be equally amenable. Having in vain endeavoured to escape by sea, the harassed delinquent, after long and anxious deliberation, resolved to trust to the generosity of that government which had pursued him with the most determined hostility. In a letter which he addressed to the prince regent, he compared himself with Themistocles, who sought an asylum among the enemies of his country : but the illustrious Athenian was not, like the Corsican, an enemy of the human race. Accompanied by Bertrand, Savary, and other friends, he sur-
July 15. rendered himself to Maitland, commander of the *Bellerophon*, who conducted the whole party to Torbay, but would not suffer any of the fugitives to go on shore for a moment.

Napoleon apparently expected, that he should be treated as an unfortunate prince, or permitted to live in Great Britain like a private gentleman : but he ought to have considered that it was a sufficient favour to spare his life, which, by the laws of God and man, he had forfeited. While he remained in a state between hope and fear, a convention was adjusted at Paris, consigning the custody of his person to the British government. When an order arrived from the prince regent for his deportation to St. Helena, an island in which he might be easily watched and safely guarded,

he indignantly declared that he would resist the arbitrary mandate; but, reflecting that exile was less to be dreaded than that violence which his resolute opposition might provoke, he calmly acquiesced in the prescribed voyage.

His brother-in-law, styled the king of Naples, was less fortunate. When this usurper co-operated with the Austrians in Italy, he was solely influenced by motives of interest. He was a soldier of fortune, ready to espouse any cause which promised to be advantageous. Little praise, therefore, was due to him for supporting the common cause against the disturber of Europe; and there was no doubt of his reverting to his former connexions, if his patron should be enabled to resume his sway. Even the court which had formed an alliance with him did not seriously confide in his honour; and all his endeavours to procure from the British regent a treaty of friendship, or an acknowledgment of his title, were frustrated by the unfavourable opinion which had justly been conceived of him. He maintained a correspondence with the exile of Elba; and, as soon as he was informed of the arrival of the perfidious invader at Lyons, he renounced his confederacy with Austria, and resolved to promote, with the whole force of his realm, the interest of the French emperor and his own aggrandisement. By commencing hostilities at Cesena, he exposed himself to the severe resentment of the allies, and hastened his ruin.

The Austrian emperor, having a great force in the north of Italy, would not tamely suffer such a pretender as Murat to domineer in that country. General Bianchi was therefore ordered to oppose him with vigour; but that commander, being unsuccessful in an engagement near Modena, retreated toward the Po. Count Nugent, who was at the head of another body of Austrians, left Florence to the enemy, and marched to Pistoia, sustaining attacks from the Neapolitans, who could not, however, with all their efforts defeat him.

Murat had endeavoured, by an appeal to the natural desire of independence, to rouse the people of the northern and middle parts of Italy into a confederacy against the Austrians; but they easily discerned his interested views, and very few, except his own subjects, joined his standard. When he had reached the neighbourhood of Ferrara with his main body, he was attacked and driven to the southward, and the other divisions of his force were also constrained to retreat. Sensible of his danger, and dreading an assault upon his capital from the British and Sicilian armament, he made frivolous excuses and absurd apologies for his

military movements and operations, and requested a suspension of arms: but, as this was an indulgence which he had no right to expect, it was peremptorily refused. To secure a retreat, he attacked general Bianchi near Tolentino; and the conflict was prolonged to the close of the second day. His great superiority of number did not enable him to obtain the victory. His loss was severe, and daily desertions thinned his ranks. Yet he would not relinquish the important contest without a farther trial of strength. Having procured a reinforcement, he turned upon his pursuers near San-Germando, and assaulted all the outposts of Nugent's division, even encompassing various bodies, which, however, cut their way through his ranks. He then, instead of attacking the principal position, resumed his retreat. The union of four Austrian divisions completed his ruin. He fled to Capua with the wretched remains of his force, foreseeing and bitterly lamenting the loss of his power. The appearance of a small British squadron in the bay of Naples had already deprived him of all the naval force which he had upon that station, and had placed his capital at the disposal of the allies; and a convention was signed at Casa-Lanzi, for the surrender May 20. of all the fortified towns in the kingdom (except three which were then under blockade), and of all the ports and arsenals. He had given a general authority for treating; but these terms were adjusted, without his consent, between the baron Carascosa and count Neiperg, the Austrian commander. He escaped in disguise, and embarked for France, while his wife was sent to Trieste. Prince Leopold, soon after, took possession of Naples in the name of the lawful king, and received strong testimonies of the returning loyalty of the inhabitants. The promise of an amnesty removed the apprehensions of those who had renounced their allegiance to Ferdinand; and, when this prince re-appeared in his metropolis, he was saluted with enthusiastic acclamations.

The fugitive adventurer might have found an asylum in the Austrian territories; but, by folly and rashness, he provoked his destruction. He retired from Toulon to Corsica, and put himself at the head of a party in a mountainous district, where the constituted authorities of the island were unable to enforce full submission. Still restless and discontented, he returned to the Calabrian coast, landed near Pizzo with about thirty adherents, and endeavoured to rouse the population against Ferdinand: but his appeal was derided; his escape was obstructed; his followers were slain or captured; and the infamous assassin of the Spaniards,

being condemned by a court-martial, suffered death for invading a country in which he had long reigned. His ^{Oct. 15.} government was, in some respects, superior to that of his rival : yet his unjustifiable intrusion, and his want of honour and principle, prevented his acquisition of popularity.

LETTER XXXI.

History of the Progress of the renewed War, to the Pacification of Paris ; with a View of the chief Political Changes ordained by the Congress of Vienna.

THE glorious success of the British and Prussian armies decided the fate of Europe. It manifested the determination of the allies to execute their recent engagements with honour and fidelity, and to substitute vigour and efficiency for the empty menaces of former coalitions. It extinguished the enormities of French despotism, and gratified the suffering nations with a prospect of dignified independence.

After a day's rest, the hero of Waterloo began his march toward Paris. Although the British court had apparently disclaimed the intention of imposing a particular king or government upon France, the duke may be supposed to have received private instructions, authorizing him, in the event of a signal or complete victory, to act as the restorer of Louis : he would not otherwise have publicly asserted, that the respective sovereigns of the troops under his command were the allies of the king of France, which ought therefore to be treated as a friendly country. This declaration alarmed the adversaries of the Bourbon family, and occasioned severe strictures on that inconsistency which appeared to them to be a gross violation of faith. Regardless of the opinion of that part of the French population, the duke advanced with the dignified air of a victorious general, not with the stern features of a barbarian conqueror. No contributions were extorted, as he passed through the towns and villages, from the terrors of the inhabitants ; who, on the contrary, were gratified with full payment, or received regular notes, for every thing which they furnished. Fair speeches and friendly promises were substituted for that harshness and arrogance with which the Prussians treated the French, who, in many instances, shut up and deserted their

habitations, in the *route* by which Blucher proceeded. This commander rather encouraged than repressed the licentiousness of his soldiers; for he could not remember without keen resentment the horrible outrages which the troops of Bonapartè had perpetrated in the dominions of his royal master; and he wished to give the French a salutary lesson, by teaching them that they were not to violate the laws with impunity. He denounced vengeance against all who still dared to support the interest of a perjured and sanguinary usurper, the scourge of society, and the enemy of peace. Having taken Avesnes by scalade, he suffered his men to commit various excesses, and ordered that the soldiers who had defended the town should be sent to Cologne to repair the fortifications. He defeated the remains of the French army at Villars Coteret; and Bulow, soon after, gave them a considerable check: but they reached Paris before the Prussians could arrive in that city.

Being met by the deputies whom the provisional government had sent to propose peace, Blucher refused even to allow an armistice for an hour, declaring that he would not treat before he entered the capital: but he granted passports for their advance to Haguenau, where, he said, they might be introduced to the confederate princes and ministers. After two fruitless conferences, the envoys required a determinate answer; and, when this was postponed, because the British ambassador was not empowered by his court to negotiate with the new government, the alarmed deputies returned to Paris.

The duke of Wellington, proceeding into the Cambresis, sent a detachment to attempt the reduction of Cambray. The city was assaulted in four points, and taken; but the citadel was still defended, though not with the most determined spirit. It was the wish of the general, that this fortress should be surrendered to the personal requisition of the king, who, being invited by the duke to re-enter France, and urged by the princes of his family to hasten his return, neglected the more judicious advice of his most considerate and respectable ministers, and advanced to Cambray. Prudence, and a due regard to the opinion of the people, required that he should keep himself in reserve, and not join the allies in hostilities against his former subjects, but leave the contest to their decision. When the garrison had capitulated, he entered the town in triumphal procession, amidst the loud acclamations of those citizens who would have hailed with an equal appearance of zeal the return of Napoleon. In a proclamation, he referred to the difficulties which had surrounded and per-

plexed him in the preceding year, and apologized for the errors into which, with the best intentions, he had fallen. He disclaimed the imputed intention of re-establishing tithes and feudal privileges; declared that the apprehensions of the purchasers of national property were ill-founded; and promised to pardon all who had opposed him, except the authors of that nefarious conspiracy which had occasioned the march of foreign armies into France.

However depressed and humbled were the French by the progress of the allies, there still remained among them that spirit which would not tamely surrender their metropolis. The fortifications were repaired and extended: the army assumed a menacing attitude: the national guard seemed ready for defence; and a multitude of volunteers took arms. The rulers of the state stimulated the courage of the people, without neglecting the great object of an honourable accommodation. They wished before Louis should be reinstated, to bind him to the observance of a constitutional charter; but the foreign friends of that prince were either so unfriendly to the liberty of France, or had so good an opinion of his moderation, that they were not inclined to see him fettered and restricted.

When the invaders were approaching Paris, the two chambers made a dignified appeal to the nation. The war, they said, ought to be terminated, if the promises of sovereigns were supposed to be obligatory: but the troops of the coalition were almost at their gates, without stating for what object they continued the war. A resolute defence was therefore necessary, unless the people were so debased as to have no wish or regard for freedom and independence. Peace was a desirable object: but it ought not to be purchased by disgraceful submission; and it was the duty of both assemblies to declare, that they never would acknowledge, as their legitimate ruler, any claimant who should refuse to recognize the rights of the nation, or to enter into a solemn compact with his people. If an overwhelming force should impose such a master upon them, they would protest, in the face of the world, against so flagrant an instance of tyranny, and would take the first opportunity of re-asserting their rights.

This proclamation was disregarded by the king and his allies. The Prussian general attacked Aubervilliers, and gained possession of the post after a fierce contest: he lost it, and retook it: but, instead of proceeding to the north of Paris, he directed his *course to the south*, where it was much less capable of defence.

At Versailles he maintained a long and severe contest; and, having dislodged the enemy, he stationed his reserve at that town, his right wing on the heights of Meudon, and his left at St. Cloud. Alarmed at his approach, the national guard joined the regular troops and the volunteers in harassing his soldiers by every mode of hostility; and all parties seemed to unite for the defence of the capital and the country. They dreaded a general assault when the duke of Wellington had crossed the Seine; but the two commanders were content with investment and vigilant observation, hoping to enforce submission without proceeding to extremities. The duke even suffered a large supply of provisions to be conveyed into the city, for the benefit of the inhabitants, as if it had been a time of peace.

Being attacked at Versailles, the Prussians retreated for a time, but soon re-established their superiority; and their success induced the ruling party at Paris to call a council of war. When some of the speakers had recommended submission, others advised a spirited defence; and it was determined that a battle should be risked at Issy, before a surrender should be offered. The conflict proved unfortunate to the French, who were so discouraged as to abandon all thoughts of ulterior resistance; and the danger of an attack from both armies intimidated the Parisians into a desire of capitulation.

The demand of a truce was no longer opposed by the allies, as they expected a speedy surrender. The baron Bignon, the counts Guilleminot and De Bondy, appeared at St. Cloud on the part of the French army: major-general Muffling acted as the Prussian commissioner: and colonel Hervey was deputed by the duke of Wellington. After a short negotiation, an agreement was adjusted, consisting of eighteen articles, providing for the retreat of the army and the security of Paris. It was stipulated that the different posts and barriers should be given up by the third day; that the troops of the line should retire beyond the Loire within eight days; that the national guard, and the municipal *gens-d'armes*, should perform their usual duty in the city; and that the constituted authorities should not be molested by the foreign troops. The twelfth article was differently understood by the royalists and the friends of Napoleon. It imported, that the inhabitants, and (*in general*) all persons who were in the capital, should be considered as not amenable to any tribunal, nor liable to any charge, either with respect to any employments or functions in which they were concerned, or for their conduct and political opinions. When questioned on the

subject, the duke declared, that the convention “ related exclusively to the military occupation of Paris ;” and that the disputed article, which some construed into a preclusion of all inquiry into political delinquency on the part of the French government, was only intended to prevent any measure of severity, under the military authority of those who concluded the agreement, toward any persons in Paris, on account of their political conduct or sentiments. But it was argued, on the contrary, that, as the invading generals had no right, by the law of nations, to take cognizance of those political opinions of the French, which had reference only to their own sovereign or government, the article related to that power alone which had a right to punish ; and, therefore, that every offence of that denomination was completely pardoned. Upon an accurate view of the stipulation, however, the phrase *in general*, though awkwardly and inconsistently introduced, evidently appears to have been intended to qualify the universality of the concomitant term, by allowing such exceptions as might seem advisable ; and, indeed, the negotiators had no right to preclude, by a military convention, those inquiries into political delinquency which the restored king might deem just and expedient.

This convention gave great joy to the citizens, whom it rescued from the extremity of danger : but it filled the licentious army with indignation. It was stigmatized as a disgraceful and ignominious compact, which no true patriot would observe. Some parties of the soldiery were inflamed to temporary madness, at this second surrender of their renowned city, and rushed with desperate fury on the outposts of the invaders : but these ebullitions of rage gradually subsided, and the exertions of the national guard eminently contributed to the restoration of tranquillity.

The new constitution continued to occupy the attention of the national representatives, without reference to that prince who, though not yet recalled, considered himself as restored to his throne. In a declaration which they issued, they renewed their demand of assent, from the future monarch, to those stipulations which were calculated to fix the liberties of the nation upon a firm basis ; adding, that no government which should refuse its sanction to such articles as were approved by the people would have a permanent existence, or would effectually secure the welfare and tranquillity of France. If the choice of a sovereign had been left to the free will of the nation, it is probable that the duke of Orleans, the most popular prince of the Bourbon family, and the most willing to grant freedom to France, would have

been elected to the sovereignty; but the allies regarded Louis as king *de jure*, and had extorted from him a secret promise for the payment of large sums of money, and the temporary maintenance of foreign troops within his dominions. This recognition of his claim was announced, by the ministers and generals of the confederate powers, in a conference with Fouchè; and it was alleged, that the French ought to be pleased at his restoration, as he was inclined to promote their happiness, and as their acceptance of him would preclude those territorial cessions which, on their submission to any other prince, would be peremptorily demanded. Fouchè and his four associates now resigned their authority; and, when the peers were informed of this change in the government, they discontinued their deliberations: but the representatives of the people were less submissive; for they declared, that nothing but the power of the bayonet should prevent them from doing their duty. The national guard, however, having received orders from the king, obstructed all access to the hall; and the deputies indignantly retired.

When the king re-appeared on his way to Paris, the road from St. Denis was so thronged, that it was extremely difficult to pass. The approach of the most beloved and esteemed of monarchs could not have excited a greater appearance of loyal enthusiasm, than did the return of a prince whom, not long before, the majority of the Parisians and of the nation seemed to mark out as an object of aversion. In the selection of ministers, he was advised, not by the princes of his family, but by the duke of Wellington, to admit Fouchè into the cabinet. He declared Talleyrand president of the council, and also re-appointed him secretary of state for the foreign department. His ministers for war and finance were, respectively, the marshal St. Cyr and the baron Louis; while the duke de Richelieu, whom the king particularly esteemed, was superintendent of the household.

The return of the royal family to the capital did not immediately put an end to the war. So great was the obstinacy of the military class, that some garrisons were much more intent upon resistance than ready to yield, notwithstanding the general submission of the people. But the arrival of the Austrian and Russian armies hastened the complete conquest of the country. Davoust, and the troops beyond the Loire, consented to a transfer of their allegiance from the emperor to the king, without presuming to exact any conditions from his fears or his policy. The citadel of Lisle was surrendered; Suchet ceased to defend Lyons; and the operations of a British squadron in the Garonne

concurred with the exertions of the royalists to subdue the obstinacy of Clausel, who had dared to retain Bourdeaux in the name of Napoleon.

While occasional hostilities marked the remaining agitation of the times, a sanguinary *re-action* occurred in the neighbourhood of Nismes. A body of royalist volunteers, being joined by the populace of that city, disarmed the guard, forced the barracks, and, in concert with a multitude of peasants, harassed the friends of Bonapartè. During six weeks, many outrages and murders were committed by the rage of party and the fury of revenge. Factious journalists attributed these commotions to the intolerance of the court, as those who suffered were chiefly protestants; but the king, though attached to the catholic religion, never was inclined, by disposition or bigotry, to act as a persecutor.

The disbandment or reduction of the army, and the punishment of the most notorious delinquents, occupied the anxious attention of the cabinet. After frequent deliberations, it was resolved that a general dismissal should take place, and that a legion should be raised in every department, but should not be so completely new as to exclude those disbanded soldiers who might be thought worthy of admission. In this arrangement a greater force was proposed for the establishment than the country seemed in time of peace to require; for the calculation of the infantry exceeded 145,000 men.

Of the most criminal accomplices of Bonapartè, nineteen were marked out by the king for trial. Among these were Labedoyère and Ney, who were condemned as traitors, and shot. M. de Lavalette, who had strenuously promoted the second usurpation, was also convicted, and would have shared the same fate, if he had not escaped from prison in the dress of his wife; who, for this insult to the government, was for some time detained in confinement, but was not punished in any other mode for the warmth of her conjugal affection. Carnot, Soult, Vandamme, and thirty-five other delinquents, were merely ordered to await the decision of the two chambers, whether they should be banished, or tried by the ordinary tribunals. Soult had been favoured with the confidence of Louis, and appointed minister of war: but he treacherously promoted the restoration of Napoleon. The persons named in the second list were merely stigmatized, being permitted to enjoy their lives and preserve their wealth, although many of the number deserved exemplary punishment.

The great difficulty of settling the affairs of France retarded the conclusion of treaties between that kingdom and the allied powers. Dismemberment and partition appeared to be so violent and unjust, that even the keen resentment of the princes would not suffer them to entertain such ideas: but they resolved to inflict both punishment and disgrace upon a nation which had so tamely submitted to the renewed intrusion of Napoleon. It was determined by the congress at Vienna, that the French should resign a part of that frontier which had been allowed to them by the treaty of the preceding year; that they should pay a large sum toward the indemnification of the allies, and give up, for a certain term, the possession of many important fortresses. If the princes had not conceived a high opinion of the "enlightened principles, magnanimous sentiments, and personal virtues" of Louis, they would have imposed much more rigorous terms upon a conquered people than those which were contained in the new treaty.

Amidst the moderation which had guided the former arrangements, the numerous and admired works of art, by which the Louvre was adorned, were suffered to remain: but the same delicacy and forbearance, on the part of the conquerors, did not direct the new regulations. Marshal Blucher took the lead in enforcing the demand of restitution. He required a speedy surrender of the spoils of Berlin, Potsdam, and Cologne; and his menaces had the desired effect. Canova, the celebrated sculptor, claimed, in the name of the pope, a similar restitution; but the weakness of his master was derided by Talleyrand and Fouchè; and so imbecile a power would not have regained a single picture, statue, or manuscript, if the duke of Wellington had not lent the high authority of his name, and the effective aid of his soldiers, for the removal of the purloined property. In defiance of the clamours and menaces of the Parisians, the process of recovery stripped the Louvre of the fruits of unhallowed rapine; and Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy, were gladdened with the re-appearance of the valued testimonies of human talent. Of 1500 pictures, not more than 274 were left to the French. Those matchless specimens of sculptural skill, the Venus, the Apollo, and the Laocöon, were carried off in triumph; and the horses which had been taken from the Venetian church of St. Mark were removed from Napoleon's car of victory amidst irrepressible bursts of resentment and indignation.

The treaties were at length completed, and announced to the

anxious nation. Beside new restrictions of boundary, it was stipulated that Condé, Valenciennes, and sixteen other frontier posts, should be occupied for five years by the ^{Nov. 20.} troops of the allies, amounting to 150,000 men : and that 700 millions of francs should be paid by the French government, in addition to the supplies necessary for the support of those troops. It was also agreed, that the four chief powers, in concert with Louis, should effectually provide for the perpetual exclusion of Bonapartè and his family from the supreme power in France, and for the repression of those revolutionary principles which had supported the late criminal usurpation ; that, if the allied force in that country should be attacked or menaced, a greater number of troops than the contingent specified in the treaty of Chaumont should be speedily furnished : and that, in the event of increasing danger, the whole force of each state should be employed for the restoration of tranquillity.

Unquestionably, the terms imposed upon the French were harsh and severe ; but they were such as the crisis demanded, and the provocation justified. It was proper that they should be treated as offenders and criminals, not as an honourable belligerent nation. That arrogant and turbulent spirit which had convulsed Europe required powerful restraint and bitter humiliation.

The acts of the congress, for the settlement of Europe, bore an arbitrary aspect ; but, after so many years of disorder, it is not surprising that the political physicians should prescribe violent remedies. They followed the dictates of expediency, and enforced the laws of general policy. When the Danes expressed their disapprobation of that vote in which they were concerned, the reply accused them of having favoured the common enemy, and stated the utility of strengthening Sweden : the king of Saxony was reminded of a similar attachment, and was desired to acknowledge the propriety of indemnifying the king of Prussia ; and the Genoese were assured of a due regard to their prosperity, on the part of their new sovereign.

With a view of establishing a strong barrier against France on the side of the Netherlands, the congress ordained, that the seventeen provinces, which had formerly been subject to the sway of the house of Burgundy, should be united in favour of the prince of Orange, to whom the royal dignity was allowed¹.

¹ To this prince the British court restored the conquered portion of the island of Java, St. Eustatius, Curaçao, and the colony of Surinam, but retained Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, beside the Cape of Good Hope and the coast of Ceylon. The

The people of Belgium were not altogether pleased at this transfer, because they apprehended that the king would be partial to the Dutch; and the bigotry of the clergy indisposed them to the government of a protestant prince. But they found submission so far expedient, that their discontent did not rise to the height of sedition. The chief fortresses of the country had been occupied by British and German troops before the return of Bonapartè from Elba; and the new monarch had announced the favourable decision of the united powers. While the preparations and movements of the French rendered the acquisition doubtful, the annexion was not completed; but, after the battle of Waterloo, the king declared his determination of incorporating the Belgian provinces with Holland. The constitution which had been recently adjusted for the benefit of the Dutch, uniting a representative government with the exercise of royalty, securing the rights of property, allowing a freedom of opinion both religious and political, establishing the independence of judges, and fixing taxation on an equitable basis, received such alterations as adapted it to the extended limits of the kingdom. Some of the prelates voted an address, remonstrating against the grant of equal favour and protection to all religions,—a concession which, they said, was repugnant to the canonical laws, and menaced the catholic church with serious danger. This attack upon the system of toleration had no other effect than to procure a promise of referring, to a catholic committee of the council of state, every proposition connected with the Romish faith and worship.

Not content with the recovery of the provinces which the French had seized, the king of Prussia viewed the Saxon realm with a greedy eye. He probably would not have declined an acceptance of all the territories of the aged prince, if the other powers had tempted his avidity with the offer. They allowed him an ample portion, without consigning the king and his family to total ruin. He received the Saxon dutchy, both divisions of Lusatia, the landgravate of Thuringia, and the county of Henneberg. To the inhabitants of these territories and of his recovered provinces in Poland, as well as to his other subjects, he promised a constitution founded on popular representation.

For the more effectual maintenance of peace and security in

interior parts of the last-named island were added by conquest, in March 1815, to the maritime possessions, in consequence of those outrages and that iniquitous misgovernment which had entailed upon the king of Kandi the resentment of Great Britain and the indignation of his people.

Germany, an act of confederation was framed by the congress. The sovereign princes and free cities were authorized, by this ordinance, to send plenipotentiaries to Frankfort, to form a diet in which a delegate of the house of Austria was to preside. A freedom of foreign alliance was granted to every member of the union, with a proviso that no treaty, repugnant to the general safety, or to that of any particular branch of the confederacy, should be at any time concluded. All were bound to repel hostilities, even if only one should be attacked ; and the whole body guaranteed the possessions of each prince and community. In no case was war allowed to disunite the members of the league ; for all disputes were to be accommodated by the decision of the diet. A representative body was to be established in every state ; and arrangements, promotive of civil liberty, were promised to the people.

The kings of Denmark and of the Netherlands were included in this grand association, the former for Holstein, and the latter for Luxemburg. Pomerania and Rugen had been subjected to the Danish sovereignty, in return for the seizure of Norway ; but both the province and the island were ceded to the king of Prussia, in exchange for the dutchy of Lauenberg, which he had procured from his Hanoverian ally.

In the adjustment of the French boundaries, the Swiss were gratified with an accession of territory ; and Huningen, which was a thorn in the side of Basle, was dismantled. A new federal compact was concluded ; which, among other expedient alterations, granted an equality of rights to every component part of the union, and consequently annulled the authority claimed by some of the cantons over their dependencies.

The greater part of Poland, including the dukedom of Warsaw, was assigned to Alexander, who declared himself king of that country, and gratified the people with some political advantages which were not enjoyed within the former limits of the Russian empire. Cracow was dignified with the privilege of independence, in compliment to its ancient rank and importance.

Having thus extended his sway to the Vistula, the northern emperor resigned all claim to the Ionian islands ; and it was agreed, that they should form a “ single, free, and independent state,” under the exclusive protection of Great Britain ; but this independence was rather nominal than real, as the inhabitants were required to regulate their internal organization with the approbation of the protecting power, whose garrisons were to occupy the fortresses.

In the settlement of the affairs of Italy, two republics, which had formerly flourished, were subverted. As the king of Sardinia had suffered severely from the hostile rapacity of the French, his continental territories were restored, with the addition of the Genoese state, which formed a very convenient appendage to his monarchy; and the Austrian potentate, who appears to have dictated this part of the arrangement, was no more willing to re-establish Venice, as a separate state, than Genoa. As he had relinquished his pretensions to the Netherlands, he thought himself justified in adding the Venetian dominions to the Milanese and Tuscan dependencies of his empire.

Among these important discussions, the propriety of an universal abolition of the slave trade was strongly urged by lord Castlereagh and Talleyrand; and a declaration was signed by the ministers of the five great powers, importing that the public voice in all civilized countries demanded the speedy suppression of so iniquitous a traffic; that their respective sovereigns were animated with a sincere and zealous desire of putting an end to a scourge which had "so long desolated Africa, degraded Europe, and afflicted humanity;" and that it was the duty of every prince and state to order the cessation of a practice, which no established precedents and no length of duration could justify. Notwithstanding this strong appeal to the feelings and moral sense of mankind, the Spaniards and Portuguese obstinately continued the traffic, and gave the security of their respective flags to mercantile adventurers of other nations.

When the political deliberations of Vienna had been brought to a close, a new and arbitrary treaty was concluded. The two emperors and the king of Prussia entered into a league for the defence of Christianity, and the maintenance of those true principles upon which the wisdom of God, in his revelations to mankind, had founded the peace and prosperity of nations. This was denominated the holy alliance; but it arose from a spirit of despotism, and from a wish to promote the "right divine of kings to govern wrong," rather than from the zeal of true piety.

While the different treaties were producing their intended effects, the French legislature endeavoured, by a general amnesty, to quiet the alarms of the disaffected, and extinguish the remains of agitation and disorder. The *projet* offered by the king received some alterations in its progress, particularly with reference to those regicides who, in return for that clemency which had spared their lives, had not only promoted the second usurpation of Bonapartè, but had consented to accept offices from

him. The continued guilt of these incorrigible offenders roused the resentment of the rigid royalists, whose zeal, however, did not impel them to a recommendation of sanguinary extremities. It was ordained, that they should quit France within one month, and never return to it; and that they should be deprived of titles and pensions, and of all property which had been gratuitously transferred to them. The late ordinance was declared to be in full force against the criminals of that class to which Ney belonged; those of the second arrangement were now banished from the kingdom; and the chief instigators of the revolt, and most active accomplices in the usurpation, were also excluded from the amnesty.

In reflecting, my dear son, on the memorable occurrences which preceded this important settlement, you may be induced to observe, that the disorders and outrages of the French revolution, after multiplied contests for the preponderance of party, produced their natural result, in leading to the erection of military despotism. Such was the bitter fruit of that rash zeal which prompted a misguided nation to subvert the legitimate throne, and to exchange a comparatively mild government for the rigours of upstart tyranny. The long duration of sway, which gratified the bold adventurer who erected a new empire, will not perhaps excite your surprise, when you consider, that a disciplined force, formed amidst revolutionary hostilities, attached to an enterprising leader, and divested of all moral feeling, may habitually intimidate and overawe a great population, which, if roused to unity, might crush the tyrant and his *satellites* in a paroxysm of resentment; nor will your astonishment be particularly great, when you trace the effect of the power, thus acquired, in the subjugation of foreign states, which, being governed by deeply-rooted prejudices, and habituated to formal tactics, did not retain the spirit and energy requisite for an effectual defence against the artful manœuvres and vigorous attacks of the new school of policy and war. But, fortunately for the peace and honour of society, when the evils of encroachment and the enormities of outrage had proceeded to an alarming excess, the general zeal of resistance was at length fully roused against the arrogant propagator of servitude and misery, who had long defied and insulted the whole civilized world. Providence favoured the just and meritorious enterprise, and confounded the towering schemes of inordinate and criminal ambition.

LETTER XXXII.

History of Europe, continued to the Death of George III.

HARASSED and enfeebled by war, the nations of Europe wished for repose. The union of the principal powers, and their politic arrangements, seemed to promise a continuance of peace. As every thing is either sweetened or embittered by contrast, the change in this case was felt as a luxurious enjoyment; and, in Britain, so grateful were the people, that even ministers who had never been popular received their due meed of praise. It was now their duty to maintain, by a prudent and just government in the days of peace, that reputation which they had acquired amidst
Feb. 1. the prevalence of war. After a long recess, the parlia-
1816. ment re-assembled. To the speech of the prince regent the people anxiously looked for information, relief, and comfort. He gave them some intelligence which they knew before; and he excited their surprise by declaring, upon the authority of his ministers, that the manufactures, commerce, and revenue, of the united kingdom, were ‘in a *flourishing* condition.’

The return of peace, although it brought security in its train, did not diminish the burthens of the nation in that degree which was reasonably expected. A large standing army was maintained; and it was the intention of the ministry to continue the odious tax upon property, not indeed at its full amount, but with a reduction of five *per cent*. This menace excited a general alarm, and the wantonness of ministerial profusion was loudly censured. Notwithstanding the presentation of numerous petitions against the impost, the chancellor of the exchequer ventured to propose its continuance; but the spirit of the house revolted from it; and, when it was exploded by a majority of thirty-seven votes, the shouts which arose from the unexpected popular triumph resounded over the whole vicinity.

The debates respecting a new settlement of the civil list were warm and acrimonious; but it is a subject on which it is not necessary to dwell. Useless places and sinecures were pertinaciously retained; and the aggregate allowance was augmented, although the payment of a considerable part of it out of a different fund afforded a pretence for asserting that it was diminished.

During the session, a new demand was made upon the public

purse, in consequence of a matrimonial alliance. The princess Charlotte of Wales, having rejected the addresses of the prince of Orange, had fixed her affection upon the prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, who had visited England in the train of the confederate sovereigns ; and, as the regent gave his assent to the union, the parliament not only settled 60,000 pounds *per annum* on the happy pair, but, as if the bridegroom had conferred honour on the princess, instead of being honoured by her, allowed five-sixths of that income to be continued to him, even if the tie should be broken by her death. This, it must be observed, was a very unnecessary excess of liberality. The marriage, however, seemed to give general satisfaction.

The distress of the agricultural interest produced a number of petitions for relief. One member attributed the pressure to a combination of causes, but chiefly to the enormity of taxation ; another to an *over-trading* in the bounty of the soil, and a consequent redundancy of produce : but no one could devise a promising remedy. The manufacturers, at the same time, complained of that want of employment which was occasioned by the general impoverishment of their countrymen, and by the renewed application of foreign communities to the business of internal supply. Riots arose in several counties from that discontent which this state of affairs produced. In Suffolk, large parties marched from one village to another, destroying or injuring the houses of individuals who were not considered as friends to the poor. In the county of Cambridge, a body of provincials extorted money from the inhabitants of Ely and Littleport, pillaged many of the shops, and continued their outrages until a party of dragoons and yeomanry appeared. A conflict ensued ; the riot was quelled ; and five of the delinquents, being tried and condemned, were punished with death. A riot at Norwich was more easily suppressed ; and other commotions were insignificant and transitory. Near the close of the year, a popular meeting took place in the Spa-fields, and resolutions of reform, suggested by Mr. Henry Hunt, were voted by acclamation. An apothecary of the name of Watson also harangued the rabble in the same neighbourhood ; and the subsequent operations of those who listened to his oratory excited a temporary alarm in the metropolis. The rioters paraded the streets, carried off fire-arms from the shops of several gun-smiths, marched to the royal Exchange, had a short contest with the lord-mayor and some officers of the *police*, and at length dispersed from the fear of a military attack.

These disturbances did not seriously encroach on the general

tranquillity of the realm. The majority of the nation looked forward to a full enjoyment of the blessings of peace, and patiently waited for the removal of the prevailing distress.

In the midst of ostensible peace, an unexpected war arose, not indeed in Europe, but on the coast of Africa. The predatory practices and abominable cruelty of the Algerines and other infidel barbarians, had long excited general indignation ; and it was the particular wish of every commercial state, that signal chastisement should be inflicted upon those base pirates. As even British vessels were occasionally attacked by them, lord Exmouth, being ordered by the prince regent to try the effect of temperate expostulation, sailed to Algiers, and submitted three points to the dey's consideration. One request was, that his highness should treat the Ionian isles as if they were British colonies ; the second point was, the propriety of concluding peace with the kings of Naples and Sardinia ; and the third related to the abolition of Christian slavery in his dominions. Explicit promises were given on the two first heads ; but the other request was, in the dey's opinion, too important to be hastily settled or easily conceded. The rulers of Tunis and Tripoli, who were also visited by the admiral, were more compliant than their Algerine brother, and promised that they would not consign prisoners of war to the miseries or disgrace of slavery, but would treat them according to the practice of Christian nations.

Returning to Algiers, his lordship renewed his remonstrances without effect ; and while he was thus employed, a brutal massacre was perpetrated at Bona upon many coral-fishers, who were acting under the supposed security of the British flag. A fresh squadron, calculated for a bold enterprise, was put under his command ; and he was joined by vice-admiral Capellen, whom the king of the Netherlands had sent with a small fleet to promote the success of the expedition.

The preparations which had been made for the defence of Algiers rendered the attack extremely dangerous ; but nothing could deter or discourage the two commanders and their gallant associates. Lord Exmouth, in the *Queen Charlotte*, cast anchor so near the mole and the batteries, that the enemy seemed for a time to be confounded at this mark of intrepidity. The other ships followed, and took the stations which he prescribed, with a precision which even exceeded his hopes. A tremendous
Aug. 27. fire was now poured from the walls, the batteries, and the ships in the harbour ; and it was answered with due spirit. The bomb-vessels, and the boats which had guns and rockets, ably

seconded the operations of the larger ships ; and it was ‘ by their fire,’ says the admiral, ‘ that all the ships in the port, except one, were in flames, which extended rapidly over the whole arsenal, store-houses, and gun-boats, exhibiting a spectacle of awful grandeur and interest, which no pen can describe.’ For six hours the contest raged without the least intermission ; and, as sufficient havoc had then been made, the assailants slowly retired, waiting the effect of that defeat and disgrace which the barbarians had suffered. Dreading a renewal of attack, the dey listened to the offer of terms ; and a treaty was concluded, by which he bound himself to the abolition of Christian slavery in his dominions, and to the immediate surrender of all slaves. Above 1000 of those unhappy exiles were now liberated, and placed under the protection of the allies ; and a large sum was refunded which the dey had received for ransom.

While we regret the loss of the brave men who fell on this occasion¹, we cannot refrain from giving our testimony of applause to the gallant admiral who so ably superintended the operations, and whose example tended to confirm that courage, and promote those exertions, which accomplished the object of the expedition.

The French did not concur in this enterprise, although they had as much reason to wish for its success as the English or the Dutch. Their sovereign had no wish to engage in it ; and he probably considered the scheme as Quixotic and romantic. The concerns of internal policy, the state of parties, and the occasional agitations of his realm, engrossed his attention. Two parties divided the legislature,—the friends of the new constitution, and the ultra-royalists—the Whigs and the Tories of France. The latter, in the earlier part of the year, formed the majority of the chamber of deputies ; but the new elections, avowedly influenced by the court, gave a preponderance to the former, as the king was apprehensive of ill consequences from the zeal of those who pretended to be his best friends.

The commotions which arose in France reconciled many friends of the house of Bourbon to the continuance of a foreign army in the kingdom. At Paris, the intrigues of malcontents excited alarm ; but no actual insurrection took place. The tranquillity of Lyons was sometimes disturbed by the partisans of Napoleon, who did not, however, proceed to the extremity of violence.

¹ *It is stated that 128 of our seamen were killed, and 690 wounded. The Dutch being less exposed, suffered a very small loss.*

Seditious machinations were opportunely detected at Tarascon ; and a body of insurgents attempted to surprise Grenoble, but received a severe check from the commandant, who marched out to meet them, and put them to flight after a short conflict.

The Netherlands remained in a tranquil state. The king sedulously attended to all the duties of his station, strictly observed the new constitution, promoted an union of interest between his old and new provinces, introduced frugality and order into the financial administration, and encouraged commerce and manufactures. For the security of his realm, in the event of a future war, he gave additional strength to the frontier towns ; and, to conciliate the princes who had opened his way to power, he acceded to the holy alliance.

The advocates of freedom in Germany anxiously viewed the conduct of the Austrian emperor and his Prussian ally ; but they rather hoped than expected that those princes would perform the promises which they had spontaneously given at the late congress, for the organization of representative governments in their states. Francis was so habituated to the exercise of despotism that he could not persuade himself to give up any portion of his high authority ; and Frederic was not disposed to begin the work of political reform before his friend should set the example. He even endeavoured to check that moderate freedom of discussion which appeared in some of the public prints, as he and his ministers did not wish for the advice of mere scholars and philosophers, whom they deemed incompetent judges of practical policy. Both princes chiefly trusted to their armies for the support of their power ; and therefore, while both ordered a reduction of their military establishments for the relief of their disordered finances, each still maintained a very considerable force. The king of Bavaria concurred with them in the expediency of postponing the grant of political favours to the people, whom, however, he resolved soon to gratify. This prince cemented his late union with Austria, in consequence of the death of the emperor's third wife. Being attached to domestic comforts, Francis offered his hand to a Bavarian princess ; and the nuptials were celebrated with pompous parade, but (in consideration of the prevailing distress) not with the usual festivities.

The people of Wurtemberg were less passive than other German communities in their submission to the king. The states ventured to remonstrate against his arbitrary assumption of authority, and particularly protested against the imposition of taxes without their consent. He answered their addresses in a

contemptuous tone, and denied their claim to the character of a legitimate assembly ; and the dispute was still unaccommodated, when he was seized with an apoplectic fit, from which he did not recover. He had strong mental powers, and was conversant in various branches of art and science. His manners and address were plausible and prepossessing, when he wished to please : but he was proud, imperious, and tyrannical, yet sometimes so conscientious as to make voluntary reparation to persons whom he had injured. His queen (the eldest daughter of George III.) was over-awed by his lofty demeanour, and at the same time was attached to him. His son, the new king, conciliated the states by promising a reform in the administration.

The subject of representative government was brought forward in the diet of the Germanic body at Frankfort, not by the Austrian president, but by the deputy of the duke of Saxe-Weimar, who presented a copy of the new constitution of that state, and expressed his hope that it would be guaranteed by the confederate assembly. Some of the members readily assented to the proposition, while the majority voted for delay.

The state of Spain, at this period, was not so tranquil as the cessation of the storm of war ought to have rendered it. The country was not, indeed, disturbed by violent commotions ; but the conduct of the court was so arbitrary, and so numerous were the violations of personal liberty, that great discontent pervaded the kingdom. A treasonable conspiracy of an atrocious complexion is said to have been discovered at Madrid ; but it seems to have been only that manifestation of an uncourtly spirit, which furnished a pretence for the imprisonment of obnoxious citizens. In many of the provinces, likewise, frequent arrests took place ; and some individuals even perished in the comfortless gloom of dungeons. Amidst the joy and hilarity arising from two marriages,—one between Ferdinand and a Portuguese princess, the other between the king's brother Carlos and a sister of the new queen,—a gleam of clemency broke forth in the form of a general pardon ; but the boasted act of grace was modified by so many exceptions, that it was rather a delusion than an indulgence.

The Spanish colonies in South America were still in an unsettled predicament. The independent interest was promising, yet precarious. General Bolivar met with success in some expeditions, without performing any memorable exploit. Morillo, on the other hand, recovered Santa Fé, and reclaimed the neighbouring provincials to submission. A bold step was taken at Buenos Ayres, where a declaration of independence was promul-

gated by those reformers who styled themselves the 'representatives of the united provinces of South America, assembled in general congress.' In North America, the malcontents continued to make some progress; but much remained to be done before the power of the royalists in Mexico could be effectually withstood.

Portugal was treated rather as a dependency of Brazil, which was now erected into a kingdom, than as the mother-country. It was, however, as well governed by a council of regency, as it would have been by the personal exertions of the sovereign¹—in other words, it was ruled with little wisdom, and with no great regard for the real interest of the people. Commerce was in some degree encouraged, though impolitic restrictions subsisted. The court of inquisition became more tolerant, and civil freedom was less checked; but political liberty was wholly unknown.

The state of Italy was not calculated to gratify the wishes of the philanthropist, because the people in general did not enjoy the blessings of good government. The king of Naples was obliged to pay some regard to the privileges of the Sicilians; but, in his continental provinces, he was seduced by evil counsellors into arbitrary measures. The pope prohibited the use of torture in the proceedings of the holy office, and was humane in his political administration; but he suffered a variety of abuses to prevail, and was too feeble to protect his subjects from the daring outrages of banditti. His Sardinian majesty, scarcely more enlightened than the king of Naples, ruled more like a weak bigot than an able statesman; and, in the provinces subject to Austria, the energies of the people were rather checked than promoted;—they groaned under the weight of a leaden sceptre.

In Turkey, the tyranny of Mahmoud was still exercised, particularly over the Greek population: but he condescended to grant a new treaty to the Servians, allowing the unmolested observance of their religious system, and permitting a respectable individual to act at Constantinople as the representative of their community. In return for these concessions, he was suffered to garrison Belgrade, and to have the free disposal of a corps of 12,000 men, enlisted in their country.

Alexander, the protector of the Servians, and the vigilant inspector of the operations of the Porte, attended at the same time to the arts of peace. The observations which he and his attendants had made in Great Britain, with regard to various branches

¹ John VI., who succeeded his mother on the 20th of March, 1816.

of manufacture, were in some instances applied to the purposes of improvement; and foreign trade flourished under his patronage. He made a progress in the summer through a part of his dominions, promoted the comforts of his people, and received their grateful applause. His Swedish ally, being in a feeble state of health, was less active and vigilant; but the crown prince made amends for the king's deficiency, and ably directed the public affairs. He remedied the disorder of the finances, and re-animated general industry. He presided in the Norwegian diet, and observed with pleasure the approach of the members to a confidence in their new government.

From this slight survey of the state and circumstances of the continental powers, I return to the affairs of the British Jan. 28. realm. The prince regent, when he re-assembled the two 1817. houses, lamented the continuance of that distress which had been felt, with greater or less severity, by all the nations of Europe, and which, he thought, could not admit an immediate remedy; but he consoled his subjects with the assurance, that they 'derived inestimable advantages from the existing system of law and government, the most perfect that had ever fallen to the lot of any people.' The anti-ministerial members recommended a great retrenchment in the public expenditure, and a parliamentary reform, as the best remedies for the existing grievances; and the leaders of the cabinet graciously promised to attend to the former point, while they rejected the latter proposition, as wholly unnecessary and highly inexpedient.

Alarmed at the late tumultuous assemblage in the Spa-Fields, and at other popular meetings, the prince regent sent a message to each house, with such documents as, he thought, would develop the dangerous views of the malcontents. The usual proceedings followed,—the appointment of a secret committee, the presentation of a report, and the enactment of a bill for the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act. With a view to the justification of this unconstitutional measure, the danger of the state was studiously exaggerated; and another bill was brought forward, by which political meetings were more restricted than by any former act. Secured by these bills, the ministers boldly prosecuted their career, and, thinking that some condemnations for treason would still farther strengthen the throne, they ordered an indictment to be prepared against Watson the apothecary, and three of his associates; but the jury acquitted the first, and the attorney-general then declared, in a tone of gracious condescension, that

he would not prosecute the rest. There were not sufficient grounds for a charge of treason, the offenders being merely guilty of seditious practices: but, in a commotion which occurred about the time of this process, the movements of the disaffected bore a treasonable form. Imputing the distress of the people to misgovernment and the want of reform, Jeremiah Brandreth and some other manufacturers strenuously endeavoured to organize an insurrection in the county of Nottingham: yet they could only collect a very small party by all their clamours or persuasions. They flattered themselves with the fond hope of a general rising of the lower class of provincials, or, at least, of that strength of combination which might enforce a redress of grievances: but, with wild infatuation, they deluded themselves, and precipitated their ruin. Brandreth added the guilt of murder to the criminality of treason; for, when a family refused to give up the fire-arms kept in the house, he shot one of the inmates without hesitation. Many thousands of insurgents, undisciplined and imperfectly armed, might soon have been crushed by the spirit of the militia and yeomanry, under the guidance of regular troops: what, then, could these wretched adventurers expect, when few more than a hundred men joined them on their march? The appearance of some dragoons put an end to the insurrection. The malcontents fled in dismay: many were apprehended; and after a fair trial, Brandreth was condemned to death. Turner and Ludlam were also found guilty, and suffered with him.

France, at the same time, was not free from commotions. The presence of a foreign army, though voluntarily diminished by the allied princes in the proportion of a fifth, gave great offence, not only to the admirers of Napoleon, but even to the king's friends, as the realm seemed thus to be rendered a dependent province. The privations also, consequent on an unproductive harvest, tended to irritate the minds of the people. The murmurs of discontent sometimes swelled into clamours, and parties of conspirators were ready to rush into sedition, more particularly at Lyons; yet the vigilance of the government prevented serious mischief. The king exercised his power with prudence and firmness, and endeavoured, without mean subserviency, to reconcile to his sway even the devoted partisans of the late tyrant. A new election of the popular representatives took place in the autumn by his order; and, when both chambers met, he announced the conclusion of a new treaty with the pope, which allowed as much influence as the pontiff had a right to expect, while it secured the

privileges of the Gallic church. He congratulated them on the revival of public credit, tranquillity, and mutual confidence, and on the pleasing prospect of national prosperity.

Spain continued to be in a disordered state. The priest-ridden king domineered over the people, and neglected the performance of his promise for a convocation of the cortes. He imagined that his government was so just and exemplary, as to preclude the necessity of any check or control on the part of the people, who, under the influence of factious leaders, might annihilate or greatly weaken the power of the crown. He was alarmed at an insurrection in the city of Valencia, where the populace had the insolence (as the courtiers said) to raise the cry of the constitution, and to insult the troops that garrisoned the town. A conflict ensued, which terminated in favour of the court. A conspiracy at Barcelona, which was directed to the same object, was discovered before the malcontents were ready to act; and general Lacy, who was at the head of the party, was killed in endeavouring to escape from the hands of his captors.

Portugal likewise exhibited some revolutionary symptoms. General Freire, and the baron d'Eben, drew many of the inhabitants of Lisbon into a concurrence in their schemes for the rescue of the kingdom from the Brazilian yoke, and the assertion of its right to a constitutional reform, without which, they said, the degraded state would sink into ruin. A discovery of this project, before it could be carried into effect, saved the throne from encroachment; and the king, having previously quelled a partial insurrection in Brazil, flattered himself with the prospect of continued security.

In Germany, the people were still eager for the establishment of representative systems, but were gratified only in some of the less considerable states. It was deemed a great condescension on the part of the higher powers, that the new constitution of Saxe-Weimar was placed under the guarantee of the Germanic confederation; and the emperor was even inclined to make some concessions to his own subjects; for, whatever he allowed he considered as a favour on his part, not as a right which they could justly claim. He restored the government of Austrian Poland to the state in which Joseph II. had left it, and convoked a diet, consisting of the prelates, barons, knights, and deputies of towns. The king of Prussia also mitigated the rigour of his high pretensions, by consenting to an inquiry into the ancient constitutions of his various provinces, with a view to the formation of such a government as might reconcile the claims of prerogative

with the alleged rights of the people. Thus, said the official journalist, one step more was taken in the progress toward a new constitution. This writer probably thought, with his royal master, that slow steps were preferable to a hasty march ; but, as this affair ought to have been adjusted long before, the allegation of the necessity of mature deliberation was a mere pretence for delay.

The new king of Wurtemberg was involved in some disputes with the states of his realm, chiefly on the subject of a constitution. The code which was prepared under his eye was not so democratic as they wished it to be : but he refused to adapt it to their feelings in every respect, and dissolved the assembly. It was at length enacted, with some modifications ; and the subjects of the old dutchy, and of the added territories, were placed on an equal footing.

The British regent did not interfere in these internal arrangements of the German states, but maintained an amicable concert with the different powers for the preservation of general peace. While he lamented the occasional interruption of tranquillity in the kingdom which he governed, he was pleased to find that the late insurrectional movements were not followed by an imitation of that dangerous example. He observed with joy that discontent had subsided, and that better times were approaching : but his joy was suddenly checked by domestic affliction.

The pregnancy of his beloved daughter had been announced, and every one looked forward to a new prop of the throne. But Providence ordained that the nation should no longer enjoy either the presence of the mother, or the hope of her progeny. A difficult labour, and the want of obstetric skill, or the greater attention of the medical attendants to the preservation of the child (which, however, was still-born) than to the life of its suffering parent, proved fatal to the unfortunate princess. Soon after it had been declared, by those who ought to have been better judges of all the circumstances, that the princess, when delivered, was ‘doing extremely well,’ she was ‘seized with great difficulty of breathing, restlessness, and exhaustion,’ and died when
 Nov. 6. she was only in the twenty-second year of her age. As she had previously enjoyed a good state of health, the shock of her death came upon the nation like a sudden blight in a fine spring.

Her character appears to have been amiable and exemplary. She was affable and condescending to her inferiors ; humane, friendly, and beneficent. Her good sense had corrected that

vivacity which, in her earlier years, bordered upon petulance; and, though still lively, after her marriage, she appeared in general to resemble the steady and prudent mother of a family. She did not, like some of the members of her family, delight in pomp and pageantry, the ‘baubles of a weak mind;’ but preferred the calm privacy of domestic life, and the friendliness of select and social parties, to the unmeaning compliments and frivolous ostentation of a crowded and courtly drawing-room. She had cultivated her mind with care and assiduity; she added, to a taste for literature, the elegant and ornamental accomplishments suited to her sex and station; and her moral purity was refined by the influence of religion.

The general regret had not entirely subsided, when the A.D. parliament re-assembled. The prince regent then declared 1818. that it was a soothing consolation to his heart, to receive from all descriptions of his majesty’s subjects the most cordial assurances both of their just sense of the loss which they had sustained, and of their sympathy with his parental sorrow; and that, amidst his own sufferings, he had not been unmindful of the effect which this sad event must have on the interests and future prospects of the kingdom.

The affairs of this session were not remarkably interesting. The first bill that was brought forward was one which the ministers were very eager to announce, with a view of convincing the public that they had no wish to encroach upon constitutional liberty. It provided for a repeal of that act of suspension which, they pretended, was necessary for the security of the state. As they could not deny that some irregularities had been committed in the exercise of the great powers which had been allowed on that occasion, they demanded, from the two houses, a bill of indemnity for themselves, and for all who had acted under them in the seizure and detention of reputed offenders. This bill was warmly opposed by the lords Erskine and King, by Mr. Lambton and sir Samuel Romilly; and the last speaker pointedly remarked, that, instead of being (as his friend had called it) the winding-up of that system of injustice upon which the ministers had been acting, it seemed to be a ‘prelude to farther exertions of power, and to future denials of justice.’ The observation, as will appear hereafter, was prophetic.

The subject of education, chiefly that of the poor, occasioned some debates. It was well known that shameful abuses and embezzlements had disgraced the characters of many trustees, appointed to superintend the application of those funds which were

devoted to public instruction ; and Mr. Brougham was therefore induced to propose, that persons of learning, judgment, and respectability, should be authorized to make a strict inquiry into the execution of every trust of this kind. A bill to that effect received the royal assent, after its spirit had been diluted in its progress by the arbitrary jealousy of the lord-chancellor.

The dissemination of religious knowledge also occupied the attention of both houses. The prince regent having desired them to direct their particular attention to the ' deficiency which had so long existed in the number of places of public worship belonging to the established church, when compared with the increased and increasing population of the country,' a million sterling was voted for the building of new churches; and, as that sum was evidently insufficient for the number which seemed to be requisite, it was proposed that pecuniary subscriptions should be promoted by all the weight of influence for that meritorious object. Lord Holland suggested the expediency of drawing a large sum for this purpose from the richly-endowed church of England; but this idea was instantly exploded by the higher clergy, although the archbishop of Canterbury and some of his brethren contributed by individual donations to the increase of the new fund.

The acts of the French court, and the proceedings of the legislature, were not more remarkable, in this tranquil year, than those of the British parliament. The king enforced the law for the subjection of political publications to censorship, and thus compelled the writers to adopt a tone of moderation. This restriction gave, to the different prints, an air of tameness, unpleasing to the palate of an English political epicure. On the subject of the slave trade, his majesty gratified our court with an ordinance for the confiscation of the ship and cargo, in case of any attempt, on the part of his subjects, to prosecute that infamous traffic; and he sent a squadron to cruize on the western coast of Africa, for the security of the harassed natives. In another respect he attended to the dictates of justice and integrity, by appropriating a fund, under the sanction of the legislature, to the liquidation of debts which had been contracted by France with foreigners. At the renovation of a fifth part of the chamber of deputies, the effect of a law (enacted in the preceding year) superseding the intermediate nomination of electors, proved favourable to the popular cause ; and the king, by admitting the count de Cazes into his favour, testified his inclination to support that interest in preference to the high claims of prerogative.

In Spain, the public discontent was in some degree allayed by an occasional relaxation of the rigours of authority, and by the attention of the court to the increase and freedom of trade; but the general satisfaction which would have been produced by a course of equitable government did not exist in that country. Changes were made in the cabinet, from caprice rather than from judgment; and measures were altered, but without a substantial and salutary change. Even that object upon which Ferdinand seemed to be particularly intent,—the extinction of colonial revolt,—was not pursued with vigour, but was alternately postponed and resumed. He solicited, for this purpose, the interposition of the allied powers, and stated various concessions by which he was willing to purchase the return of the malcontents to their allegiance; but no important effect resulted from this application. He endeavoured to procure from Great Britain that aid which he could not reasonably expect; and when he hoped to conciliate the regent by agreeing to the abolition of the slave trade from the year 1820, he could only obtain a grant of 400,000 pounds, as a compensation for alleged injury from the seizure of vessels, and for eventual loss from the discontinuance of the trade, without eliciting even a loose or vague promise of the smallest assistance for the promotion of his Trans-Atlantic views. The king of Portugal, by a new treaty, bound himself to a partial suppression of that traffic, and declared that he would only suffer it to be carried on to the southward of the equator. This was a very unsatisfactory concession to the entreaties of a government which had secured his throne, and saved his kingdom from dismemberment. The king of the Netherlands, in this respect, entered more fully into the views of the late congress, and engaged to act in strict concert with Great Britain, by an authoritative visitation of those ships which were suspected of being employed in the obnoxious trade.

The apparent tranquillity which prevailed in France, and the probability of its continuance, induced the confederate arbiters of Europe to gratify the king and the people by recalling the whole army of occupation, two years before the stipulated time. A congress was convoked at Aix-la-Chapelle: and, as the affair had been already settled in the respective cabinets, the proposition of recall received the personal sanction of the two emperors and the king of Prussia, and the assent of lord ^{Oct. 9.} Castlereagh in the name of the prince regent. In a note which announced this determination, it was declared to be a 'proof of the confidence which the sovereigns reposed in the wisdom of his

most Christian majesty and the fidelity of the French nation; and the duke de Richelieu, in answer to the pleasing communication, expressed the fervent gratitude of his royal master for this mark of friendly respect, and promised that France would cordially join the high and august association, with a view of securing the future peace and happiness of Europe.

The princes and ministers did not, at this meeting, take any steps for the general enfranchisement of Germany: they left that object to the progress of time and the effect of accident. But it ought to be mentioned, that in the course of the year, the promise of legal government, given in the congress of Vienna, was in one instance honourably performed. The grand duke of Baden, a respectable, though not powerful prince, granted to his people a new constitution, appointing two chambers, one composed of the representatives of the nobility and great land-owners, the other of deputies from the towns. The latter were to be elected for eight years, with a proviso that one-fourth of the number should be renewed in every period of two years. No taxes were to be imposed without the concurrence of both chambers, except when preparations for war were in progress; and, in that case, two deputies were authorized to superintend the proper application of the sums that might be collected from the public. The duke had the power of prorogation and dissolution; but he was required to order a new election within three months.

Poland was indulged, by the kindness or the equity of the Russian emperor, with a representative government. He gave directions for the choice of deputies; and when the two chambers met in the spring, he addressed them in a speech which made a considerable impression. Schemes of legislation were proposed by his order, for the correction of various abuses, and the additional security of persons and property. A government in which the authority of the sovereign was too predominant was not altogether calculated to please the free spirit of the Poles; but, as Alexander hinted that he ruled them by the right of conquest, they forbore to complain; and the glory of being 'indissolubly united with the fate of Russia' was a great consolation to those whom he politely termed 'a brave and estimable people.'

A new dynasty now commenced in Sweden. The king died
Feb. 5. after a long illness, and was succeeded by a French adventurer, with the seeming acquiescence of the nobility and people. Charles John Bernadotte assumed the royal functions

with all the confidence of an hereditary sovereign, and promised to imitate the princely virtues and exemplary conduct of his lamented predecessor. A session of the diet was conducted under his auspices with decorum and tranquillity, and some useful enactments and regulations evinced his desire of continuing in a state of harmony with his people.

Great Britain was less tranquil than Sweden. The prevailing distress, and the growing spirit of political regeneration, agitated the minds of men; and the conduct of the court and parliament did not tend to allay the ferment. Time and patience, it was said, were the only remedies for poverty and privation; and the offensive idea of reform was resisted both by influence and by intimidation.

When a new parliament assembled, the ministers still Jan. 21, found that they had a commanding majority. The ad- 1819. dresses in answer to the regent's speech were voted without opposition; and both houses condoled with his royal highness on the death of his venerable parent, queen Charlotte, who had recently died, at the age of seventy-four years, esteemed for the correctness of her morals, and lamented for her private virtues. It was now proposed that the duke of York should have the custody of the royal person, and should be remunerated with an annual grant of 10,000 pounds for the *great trouble* and *extraordinary expense* of occasional journeys to Windsor; and, after warm debates, this allowance was voted; but, at the same time, the Windsor establishment was reduced.

The financial arrangements of the year were, upon the whole, burthensome and oppressive. An encroachment was made upon the sinking fund by an application of thirteen millions and a half of its produce to the immediate exigencies of the state, and new taxes were imposed, to the amount of three millions, with a view of supporting public credit, by the creation of an annual surplus of five millions above the expenditure. This singular mode of relief was not very pleasing to the nation: yet the scheme was sanctioned by a majority of 197 votes. The whole course of finance was strongly reprobated, and pointedly ridiculed, by Mr. Tierney, who denied that it could be termed a system, as it was merely a series of paltry tricks and inconsistent expedients.

In adverting to public affairs at the commencement of the session, the prince regent had taken notice of that war which had disturbed the tranquillity of British India, while peace prevailed in Europe. It arose from the licentious and predatory spirit of the *Pindarris*,—an association of tribes of various countries and

different religious principles, conducted by chieftains who had acquired fame and wealth in the Mahratta wars. Physical strength and activity, and the possession of a horse, a lance, and a sword, were considered as sufficient qualifications for the honour of being incorporated with this fraternity. The incursions of these marauders into the Company's territories became so alarmingly mischievous, that the marquis of Hastings found it necessary to draw the sword against them, to prevent the repetition of invasions, which (he says) "had for two years ravaged the Madras dependencies with circumstances of unexampled horror." As Scindiah and other Mahratta chiefs, jealous of the British ascendancy and power, were inclined to protect the banditti, the governor-general was apprehensive of a dangerous extension of hostilities; but he overawed one and disabled another; and, when the peishwah rushed into war (in 1817), a well-disciplined force was ready to meet him. The courage of that chieftain seemed to fail when the British and native troops, after a victorious progress, reached the vicinity of Poonah.

The chief object now was the seizure of his person. Leaving the city to his enemies, he retired with his artillery; but, after a long pursuit, he was discovered by general Smith in an encampment near Ashta. A conflict immediately arose, in which Goklah, the Mahratta chief, lost his life, while the peishwah escaped with the feeble remains of his force. He was afterward attacked and defeated near Sewni: and, being harassed by a continuance of vigorous pursuit, he surrendered himself to sir John Malcolm. He renounced all claim to the government of Poonah, and being gratified with a considerable pension, engaged to live peaceably in some part of the British territory. The Pindarris, in a variety of actions, suffered so severely, that their force seemed to be broken, and their association nearly annihilated; and the governor, with humane policy, formed two colonies out of the remains of their bands, and planted them in the fertile districts of Goruckpour and of Bopal, where a reform of their manners and habits ensued.

During the parliamentary session, the political horizon of Great Britain bore a clouded aspect. A numerous part of the community, but certainly not the higher class, called for a radical reform, as the only remedy for intolerable grievances; and the clamour had risen to such a height at the time of the prorogation, that the regent noticed, in a tone of asperity, the attempts which had been made in some of the manufacturing districts to take advantage of circumstances of local distress, to

excite a spirit of disaffection to the institutions and government of the country.' Meetings took place in various parts, and strong resolutions were voted. The inhabitants of Leeds resolved to elect a burgess who should support their interest in parliament, if an eligible candidate should offer himself; and, at Birmingham, sir Charles Wolseley was chosen the legislative agent and representative of the town. At Manchester, Mr. Henry Hunt, a demagogue of more talent than principle, ^{Aug. 16.} presided over the tumultuary deliberations of 60,000 persons of both sexes. Discordant accounts have been given of the proceedings on that occasion; but it appears that the magistrates, after promises of forbearance, encouraged an attack upon the people, and that the yeomanry acted with violent and outrageous precipitancy. Some lives were lost; and a great number of unoffending persons were wounded, maimed, or injured by the pressure of the crowd. The regent, on *ex-parte* evidence, cordially thanked the bold assailants; and no regular inquiry was instituted into the affair, although it was earnestly recommended on constitutional principles by the citizens of London, and the freeholders of Yorkshire, Norfolk, and other counties.

The dissensions of party in France were as acrimonious as those which agitated the British nation. A proposed change in the law of popular election excited a strong sensation. It was not suggested by the ministers, but by the ultra-royalists, who had sufficient influence in the chamber of peers to procure a majority of votes on this question. To obstruct their hopes of a decisive triumph, the king added fifty-four peers to the assembly by a new creation; and this act of prerogative secured his influence. The other chamber supported the existing law, which was therefore retained. Both assemblies agreed to a proposition for the removal of the censorship, while they imposed such restrictions as were deemed unreasonable by the advocates of a free press. Some commotions arose at Nismes and other towns, seemingly from the intrigues of the ultra-royal faction, with a view of embarrassing the court. The elections in the autumn were neither favourable to that party nor to the ministry, as about two-thirds of the new members affected a great liberality of political sentiment.

The king of Spain did not acquire wisdom from experience. He neither selected able ministers, nor followed any regular system; and, while he gave disgust by acts of tyranny and cruelty, he did not exercise that vigour which would have secured the persons and property of his subjects from the out-

rages of banditti. It is said that some of the leading malcontents had formed an intention of promoting the restoration of his father, Charles IV., who lived in exile at Rome; but, if Ferdinand had any apprehension of that event, it was removed by the death of the aged prince. Nearly at the same time, he lost his mother and his wife. As a state of single blessedness did not suit his taste, he soon made choice of another queen. A princess of the house of Saxony was invited to grace his court: but the joy of his marriage did not inspire him with clemency.

Such was the decay of his marine, and so inadequate were his finances to the prosecution of any great enterprise, that the equipment of a respectable squadron was a work of extreme difficulty. He borrowed ships from the Russians; but they were unfit for service without considerable repairs; and, when they were almost ready for sailing, a mutiny of the troops intended for embarkation frustrated his views. Even the regiments which disarmed the mutineers were induced to execute his orders in that respect, only by a promise from their general, that they should not be sent to America. In the mean time, the revolt of the colonies became more determined and formidable. No reasonable hopes could be entertained of the recovery of the province of Chili, which, early in the preceding year, had declared itself completely independent; and the territories near the Rio de la Plata seemed also to be secure under the ruling power at Buenos Ayres. In Peru the royal authority was still predominant; but the country adjacent to the Caribbean or West Indian Sea, extending from Guiana to the coast of the Pacific Ocean, was chiefly under the control of Bolivar, the president of the republic of Venezuela, who had been assisted in his bold operations against the royalists by a number of British and Hibernian adventurers. The rulers of these states protested against the idea of submitting to Ferdinand, whatever concessions he might pretend to offer. He and his predecessors, they said, had so shamefully oppressed their colonial subjects, that they had forfeited all right to allegiance, as they ceased to afford protection.

The same manly principles, and the same desire of freedom, which had impelled the South American provincials into action, appear to have actuated a society which had been formed at Naples¹, in the year 1812, on a basis both religious and political, by the enemies of Murat. The members, some of whom were of

¹ Under the strange denomination of Carbonari—charcoal dealers.

high rank, professed a reverential regard for Christianity, and recommended a strict obedience to the established laws, while they declared themselves, at their meetings, the implacable foes of tyranny. They were at one time protected, at other times severely treated by the usurper; and, when the lawful king recovered his throne, he instituted a new club, as a counterpoise to the dreaded party; but he had not the power of preventing the increase of the free-minded society. The government being still conducted with an arbitrary disregard to the rights of the people, the associated citizens anxiously deliberated upon schemes of reform or of revolution.

The Carbonari were suspected of having extended their influence into Germany; but a great proportion of the people, in many of the states, had previously formed an intention of meliorating their respective governments, whenever an opportunity should offer itself. The king of Prussia studiously repressed the growing spirit of freedom, more particularly after the assassination of Augustus von Kotzebue, the dramatist, by a student of Jena, who hated him as the friend of despotism. He ordered the arrest of many obnoxious individuals; subjected all publications to a rigid censorship; and, as the majority of the students at the universities were supposed to be influenced by uncourtly sentiments, he commissioned servile agents to superintend and correct the lectures of the professors, and to introduce that discipline which would ensure political forbearance and moderation. The council of regency at Hanover also kept a watchful eye over the proceedings of the advocates of freedom; and the emperor of Austria strongly recommended, to the diet of Frankfort, the adoption of such measures as might secure social order and the existing institutions from the intrigues and encroachments of restless malcontents. In consequence of this advice, the diet organized a general commission at Mentz; and, of the seven members who composed it, some entered upon an inquiry with all the zeal of prejudice, while others seemed to act as if they thought it unnecessarily arbitrary and dictatorial.

Two new constitutions were, at this time, brought into use. One was that of Wurtemberg, by which the states of the realm were transformed into a regular parliament, to the great joy of the citizens of Stutgard, who hailed the king with loud acclamations, as the brave defender of his country, and the beneficent father of his people. The other instrument, by which the system of despotism was repealed, was granted by the king of Bavaria, *who assembled the new legislature with an appearance of satisfac-*

tion, and expressed his hope that it would prove a support to his throne and a blessing to his people.

The British regent, directing his attention to the kingdom of Hanover, declared, by the medium of his brother the duke of Cambridge, that it was not expedient to make any great change in that constitution by which the country had long been governed; yet he gave a more popular form to the national assembly, diminished the privileges of the nobles, reduced the standing army by the subtraction of a third part, and abolished torture.

While he thus conciliated the Hanoverians, the regent could not so easily tranquillize the minds of his father's British subjects. Alarmed at the meetings in the manufacturing districts, he augmented the military force; and, convoking the parliament much
Nov. 23. sooner than he had otherwise intended, proposed vigorous measures against the daring abettors of radical reform.

Restrictive bills were consequently introduced, without regard to the spirit of that constitution which seemed, to the tools of the court and the Tories in the two houses, to be too democratic. They did not pass without vehement debates and strong remonstrances. One was directed against the authors and publishers of blasphemous and seditious libels, who, for a second offence, were liable to a heavy fine, imprisonment, or exile. By another act, cheap periodical publications, which were supposed to be more particularly instrumental in poisoning the minds of the rabble, were subjected to a stamp duty, that they might either be discontinued, or placed beyond the reach of the poor. A third statute prohibited all meetings for the purpose of training or drilling, unless permission should be obtained from legal authority. A fourth bill was calculated to meet the danger of insurrectionary commotions, by a seizure of fire-arms, even in the recesses of a person's house (which the law formerly considered as his castle), wherever it might be suspected or pretended that they were not kept merely for lawful occasions. Political meetings were still tolerated; but it was required, by another bill, that, with the exception of those which were called by a sheriff, mayor, or other magistrate, seven reputable householders should come forward to request the permission of assembling; and that all strangers, or persons of a different parish, who should appear at any meeting of this kind, and not retire after a regular warning, should be amenable to justice for a misdemeanor. Such were the outworks erected by the ministers round the fortress of the constitution, which did not require such aids.

While these acts were in a course of operation, an event

occurred, which, although it may be deemed important as an historical fact, had no influence on the government of the realm, because the personage whom it concerned had long been incapable of political functions. George III., while his mind was unsound, had still enjoyed for many years a good state of bodily health; but age at length shattered his frame, and he died Jan. 29, in his eighty-second year, after the longest reign recorded 1820. in the annals of the English monarchy.

The character of this prince has been placed in very different lights. I will first give it as it has been represented by one set of politicians, and afterward state the opposite account. In the language or the opinion of his admirers, "the late king had an excellent understanding, and was a good judge both of men and things. His talents for government were respectable, and he exercised them with the happiest effect even in perturbed and critical times. Having traced in his mind the outlines of royal duty, he filled up the intervening space with the skill of a political artist. In entering upon the American war, he was actuated solely by a sense of justice: he thought himself bound to curb the refractory spirit of the colonists, and to use force when persuasions and remonstrances had failed. Into the war with revolutionary France he was impelled by an idea of imperious necessity, as the career of the democratic opposers of Louis menaced the best institutions of other countries with subversion; and such was his firmness, that he was not deterred from his object, even by the long-continued success of the enemy. With equal resolution, he checked the effervescence of zeal among the votaries of reform in Great Britain, and saved the state from that mischief which would have been produced by the schemes of profligate and violent Jacobins. He also displayed his spirit to advantage, when the Whigs at different times endeavoured to subject him to their sway. On the other hand, when conciliation was expedient, and when the voice of the senate corresponded with that of the people, he could yield with a good grace and with dignified complacency.

"His private character was so exemplary, that it may be quoted as a model of virtue. He was attentive to religious observances, both public and private; correct in his own morals, and studious of the morality of others; mild and unassuming in his demeanour, courteous, gracious, and affable; humane, beneficent, and liberal, while he was temperate and economical in his personal habits. In short, his conduct, both as a king and as a

man, deserves the highest praise, and entitles his memory to our esteem and veneration."

From a different estimate of royal merit, it would appear, that "this monarch was not highly favoured by nature; for his understanding was narrow, and his talents did not soar above mediocrity. If he had moved in the ranks of private life and of ordinary society, he would not have been considered as any other than a man of very limited powers. His acquirements from education were also scanty and imperfect. His mother was of opinion, that his *book learning* was altogether insignificant; and it does not appear that his studies were well directed, or pointed to pursuits worthy of a prince. He was not properly tutored in history or in politics, nor was he guided to an intelligent survey of the affairs of the world, or the characters of mankind. He could manufacture a button, or draw the model of a house, but could not write a tolerable letter: he could comprehend a plain statement, but could not understand a complicated argument, or enter into the *rationale* of the English constitution. He fell in his youth into the hands of bigoted Tories, who, having no expansion of intellect, only inspired him with high notions of royal supremacy. Thus instructed, he had no *leaning* to those principles which had placed his family on the throne. He had imbibed as unfavourable an opinion of the advocates of freedom as Charles II. entertained of all mankind: he fancied that they were base and unprincipled, and deemed his power unsafe in the hands of such statesmen. He did not possess that comprehensiveness of mind which could fathom the depths of policy, or qualify him to govern like an enlightened prince: yet, by the aid of common sense, unperverted, he might have governed much better than he did. The American war is a foul blot upon his fame, not only for its original injustice, but for the mischievous consequences to which it led, as the parent of the French revolution. Many will think (and it is difficult to disprove the inference), that no prince who had a due sense of religion or of equity could have rushed into such a war, or have prosecuted it with such unfeeling obstinacy. To ravage a country with fire and sword, and send savages, like blood-hounds, to hunt down his colonial subjects, because they were desirous of being governed by the constitutional maxims of the mother country, were not the acts of a pious, just, or benevolent prince. Nor can the war with France, which the late king carried on with equal zeal, be defended upon equitable principles. He had no right to violate

the independence of another state, or to dictate terms of accommodation at the point of the bayonet. Nor can the outrageous attack upon the Danes, in resentment of the armed neutrality, or the bombardment of their capital for their wish to retain their fleet, be fairly or honourably vindicated. Other acts of arbitrary violence, the effect of which no courtly sophistry can elude, rise up in appalling array against the memory of our late sovereign, although he was styled the ‘the best of kings.’

“His character as a man has been warmly extolled; and he has been termed an excellent husband, father, master, and friend. As we do not dispute his general good nature, we do not decidedly contradict these effusions of praise; but we may hint, that he would have been a better father, if he had repressed the licentiousness of some of his sons, instead of encouraging their wantonness of dissipation by large grants and pensions; and we may also observe, that his boasted liberality, which was not very splendid, was displayed with little inconvenience, as his debts were constantly liquidated on demand by a compliant house of commons.”

Your own reflection, my dear son, aided by what you have read or heard of the acts and conduct of this prince, will enable you to judge of the comparative credit due to these statements. Whatever may be your conclusion upon the subject, you will at least judge dispassionately.



LETTER XXXIII.

History of Great Britain, continued to the Dissolution of the seventh Parliament of the United Kingdom, in 1826.

As the prince regent had so long conducted the machine of government, his assumption of the kingly title did not afford the least ground for the expectation of a change of system or of conduct. Every one concluded that he had fixed his public opinions, on a basis which the arguments and declamations of the leaders of opposition could not easily shake, and that he therefore would retain those ministers who had long enjoyed his confidence and regard. If he ever entertained any predilection for Whig principles, he had long discarded it as an idle prejudice, and as a mark of indiscreet zeal, rather than of princely wisdom.

The new king had scarcely been proclaimed, when he was seized with an indisposition which alarmed his friends, who were for some time doubtful of his recovery, as he laboured under an inflammation of the lungs, a disorder which had recently sent his brother the duke of Kent to the grave : but, by the vigilant care and attention of his physicians, he recovered his health, and was enabled to perform the arduous duties of his royal station.

The parliament met, extended the term of the act against mutiny, and voted money for various purposes : but a prorogation was soon ordered ; and, when notice was given of an intended dissolution, a “ flagrant and sanguinary conspiracy ” was denounced. Thistlewood, who had been acquitted when he was tried with Watson for high treason, was not reconciled to the government by this escape, but brooded over fresh schemes of turbulence and sedition. He associated with some malcontents of broken fortunes and profligate habits ; and when it was proposed at their private meetings, that all the members of the cabinet should be put to death, as determined enemies and oppressors of their country, the nefarious scheme was adopted as an act of public virtue : but a spy who had watched their motions, under the pretence of promoting their views, disclosed their machinations to the ministry ; and with some difficulty they were apprehended, after Thistlewood had killed one of the officers of justice. They were tried by a special commission, and declared guilty of high treason. The leader of the party, when he was desired to assign a reason why sentence should not be pronounced against him, alleged that he had not enjoyed the benefit of a fair trial, and that those who had given evidence against him were villains of the most atrocious complexion ; yet he did not deny the charge of conspiring against the king’s ministers. He suffered death with four of his accomplices, two of whom (Ings and Brunt) behaved with the most desperate hardihood.

Before these victims were offered at the shrine of public justice, the new parliament assembled. There was nothing very remarkable in the speech which the king addressed to the two houses. He gave plausible promises of good behaviour ; seemed to boast of his moderation in desiring no addition to the civil list ; expressed his satisfaction at the loyal zeal by which the machinations of the disaffected had been baffled ; and, while he deplored the prevailing distress, hoped that those who suffered would not be misled by turbulent malcontents to those practices by which the period of relief could only be deferred. With regard to foreign powers, he merely stated that they had given him assur-

ances of their friendly disposition. As the speech was so loose and general in its language, it did not provoke particular animadversion; and the addresses were therefore unanimously voted.

The settlement of the royal revenue was attended with some animated debates. A preliminary inquiry was recommended by lord John Russell and Mr. Tierney, with a view to such a reduction of the amount as might gratify the people, by intimating that their rulers did not wish to insult or plunder them in their distress: but Mr. Canning, an unthrifty guardian of the public purse, protested against an investigation, which, he said, would be indelicate and ungracious at the commencement of a reign; and the house exploded the just though uncourtly proposal. The revenue was fixed on the basis of the last settlement, with the exception of 238,000 pounds, saved by the cessation of that separate establishment which the late king's indisposition had rendered necessary.

In stating the national accounts, the financial minister declared that, as the late additions to the military force could not yet be given up, the expense of the army would nearly amount to nine millions and a half, and that the requisite supply, exclusive of the interest¹ of the public debt, would not be less than 20,720,000 pounds. A small loan formed a part of the *ways and means*, and twelve millions were also borrowed from the sinking fund, without regard to the original purpose for which it was established. That great retrenchment of expenditure which the people had a right to expect long before the fifth year of peace, was thus delayed upon feeble and unsatisfactory pretences.

Two senators of great ability distinguished themselves in this session by their laudable efforts, one for an extension of the benefits of education, the other for an alleviation of the rigours of the penal code. Mr. Brougham, lamenting that the means of instruction were very scantily diffused, even since the establishment of the schools on Mr. Lancaster's model, proposed a general and comprehensive scheme, which, he thought, might be matured by the wisdom of the house into a measure of permanent efficacy. An annual rate for the support of one or more schools in every parish, the election of schoolmasters by reputable housekeepers, their removal by the bishop of the diocese for incompetence or misconduct, the regulation of the mode and system of tuition by ministers of the established church, and the application of old endowments in some degree to the purposes of the new scheme,

¹ This alone amounted to the enormous sum of 46,450,000 pounds, notwithstanding the ostensible or pretended redemption of a large mass of capital.

formed the chief features of the plan. It was considered, however, as too important for hasty decision, and was therefore postponed by general assent.

Following the humane example of sir Samuel Romilly, sir James Macintosh brought forward six bills, calculated to render the laws less severe and sanguinary. Aware of the prejudices and pertinacity of the earl of Liverpool and the lord chancellor, who seemed to think that whatever was established ought to be retained, and whose hearts had been hardened by the long possession of political power, he did not expect that his propositions would be successful. Three of his bills, however, received the honour of enactment; and by these it was ordained, that stealing to the amount of five shillings in a shop or warehouse, and some other offences specified in the statute-book, which, in the eye even of a rigid moralist, were only misdemeanors, should no longer be deemed capital.

It was not to be supposed that the agricultural distress, or the state of commerce, would pass without notice. The former subject was repeatedly discussed, and a committee appointed with a view to some remedial measures; but no benefit resulted from the inquiry. The extension of general trade, by the removal of restrictions, found a greater number of advocates, than on prior occasions; and even the earl of Liverpool was disposed to relax, in some instances, the rigour of the existing laws, and to make gradual approaches to a more liberal system; yet the change, for the present, was confined to mere expressions.

Hitherto the business of the session had proceeded with few indications of the rage or vehemence of party; but an incident arose which disturbed the tranquillity of the court, and threw the nation into a ferment. This was the arrival of the queen. The discarded wife, whose case (my dear son) I stated to you on a former occasion, had been long absent from the scene of her ill treatment, when she received intelligence of the death of her royal uncle. It was the wish of the new king that she would indefinitely prolong her absence; but she had a high spirit which emboldened her to defy his resentment and his menaces. In consequence of reports unfavourable to her character, two gentlemen of the law had been sent to the continent, in 1818, to collect evidence on the subject, with a view to a divorce; but their discoveries were not then communicated to the public. In the mean time, she was treated with insolence, or with contempt, by the British envoys, and by those travellers who wished to ingratiate themselves with the court; and she thought not of returning to

England before she became, *de jure*, queen of the united realm. From Rome she sent a letter to the earl of Liverpool, complaining of the omission of her name in the liturgy, as an 'act of cruel tyranny.' No answer was received; and she probably expected none. After a long delay, she arrived at St. Omer's, where she was met by Mr. Brougham, her legal adviser, and by lord Hutchinson, who had been authorized by the king to offer her an annual allowance of 50,000 pounds, with a proviso that she should neither assume the title of queen, nor reside in any part of Great Britain. She declared that it was impossible for her to listen to such a proposal; and, apprehending that she might be stopped in her way, proceeded to Calais with the utmost celerity, and crossed the channel in the first vessel which she found ready for sailing. Accompanied by her confidential friends, lady Anne Hamilton and alderman Wood, she landed at Dover, where she was received with every mark of respect that she could desire. Her progress to London had an air of triumph; but the king resolved to convert her joy into sorrow. He sent a message to the lords and commons, with a multiplicity of papers, tending to fix upon her the imputation of adulterous guilt. On this alarming occasion, she did not remain silent, but addressed a letter to the commons, protesting against the formation of a secret tribunal, and reprobating that series of ill-treatment which could only be justified by trial and conviction. Mr. Brougham, in the strongest terms, opposed the intended inquiry, as the most impolitic that could be devised, and hoped that it would be superseded by a private and amicable adjustment. Mr. Canning acknowledged that he had advised the illustrious lady, six years before, to fix her residence on the continent, because he was aware of the existence of determined alienation, on the part of her husband, and was also apprehensive that, if she should remain in England, 'faction would mark her for its own.' He did not object to the inquiry, as it seemed to him to be forced upon the ministers; but he declared that he never would act as an accuser or prosecutor of her majesty.

Although neither party expected that an effective accommodation would take place, a negotiation arose from the queen's apparent desire of conciliating the two houses: but it was rendered abortive, chiefly by the dispute respecting the honour of distinct mention in the liturgy. The commons, on the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, requested that she would submit her own wishes to the authority of the parliament, and forbear to press the disputed points, with a view of avoiding those discussions which must be

‘distressing to her feelings, derogatory from the dignity of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the nation.’ She replied, that she would bow with deference, as a subject, to every act of the sovereign authority; but she added, with dignified firmness, that ‘as an accused and injured queen, she owed it to the king, to herself, and all her fellow subjects, not to consent to the sacrifice of any essential privilege, or withdraw her appeal to those principles of public justice, which were alike the safeguard of the highest and the humblest individuals.’ Dissatisfied with this answer, the commons left the affair to the cognizance of the peers, who, having received the report of a secret committee, permitted the introduction of a bill of ‘pains and penalties,’ tending to an annulment of the prerogatives and privileges of queen Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, and to a dissolution of the marriage between his majesty and that princess, on account of her adulterous connexion with Bartolomeo Bergami, an Italian of low birth, on whom she had bestowed extraordinary marks of favour and distinction.

The court at first entertained the idea of proceeding capitally against the unfortunate princess: but her kind friends (for even the ministers were formerly her friends), finding that this would be an illegal process, as the alleged acts of criminality had been committed on the continent, with one who was not a subject of this realm, condescended to relinquish their original intention, and to be content with the degradation of the object of their master’s animosity. I do not mean to insinuate, that, if the queen (like Anne Boleyn) had been condemned for that imputed adultery which in her case was treason, the sentence would have been executed: the intent was merely to shake off a supposed incumbrance, and dissolve an inauspicious union.

No measure, either of the late or present reign, met with more strenuous opposition from the public than this arbitrary and impolitic bill. It was declared to be the fruit of a vile conspiracy for the ruin of an amiable princess, who had never enjoyed her husband’s favour. Her guilt, it was said, was at least problematical, and was excused, even if it had been certain and undoubted, by that tyrannical harshness which had driven her from her home, without the allegation of a reason; for the statement of a dislike conceived by one party is no reason for such conduct, either in law or in equity. In answer to the assertion, that a great personage did not adduce the charge in his private character, but as the head of the state, to secure the court from contamination, it was hinted that the *purity* of the existing court

had not yet been discovered even by the most unprejudiced observer of its movements; and the remark, that what is excusable in a man may be unpardonable in a woman, was obviated by a reference to religion, which, in that respect, does not authorize even the smallest difference.

During the inquiry, her majesty received a series of friendly addresses, which were voted at public meetings in all parts of the kingdom. It must be admitted, that her friends in general were not of the highest rank: but she was evidently favoured by the middle class, the most upright and moral part of the community. The answers given in her name to these addresses were sometimes too warm and intemperate, in the reflections which they contained on the conduct of the court; but none of them gave greater offence than a letter which the accused lady sent to the king, by whom it was not honoured with a reply. She complained of the unparalleled and unprovoked persecution to which she had for a series of years been subjected; reprobated his encouragement of 'spies, Bacchanalian tale-bearers, and foul conspirators;' animadverted on the gross injustice of that bill which was intended for her ruin and the benefit of her accuser; objected to the constitution of the house of peers, considered as a court of judicature; and demanded a fair, legitimate, and regular trial. The publication of this "audacious libel," as it was termed by courtly politicians, did not tend to promote her interest; it could only inflame the resentment and embitter the malignity of her powerful adversaries.

Attracted by liberal offers, Majocchi, Sacchi, and other Italians who had served or known the princess, deposed freely against her: Louisa Demont, a Swiss *femme de chambre*, and Barbara Kress, servant to a German inn-keeper, likewise stated a variety of suspicious circumstances; and her case seemed to bear an aspect of serious delinquency. But the points of imputation were in some degree invalidated by the ordeal of cross-examination, and by the adduction of more disinterested evidence.

After a tedious judicial process, a motion for the second reading of the bill produced a very animated debate. The lord chancellor and the first lord of the treasury affected to consider the case as triumphantly proved on the part of the crown; but the circumstances in which they stood, and their characters as the leading prosecutors, obviously detracted in this instance from their weight and authority; nor were their speeches distinguished by argumentative ability. Candour was not to be expected from them, because that quality is rarely, if ever, united

with the effervescence of zeal. Earl Grey, having been unfriendly to the princess on a former occasion, was almost disposed to pronounce her guilty; but, on mature consideration, he did not deem the evidence sufficiently strong. Lord Ellenborough, son of the deceased chief justice, spoke warmly against her, and declared her to be wholly unfit for that exalted dignity which she claimed: yet he thought the bill so impolitic, that it ought to be instantly abandoned. He wished that she might be stigmatized by an act of the crown, not by a parliamentary degradation or divorce. Lord Erskine said, that the predominance of falsehood among the witnesses for the crown indicated a malicious prosecution: that there was no proof of adultery; and that, even if that crime had been proved, no evidence had been given of that public licentiousness which could bring scandal and disgrace upon the country. The marquess of Lansdowne, while he thought it very difficult for the queen to prove her innocence, denied that the proofs of guilt were such as could justify a penal bill. When the numbers were reckoned, the bill was in this stage supported by 123 against 95.

On the commitment of the bill, the clause which provided for a divorce was strongly opposed by the archbishops of York and Tuam, and other prelates, who considered it as a mere expedient of policy, rather than an act of impartial justice, and maintained that it was repugnant both to divine and human laws; but, although this clause was now abandoned by the ministers, it was retained by a majority of sixty-seven votes; for the adversaries of the court voted for it, in the hope of securing the suffrages of many of the peers, who, offended at its retention, would withdraw their support from the whole bill. As this manœuvre reduced the majority, on a subsequent division, to nine, the earl of Liverpool, referring to the warmth of public feeling and the agitated state of the country, declared that he would not
Nov. 10. persist in the measure, and consequently moved that the third reading of the bill should be postponed for six months. Some of the peers murmured at his timid inconsistency; but the motion was immediately adopted, not indeed without a protest from the *rigid morality* of the duke of Clarence.

The abandonment of the obnoxious bill was regarded as a triumph by her majesty, and the numerous supporters of her cause. An illumination took place in the metropolis, for three nights, during which the populace behaved with greater forbearance than was expected, as very few instances of compulsion occurred, and little mischief was sustained by any of those

housekeepers who refused to display the symbols of joy. The queen, soon after, gave offence to the adverse party by presuming to give orders for a thanksgiving in St. Paul's cathedral. The procession on that occasion was not very splendid; but the concourse was as great as if a coronation had been announced. The demeanour of her majesty in the church was modest and humble, suited to the sanctity of the place and the nature of the service. The abortion of the persecuting bill obliged the ministers, from a sense of common decency, to allow the same income which they had promised her before her return to England: but the honour of being specifically included in the liturgy was still denied to her; and it was resolved that, whenever a coronation should take place, the king alone should be the object of that sacred ceremony. Thus the boasted triumph was rendered imperfect; and that disgrace which was entailed by the hand of power made a visible impression upon the queen's mind.

After this decision, the public agitation gradually subsided. The denial, to the queen, of those public prayers which had been imperiously demanded from the frequenters of churches, during the king's short illness, for the preservation of his sacred person and his valuable life, excited occasional murmurs; but, as the parliament sanctioned the invidious refusal, the contest, on the part of her friends, seemed to be hopeless, and was therefore relinquished.

In the next session, the king condescended to propose A.D. that a regular provision should be made for her majesty; 1821. and, although she at first declared that she would not accept any allowance while her name was omitted in the liturgy, her high-spirited reluctance yielded to the pressure of necessity. It was suggested by a provincial member, that only 30,000 pounds *per annum* should be granted to her; but the illiberal motion was instantly rejected.

Few of the proceedings of this session demand particular notice. Petitions for a parliamentary reform, for the relief of the agricultural interest, a diminution of the public burthens, and other objects, were treated with disregard, if not with contempt. In adjusting the financial accounts of the year, it was affirmed by the chancellor of the exchequer, that the expenditure had been so far reduced, as to allow an annual saving nearly to the amount of 1,800,000 pounds; but this pretended instance of economy was not productive of any benefit which the public could really feel. The catholic question was again brought forward, and a bill of relief passed through the lower house by a

majority of nineteen ; but the peers, being less tolerant and conciliatory, refused to sanction the measure.

The prorogation of the parliament was soon followed by a pompous ceremony, which, though not absolutely required by the constitution, was earnestly desired by his majesty. He was crowned in due form by the primate, in the abbey of Westminster, amidst a splendid assemblage of both sexes. The queen had previously demanded a participation in the solemnity ; but her claim was rejected by the privy council, and she was not even admitted into the abbey to witness the parade. This insult did not discourage her from appearing occasionally in public. She was amusing herself with a theatrical entertainment, when indisposition obliged her to retire ; an internal disease had assailed her frame ; it resisted all the powers of medicine, and proved fatal to the unfortunate princess. On the removal of her remains to the coast, a riot arose from the wish of the populace, that the procession might be directed through the metropolis, in which her friends were numerous ; and the point was gained, though not without bloodshed. Her funeral was solemnized at Brunswick, with little pomp, but with a regret which was apparently sincere.

Another death which in some degree interested the British nation, was that of Napoleon, who died in exile at St. Helena. May 5. As he had so long been lost to the world, his decease made only a slight impression upon the public mind ; but a man of his fame and character can never be entirely forgotten. He undoubtedly possessed great talents for war ; and one who shines in that sphere of action will readily find admirers among all classes of mankind ; but, when great admiration is bestowed upon those warriors who take arms without necessity, who have no sense of honour or of justice, no idea of true glory, and no sincere wish to promote human happiness,—who are not satisfied when nature smiles around them in security and peace, and are content only when they rush into an unprovoked war, and act like vile assassins, covering the earth both with friends and foes,—no sentiment can be more misplaced, because no feelings of respect or regard are due to such mischievous characters. Even the greatest courage, skill, and talent, when they are thus basely and unnaturally employed, are so degraded and perverted, as not to entitle their possessor to just praise. Such men are improperly called heroes ; for heroism includes the exercise of *good* as well as *great* qualities.

The political ability of Napoleon has been highly praised ; and,

indeed, it was partly exemplified in the long preservation of internal peace in France. But it must be considered, that, as he obtained the sovereignty by the influence of a formidable army—an engine of power which a bold and artful commander can easily put in motion,—the difficulty of securing it was not so great as many might at the first view suppose. He had established his own military fame; and, while he nourished and augmented the passion of the people for warlike glory, he overawed them into acquiescence and submission. Some of his public works seem to reflect credit upon his government; but they arose from vanity and ostentation rather than from philanthropy; and, if he occasionally softened the sternness of his habitual tyranny, he made these trifling concessions merely *ad captandum vulgus*, that he might have a pretence for boasting of his moderation and humanity. He affected a sublimity both of sentiment and of action; but it was a theatrical parade and a delusive display. His public manners were artificial; and, except when he was in the bosom of his family, he was constantly acting a part.

Attempts were made, soon after his death, to varnish his character, to excuse or palliate his enormities, emblazon his humanity, and vilify the characters of his adversaries, chiefly *from his own mouth*. One *proof* of his veracity will serve as a specimen of the rest of his assertions. He declared, to his medical and confidential friend, Mr. O'Meara, that he never, in his whole public career, had been guilty of a *crime*. Whether this was the imbecility of blindness, or the audacity of falsehood, is a point which may easily be decided. It is as useless to argue with the blind admirers of such a man, as it would have been with Napoleon himself.

When that parliament re-assembled which Napoleon Feb. 5. would gladly have annihilated, the king congratulated the 1822. two houses on the improvement of the commerce and manufactures, and consequently the revenue, of the united kingdom; but at the same time, he deeply regretted the depressed state of the agricultural interest, and was also shocked at the revival of a spirit of outrage in various parts of Ireland, notwithstanding the supposed conciliatory effect of his late visit to that country. The ministers denied that excessive taxation had any share in producing the distress of the farmers, and asserted that a similar pressure upon agriculture existed in almost every other European country. The existing difficulties, they said, were solely attributable to the over-production arising from the excitement given

in the course of the late war; but it was argued, on the other hand, that heavy taxation, though it did not occasion that reduction of price of which the land-holders complained, increased the cost of raising corn, and thus defrauded the farmers of a fair remuneration. After various debates on this subject, a bill was enacted, fixing seventy shillings *per* quarter as the lowest price that should authorize the importation of foreign corn, and promising a loan of exchequer bills, whenever wheat should be under sixty shillings, upon such British corn as should be deposited in warehouses. The public in general thought the fixed price too high, and too favourable to the land-holders, who, by their exaction of enormous rents from the farmers, heavily taxed, by their own authority, the consumers of corn.

For the settlement of the disordered affairs of Ireland, the rigour of coercion was preferred to the mildness of humanity. The *habeas-corpus* act was suspended, and the act against insurrections revived; but no attempts were made to give to the Irish the full advantages of good government. For six centuries after the conquest of their country by Henry II., they were an oppressed people; and they are still nearly in the same wretched predicament. The British ministry either cannot, or will not, govern them properly. Salutary advice was given to the court by Mr. Charles Grant, in an able speech on this subject; but, though it seemed to make some impression even upon illiberal and prejudiced minds, its effect was transient and nugatory. It must be recorded, however, for the honour of the ruling power, that, when a famine harassed the population in the southern parts of the country, the government evinced symptoms of benevolence by advancing money and finding employment for the poor, and calling upon the people of Great Britain to contribute to the relief of their suffering brethren. The call, as might be expected, was readily answered, and a liberal subscription filled the Irish with joy and gratitude.

This session was distinguished by a considerable change in commercial policy. The restrictions imposed upon other nations by our laws respecting foreign trade and navigation were in some measure removed, and a still greater freedom of commerce was promised; and these arrangements soon produced a corresponding liberality in other governments, and led to similar concessions. The expediency of creating a mercantile navy, and of encouraging incipient manufactures, may seem to justify exclusions and restrictions; but, when nations flourish in those branches of prosperity, they may safely allow a general freedom of traffic.

The parliament had not long been prorogued, when that minister, who had taken a leading part in the business of the session, removed himself from the world in a fit of derangement. For many years lord Castlereagh, or (as he was afterward styled) the marquis of Londonderry, had acted as manager of the house of commons, and had found that assembly in general subservient to his dictates. To say that he had no talent, would be a false assertion; for he was a ready speaker and an artful debater; but we may truly affirm that he had not a strong or comprehensive mind, was far from being a masterly orator, could not argue with force or perspicuity, and was deficient in that learning which, though it may not be deemed absolutely necessary for a statesman, serves at least to adorn and dignify his character. As a member of the cabinet, he had so entirely renounced his youthful zeal for liberty, that he was ready to support and vindicate every act of ministerial tyranny or rapacity, and every encroachment on the rights of the people.

His former antagonist, Mr. Canning, succeeded him in the administration, to which, in the opinion of many, he gave greater dignity than he borrowed from it. The opposition of this eloquent minister to the arbitrary intentions of the chief continental princes with regard to Spain, rendered him more popular than he had ever before been; but all his official expostulations could not prevent the unjust interference of the French court.

The principal transactions of the ensuing parliamentary session were far from being unimportant. The proceedings at Verona, and the negotiations at Paris, were taken into consideration in both houses; and the declaration of the king of France, that a reform in the institutions of any country could only emanate with propriety from the crown or the ruling power, was freely censured by the orators of both parties, while the members of opposition blamed the ministry for not remonstrating in a high and peremptory tone. It was alleged by the partisans of the court, that a menacing tone might have led to a war which we were not prepared to support, and that the consequences of hostility in such a case might be seriously detrimental; and a very great majority in each house attested the expediency of forbearance.

As the agricultural distress, though less severe than it had been, was not yet removed, some debates occurred on the subject. The allowance of a free importation of corn, proposed by some members, seemed to the land-holders to be an insult rather than a remedy. Sir Thomas Lethbridge called upon the minis-

ters to devise some specific mode of rescue ; but Mr. Canning replied, " that they did not see their way to any direct measure for immediate relief." If the remission or reduction of taxes, however, could be supposed likely to have that effect, they were willing, said the secretary, to make the experiment. They kept their promise more faithfully than the public expected ; for the burthensome window-tax was reduced to one-half of its former amount, and from the whole of the assessed taxes so much was withdrawn by the kindness and complacency of the court, that the public paid less on that head, by 2,200,000 pounds, than in the preceding year. The surplus of the existing revenue not only allowed that diminution of imposts, but afforded an opportunity of appropriating five millions to the reduction of the national debt.

The affairs of Ireland were subjects of warm debate. A pretended conspiracy against the lord-lieutenant, the legal proceedings which took place in consequence of it, and the mutual reproaches and accusations of the contending parties, led to an inquiry in the house of commons, which, however, was of little advantage to either party. Mr. Hume made a bold attempt to procure a distribution of the church property of Ireland, which, he said, was much more than commensurate to the services performed by the ministers of religion, who, by a proportional allotment, might receive a sufficiency of income, while large sums would remain for such other purposes as the parliament might deem beneficial to the community. Against this proposal Mr. Plunket inveighed in the strongest terms of indignation ; and the house exploded the idea even of commencing an inquiry on so tender a point. The catholic question was again noticed ; but the chief advocates of the asserted claims, finding their zeal damped by the coolness of Mr. Canning, whom they accused of having meanly promised, when he was re-admitted into the cabinet, to withdraw his support from the complaining sect, were not disposed to renew the application with any appearance of spirit. Mr. Plunket, indeed, moved for the appointment of a committee of investigation ; but the house refused to agree to it. With regard to the British catholics, a bill was introduced by lord Nugent to place them on an equal footing with those of Ireland, by giving them the right of voting at parliamentary elections : it was sanctioned by the commons, not by the peers.

In the discussion of colonial concerns, the continued ill-treatment of the slaves in the West Indies prompted those senators, who had formerly voted for the abolition of an abominable traffic,

to propose the extinction of slavery itself, as it is not only repugnant to the maxims of the British constitution, but to the principles of Christianity. Mr. Canning denied that it was prohibited either by our religious or our political system; but, as the spirit of both seemed to be adverse to it, he was willing to concur in such measures as might lead to its gradual abolition. The result of the debate was the transmission of a circular letter by earl Bathurst to the colonial governments, protesting against the use of the whip in the field as a *stimulus* to the labour of the slaves, and requiring a total cessation of the practice of flagellating females. The planters, more particularly in Jamaica, treated this remonstrance with contempt, and defied the resentment of the mother country. In Barbadoes, a body of the white rabble attacked a missionary who was supposed to be a friend to the slaves, demolished his meeting-house, and drove him from the island. In the settlement of Demerara, Mr. Smith, a respectable missionary, was apprehended on the false suspicion of having promoted an insurrection of the negroes, and condemned to death by a court-martial. The execution of the sentence being delayed, he died in prison, before his arbitrary judges knew that it had been rescinded by the king.

In the interval between the prorogation and the re-assembling of the parliament, the national prosperity seemed gradually to revive, and a new session was opened under very auspicious circumstances. "Trade and commerce (as the royal speech Feb. 3, stated) were extending themselves both at home and 1824. abroad, an increasing activity pervaded almost every branch of manufacture; and the growth of the revenue was such as not only to sustain public credit, and to prove the unimpaired productiveness of the national resources, but to evince a diffusion of comfort among the great body of the people." Even in Ireland (it was added) there were many indications of amendment; and, upon the whole, the united kingdom might safely boast of its internal prosperity and improvement, which, there was reason to believe, would not be "disturbed by any interruption of tranquillity abroad."

This session was not marked by the asperity or vehemence of debate. A variety of discussions necessarily arose, because every year must produce a series of public business for such influential assemblies as the lords and commons of this country: but there did not appear to be that excitement which was calculated to rouse in a high degree the passions of the speakers. The passiveness of the ministry before the invasion of Spain, and during

the short war in that kingdom, was feebly censured; and the delay of acknowledging the independence of the new states in America did not seem, even to the members of opposition, to deserve animadversion or blame. But to the continuance of the act against aliens, whom the king was empowered to send out of the country, as if they were dangerous intruders, such a spirited opposition was made, particularly by sir James Macintosh, that Mr. Canning was induced to conciliate the objectors to the arbitrary measure, by hinting the probability of its cessation in two years. Sir James also distinguished himself in the support of a motion for a bill, tending to assist persons accused of felony by allowing them the benefit of a defence by counsel, as in cases of treason; but, though no good reason could be assigned for the refusal, the commons rejected the claim.

The notorious abuses in the practice of the court of chancery, the enormous magnitude of the attendant expenses, and the frequently ruinous delays of justice, had long been topics of indignant complaint; and it was therefore proposed by Mr. John Williams, that a committee of the house should be authorized to investigate these grievances. The ministerial members exploded the motion, and substituted for it a very imperfect inquiry, which was conducted by the chancellor himself, some of his most devoted friends, and a few other gentlemen. It is certainly a difficult task to remove or correct an accumulation of abuses; yet some progress might be made in this salutary work, if the ministers would seriously promote it: but that is not an object which suits their taste.

In the adjustment of financial affairs, some diminutions of imposts gratified the public in general; but the stock-holders were not pleased at the reduction of the rate of interest on various funds, which many condemned as a breach of faith on the part of the government. The supplies were at this time increased by the payment of the loan formerly allowed to the emperor of Austria, not indeed of the whole, but of less than half, which the ministers (not the public) considered as a satisfactory settlement. One half of a million (being the fifth part of the refunded sum) was appropriated to the building of churches, in addition to a former grant, which the deficiency of places of worship for the followers of the established church had rendered expedient for the propagation of piety and the repression of sectarianism.

The scheme for promoting commerce by a removal of restrictions continued to be encouraged by the ministry, and treaties were concluded on the basis of entire reciprocity with the kings

of the Netherlands, Prussia, and Sweden; but the French were not then disposed to enter into any agreement of that kind, though they were glad to take the benefit of an act which favoured their silken manufacture, by substituting a moderate duty for a prohibition.

When the parliament was prorogued, it was stated that the king continued to receive from all foreign powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition toward this country. Whether foreign powers were *friendly* to Great Britain, may reasonably be doubted; but they were at least pacifically disposed. Yet our government did not preserve peace in all its dependences; for a war was then raging between the India Company and the Burmese nation. By the former, the whole guilt of aggression is imputed to the latter; and there is some probability in the charge, as we can hardly suppose that the servants of the company, however ambitious, would wantonly cross the bay of Bengal to extend limits already too widely diffused. Claiming the isle of Shapuree, and asserting some degree of authority over the country of Cachar, which was under the company's protection, the Burmese advanced within 260 miles of Calcutta, and declared that they would not retire unless all grounds of complaint should be speedily removed. Elate with the success of a conflict with colonel Bowen, they resolutely persisted in their demands of redress for pretended encroachments, and made preparations for the most active hostility. An armament being sent to their coast, an attack was made upon Rangoon, their chief port, and the town was taken without the loss of a single assailant. Other advantages were quickly obtained; and, when the grand Burmese army, under Maha-Bundoola, had taken the field, sir Archibald Campbell and his gallant battalions acted with such spirit, that the enemy fled in confusion, and ample spoils fell into the hands of the victors. Some operations on the Rangoon river were also successful, and it was hoped that the war would soon be triumphantly terminated. A check was sustained on the Chittagong frontier, where the Europeans and sepoy were put to flight, and some officers were sacrificed to the fury of war: but this disgrace was soon repaired, and the territory of Cachar was evacuated by the discouraged foe.

An African dependency of Great Britain was also the seat of war. The Fantees, who occupied the country near Cape Corse (commonly called Cape Coast) Castle, were involved in hostilities by the ambition of the Ashantees, and, being unable to withstand that powerful nation, were obliged to become vassals and tribu-

taries. The British colonists then acknowledged themselves the tenants of the victorious king, and a treaty was concluded on that basis: but the governor of the colony was not inclined to adhere to it, and sir Charles Mac'Carthy, who was sent from England to take the command upon the Gold Coast, promised to support the Fantees, in a revolt from their new masters. A war ensued, in which the Ashantees manifested both courage and cruelty. The colonial force gained the advantage in some slight conflicts; but, when sir Charles had attacked about 10,000 men with a number much less than 1000, the enemy completely surrounded his battalions, and sacrificed him to their fierce resentment. Major Chisholm took some revenge for this outrage, by inflicting severe loss on the barbarians in the battle of Fettue; but he was precluded, by the retreat of his African auxiliaries, from an opportunity of converting the repulse into a defeat. In a subsequent collision, the army of the Ashantees exceeded the number of 15,000, and colonel Sutherland could scarcely muster 400 regulars and militia men; but to these he added 4650 combatants, who, though said to be *unorganized*, fought with zeal and alacrity. The effect of this battle was so discouraging to the enemy, that a great desertion ensued, which obliged the king to discontinue his hostile operations.

As the subjects of Great Britain, during these distant wars, were in full peace at home, the spirit of speculation, or the desire of rendering money productive, was in active operation. Every

A.D. 1825. one who had money beyond his immediate wants wished to get more interest for it than he could derive from the funds, which, being at a high rate, afforded only a small annuity; and the consequence of this inordinate thirst of gain, was an eager desire of engaging in joint-stock companies of every description. Some of these had a promising basis; but many of them were mere bubbles, created by artful adventurers, who, procuring a few respectable names to grace a prospectus, drew credulous blockheads into the snare, and, having swelled the value of their shares by artifice and falsehood, sold them at an extravagant premium. These speculations occasioned heavy draughts upon the bankers, many of whom, being also speculators with the money which was entrusted to their care, were obliged to stop payment; and, at the same time, the master manufacturers, having inconsiderately increased their stocks beyond the probable demand, no longer found employment for their workmen, who, being in general encumbered with families, were consequently reduced to serious distress. These and other cir-

cumstances increased the number of bankruptcies to an unprecedented amount; and, though it might be said that the money of the country had only changed hands, poverty seemed to prevail in an extraordinary degree.

To a great number of these companies the parliament refused its sanction; but this did not sufficiently check the spirit of enterprise, which continued to prevail during the greater part of the year. The session was not particularly important, though some of its proceedings claim our notice. The leaders of the catholics in Ireland had ventured to levy contributions for the promotion of their interest, in the name and by the authority of a public association, which received petitions like a house of parliament, appointed committees, and exercised an unwarrantable influence to the prejudice of the existing government. The ministry called upon both houses to suppress this illegal assembly; and a bill was enacted, declaring that all the members of any society of that kind should be punished by fine and imprisonment. The catholics pretended to obey the national will thus expressed; but, soon after the prorogation of the parliament, they organised a new association in a covert and evasive, though not less influential mode.

A new bill was brought forward in behalf of these importunate claimants, releasing them from the obligation of taking the oath of supremacy as a qualification for office, or of denying transubstantiation, relinquishing the mass, or desisting from the invocation of saints: and it allowed every right or franchise enjoyed by the protestant subjects of the realm, except the office of lord chancellor, or that of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, or any preferment in the legitimate church, in consideration of the oath of allegiance and the abjuration of all intentions of subverting or injuring the religious, political, or civil establishment. In presenting a petition against this bill, the duke of York expressed his opinion that the king could not consent to it without violating the oath taken at his coronation, and that, even if this obstacle should be surmounted, it was highly impolitic to allow, to those who denied the authority of the parliament over their church, the power of legislating for the established church. The house of commons passed the bill by a majority of twenty-one votes; but the peers, by a plurality of forty-eight, arrested its course.

With regard to other points of discussion, we may observe, that no attempts were made to reform the practice of the court of chancery, though some amendments were introduced into the laws respecting juries and cases of bankruptcy. The corn laws

were left untouched, with a trifling exception tending to favour the Canadians: the colonial trade was opened to the vessels of foreign nations; and the laws against combinations of artisans, repealed in a former session, were restored.

During the session, and also after its termination, various negotiations attested the zeal and diligence of the secretary for the foreign department. With the French court a convention was concluded, according to those principles of trade and navigation which had lately been sanctioned by the parliament: yet it was not a regular or complete treaty of commerce. With the Russian emperor an agreement was adjusted for the restriction of the boundaries of his empire, in the North Pacific Ocean, within reasonable limits. A commercial treaty was concluded with Don Pedro, emperor of Brazil, on the fairest terms of equality, and that prince at the same time bound himself to an abolition of the traffic in slaves within four years; and similar treaties were signed with the new republic of Columbia, and the united provinces of the Rio de la Plata.

While these ties drew various nations into more friendly connexions, the animosity of discord still raged between the India Company and the Burmese. Considerable preparations were made for attacking some stockades or lines of defence, which were amply provided with artillery. The first work was stormed by brigadier Cotton, with small loss on the part of the assailants: but the second could not be forced before sir Archibald Campbell supported that officer by a seasonable junction. The main body now advanced to Prome, which the enemy tamely resigned; while detachments obtained full possession of the provinces of Assam and Aracan. This success, however, was dearly purchased, as the fatigues of the service, the continued rain, and the partial inundation of the country, produced serious illness, and occasioned the loss of many valuable lives. Intimidated by the progress of the invaders, the Burmese emperor made overtures of peace, and even consented to surrender the provinces of Aracan, Mergui, and Tavoy, and pay a crore of rupees to the company. A treaty was signed on this basis; but, as he refused to ratify it, the war was renewed, and sir Archibald attacked the post of Melloun with such vigour, that its strength did not secure it from capture. The negotiations were now resumed, and the humbled prince submitted to the demands of his powerful enemies.

During the recess of parliament Great Britain remained in a state of tranquillity, while the people were watching the pro-

gress of speculation. Many of the bubbles at length burst (as every man of sense had foretold), and the consequent bankruptcies were numerous, and very mischievous in their effects. The parliament endeavoured to make the country banks (a great number of which had failed) more responsible, and consequently more respectable; but the remedy for the general distress was left in a great measure to the operation of time and chance, while the indigent manufacturers were partially relieved by subscriptions, which could not, under the existing circumstances, be expected to flow in a very liberal course.

The session which was opened in this state of affairs did A.D. not abound with interesting debates, except those which 1826. related to the means of averting the evils of poverty; but the two houses are never very successful in their endeavours to allay such misfortunes. In the mean time some alarming riots arose in Lancashire, where many power-looms were destroyed, because their use abridges the labour and consequently lessens the receipts of the manufacturers: in the counties of York and Chester also acts of violence and depredation were committed by unemployed artisans: but the vigour of military interposition concurred with the influence of charitable donations to restore tranquillity and order. The most important measures of the session were the acts for the regulation of the currency; the circulation of notes under the value of five pounds was prohibited; the restriction of the number of partners in country-banks was removed; and the exclusive privileges of the Bank of England were extended to a circle of 120 miles diameter, having London for its centre. Some important reforms were made in the criminal law, but the efforts for the improvement of civil judicature failed.

LETTER XXXIV.

History of the Continent of Europe, to the Death of the Emperor Alexander, in 1825.

THE chief continental powers deserve our praise for having crushed the all-grasping tyranny of Napoleon; but their conduct in a momentous concern calls for animadversion and censure.

They promised to mitigate the rigours of despotism in their own states, and yet bound themselves, by an unjustifiable concert, to oppose, even in other countries, the popular spirit of reform, threatening, with their indignant resentment, every community which should dare to resist the ruling power.

A.D. 1820. Regardless of this menace, the disaffected party in Spain resolved to act with vigour. Critical was the state of that country. The liberal notions which had been propagated during the contest with Napoleon had not lost their effect. They were kept alive by the continued tyranny of the court, and an opportunity of bringing them into exercise was anxiously expected. The discontent of many officers of the army, whom the king had no thought of conciliating, diffused itself among the troops in Andalusia, and colonel Riego lighted the match which produced an explosion. Marching with a battalion to Arcos, he surprised the commander-in-chief, procured an accession of force, and joined Quiroga, who had escaped from a place of confinement. The lines near Cadiz were twice assaulted, but without effect; and Riego was then detached, with 1500 men, to excite a general insurrection. He was so harassed by the troops that were still in the king's interest, that he with difficulty escaped ruin; and Quiroga, in the isle of Leon, seemed to be in equal danger. Yet the malcontents were not discouraged; and, in Galicia, by the efforts of some spirited officers, the royal authority was quickly annihilated; while Mina, erecting the popular standard in Navarre, proclaimed the constitution of the year 1812. The flames spread through other provinces; and the king was so intimidated by the progress of disaffection, that he promised to convoke the cortès, and bound himself by an oath to the observance of the constitution. He also gave freedom to the press, and abolished the court of inquisition.

The public joy, arising from this source, was allayed by the brutal treachery of the troops at Cadiz. General Freyre had assured the inhabitants, that the constitution should be proclaimed in form; but, when a great multitude appeared in the principal square to witness the ceremony, the soldiery made a sudden attack upon the spectators, and murdered above four hundred of the number, before it was known that Ferdinand had acceded to the popular claims. Freyre, as we have reason to believe, did not direct or countenance this atrocity. Some of the inhuman ruffians, after a long delay, were punished for their criminality; but the outrage was never investigated in a regular or satisfactory mode.

The king, who had long domineered over the nobility and the people, was now a slave to the leaders of the revolution. His cabinet was composed of strenuous constitutionalists, who, justly doubting his sincerity, resolved to hold him in trammels, until the freedom of the nation should be fully established. After an interval marked with occasional commotions, the cortès assembled, and promoted with zeal the regeneration of the kingdom. ^{July 9.} The exclusive privileges of the nobles were suppressed or diminished; the administration of justice was purified; abuses in the various departments of state were corrected; the lands of the church were partly appropriated to the public service; arrangements were made for the reduction of the national debt (which amounted to 160 millions of pounds sterling); and the assembly also attended to the revival of commerce and the encouragement of general industry. When the session was closed in the autumn, it was not deemed prudent to suspend the authority of so useful a body of men; three-fourths were ordered to form a permanent committee, for the purpose of controlling the executive power. The king sometimes evinced jealousy and displeasure, and secret advisers urged him to shake off the yoke: but no opportunity of a counter-revolution offered itself to his anxious wishes.

It might have been expected that the cortès would make a vigorous effort to reclaim the colonies to submission, as, however attached to liberty they might pretend to be, they might think that the honour of Old Spain was concerned in the retention of the New; but the weighty affairs of internal policy engrossed their attention. In the mean time the revolt became more general both in North and South America. The royalists of Mexico found the greatest difficulty in preserving their power; and the capital of Peru was nearly reduced to extremity by a continued blockade; but it was not before the ensuing year that either of these provinces became independent.

The example of Spain was soon followed by the Portuguese. Disgusted at the continuance of various grievances; resenting the contempt with which they were treated by their sovereign, who still lingered in Brazil; and jealous of the influence of the British court, which, by the medium of field-marshal Beresford, exercised an unpleasing degree of authority; some active spirits, both in civil and military stations, resolved to attempt a general reform. The first symptoms of serious discontent were manifested at Oporto. Don Bernardo de Sepulveda, a ^{Aug. 24.} young nobleman who commanded a regiment, exhorted the

soldiers to serve their king and country by the establishment of a constitutional government; and the patriotic appeal was answered by loud acclamations. A provisional junta was appointed by general consent, not merely for the administration of the city, but of the whole kingdom. This was a bold step, and, according to ordinary laws, an act of treason; and count Amarante, the chief commander in the province of *Tras-os-Montes*, condemned it in the strongest terms; but his denunciations, and those of the council of state at Lisbon, were treated with contempt and derision. Sepulveda marched against the count, and drove him into Galicia; and the members of the new junta began their march toward the capital, with an intention of expediting the convocation of the *cortès*; but, before their arrival, a resolution to that effect had been adopted by the terrified council, to the great joy of the people. The field-marshal soon after returned from Rio de Janeiro; and being prevented from landing in Portugal, left that kingdom to its fate, while the British officers, who had served under him in the Portuguese army, were dismissed without molestation. Dissensions arose between the violent democrats and the moderate reformers; but the latter gained the ascendancy, and the public tranquillity was not seriously interrupted or disturbed; and the king, returning from Brazil in the following year, acquiesced with a good grace in the constitutional regulations of those who had curtailed his authority.

The French court, influenced by the known sentiments of its powerful allies, viewed with disgust the proceedings in Spain and Portugal, but did not interfere in the concerns of those nations with a tone of authority. The affairs of the kingdom, indeed, called for the undivided attention of Louis. He felt a great shock on the death of his nephew the duke of Berri, who was suddenly assassinated by a political fanatic, for no other motive than a dread of his being the father of a prince who might continue the race of Bourbon. This flagitious act, though it did not appear to have been the effect of combination or concert, inflamed the zeal of the ultra-royalists, who accused M. de Cazes of having promoted the murder by his encouragement of democratic principles. The charge was absurd and groundless; but it occasioned the resignation of that minister, who was succeeded in the direction of the cabinet by the duke de Richelieu. Strong measures were now adopted, with a view of repressing the seditious spirit of the malcontents. A law for the arrest of suspected persons, and one which tended to restrict more effec-

tually the freedom of the press, were sanctioned by small majorities, after very animated debates; and it was intended that the laws of election should be rendered less favourable to the people; but the ministerial scheme for that purpose was so far modified by amendments, in which the court acquiesced, that its provisions were not very effective.

During the recess of the legislative body, a conspiracy against the government was detected at Paris, organized chiefly by military officers. Numerous arrests were ordered, and seasonable precautions were taken; and, indeed, the inadequate means and feeble influence of the conspirators deprived them of all reasonable hopes of success. The transient alarm excited at court by this plot was succeeded by great joy, on the birth of a prince, the posthumous son of the duke of Berri.

In the Netherlands and in Germany tranquillity continued to prevail; yet, in the former country, the king found it expedient to check the freedom of the press and of political discussion, because his domineering allies had inspired him with their own jealousy. Among the German states, some progress was made toward the general establishment of representative governments. The grand duke of Hesse consented to the formation of two legislative assemblies; and, as his first scheme was too aristocratic to please the people, he modified it in such a manner as to secure their acquiescence. The king of Saxony, even while his subjects did not seem to be eagerly bent upon reform, made such concessions as rendered his government still more popular. In the diet of the Germanic confederacy, it was ordained that assemblies of the states should be formed in every country which belonged to the league; but, by another decree, this seeming requisition was softened into a mere permission, or an act of princely discretion.

While the great potentates, sometimes affectingly indulgent, but generally rigid in deciding upon popular claims or pretensions, were brooding over their schemes of artful policy, their attention was called to the affairs of Italy by the effect of that spirit which the intrigues of the Carbonari had aroused. The king of Naples had declared, that he would grant to his people such a constitution as would establish their rights and their security; but the sinister influence of Austria was so powerfully exercised over him, that he neglected the performance of his promise, and even violated that engagement by which he had guaranteed the constitutional code framed for the Sicilians by

the wisdom of their British allies. General Pepe and many other friends of their country, incensed at this breach of faith, resolved to support the just demands of an insulted nation; and, when a great part of the army had been drawn into the combination, the Spanish constitution was proclaimed in every province of the realm. The king assumed an air of intrepidity, and menaced the rebels with an attack from those regiments which were still loyal and faithful; but he soon revoked his hostile orders, changed his ministry, and made plausible and patriotic promises. Pretending indisposition, he authorized his son to act in his

July 7. name; and a proclamation announced to the gratified people the royal intention of following the example of his catholic majesty. The Sicilians, not content with the mere participation of that liberty which was thus ostensibly conceded to all the king's subjects, conceived the hope of forming an independent state; and, on the recurrence of the festival of Santa Rosalia, the patroness of the island, the fury of the populace was roused against the Neapolitan garrison at Palermo, and an impetuous assault was followed by a massacre, which was the more dreadful, because the most determined agents in the enormity were galley-slaves and other criminals, who had been liberated and armed by the turbulent citizens. When tranquillity had been restored a junta was constituted, and deputies were sent about the island to promote the cause of independence; but they were not very successful in their mission. After an interval of two months, during which little regard was paid to the royal authority, the brother of general Pepe, at the head of a small army of Neapolitans, made preparations for an assault upon Palermo; and the junta and the people were so confounded, that a complete submission ensued.

The change of system at Naples alarmed the Austrian emperor, who dreaded the propagation of those revolutionary principles which threatened to impair the stability of his power in Italy: but he did not determine upon actual hostility before he met the Russian potentate and the prince royal of Prussia at Troppau. These confederates, inflamed with the arrogance of power, summoned the king of Naples to meet them at Laybach, as if he had been one of their vassals or subjects; and, having announced this *invitation* to the revolutionary parliament, with a promise that he would exert all his influence to procure from the great powers a confirmation of the new settlement, he undertook, in the midst of winter, the prescribed journey. The result

was easily foreseen. Ferdinand submitted to the dictates of the allied princes, and consented to permit an invasion of his kingdom.

The hostilities which impended over Naples did not prevent the Carbonari and other opposers of despotism from making a revolutionary experiment in the north of Italy; but it was a rash and ill-concerted scheme. The garrison of Alessandria, and the troops at various stations, listened to the secret exhortations of malcontents, and, under the auspices of the prince of Carignano, demanded a constitutional reform. An insurrection even broke out at Turin; and the king, instead of facing the storm, resigned the crown to his brother Charles Felix. The insurgents assumed a loud tone, but did not act with corresponding vigour; for the approach of an Austrian army from Lombardy intimidated them into flight and dispersion.

During the sway of the new rulers of Naples, a general submission to the laws prevailed, an effective *police* was maintained, and justice was regularly administered; but the delay of military preparation, and the neglect of those precautions which the crisis required, argued weakness and indecision, and the ill-appointed force which was sent out under Pepe was so inadequate to the exigency, that no reasonable hope of success could be entertained. That commander was at first disposed to be content with defensive operations; but, as artful emissaries were employed in discouraging and seducing his troops, he hoped that an order for an attack might serve to inspire them with confidence before their ranks were seriously thinned. He had only 3000 regulars under his command, 7000 of the militia, and about 2000 volunteers. Two columns, which formed the wings, moved from the heights which impend over the valley of Rieti, and endeavoured to turn the advanced guard of the Austrians. The assault was bold and resolute; but, as a strong corps was quickly detached to the support of the endangered division, the Neapolitans were obliged to retreat; and the dispersion of a considerable part of their army rendered farther resistance hopeless and impracticable. The invaders took possession of the capital: the parliament which had lately assembled was dissolved, and the old government was restored. The king, more degraded by his late meanness than he would have been if he had governed a free people, returned to Naples, and began to execute the orders of that prince who had no lawful authority over him: he did not even testify any reluctance when he was

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desired to institute legal proceedings against many of the Carbonari, who were punished in various modes, to gratify the vengeance of a haughty conqueror. A new parliament was convoked; but it was so constituted, as to be entirely under the control of one who was a mere vassal to an arbitrary foreign potentate.

The easy repression of these revolutionary attempts gratified the pride of the allied despots; but their feelings of joy were not raised to the highest point, because the Spanish and Portuguese reformers were still intent on the prosecution of their "audacious schemes." The public affairs of the two realms, and the proceedings of the contending parties, were now scrutinized with attentive vigilance, and the progress of the evil seemed, to the anxious princes, to require a powerful check. Alexander was more particularly shocked at the violence of the Spanish revolutionists; yet he did not wish to bring his troops into action, but deemed it more expedient to leave to the French court the task of subduing or reclaiming the malcontents.

A.D. 1822. In the mean time the seeming inattention of the French court to the affairs of Europe excited the murmurs of that nation. French vanity was mortified at the apparent decline of that influence which formerly rendered France a first-rate power, but which was now neutralized by the domineering spirit of the three despots of the continent. The liberal party and the ultra-royalists agreed in this point, and hints of disgust marked an address which was voted by the chamber of deputies. The former party also thought that the king did not fully adhere to the constitution, while the latter would have been more pleased if he had attended less to its injunctions. Reflecting on those circumstances, his majesty was induced to make new ministerial arrangements, in which the royalists predominated. The viscount de Montmorenci became minister for the foreign department, and he resolved to retrieve (as he thought) the honour of France by an arbitrary interposition in the affairs of Spain. The court also brought forward a bill for the farther restriction of the press, which, after warm debates in both chambers, received, but did not deserve, the honour of enactment.

Discontent was still evinced by occasional insurrections. That which broke out near Saumur was the most important; yet it was soon quelled, and its chief conductor, Burton, an unemployed officer, was put to death with three of his accomplices. For what was styled the plot of Rochelle, four malcontents suffered, and one for that of Toulon.

The commotions of France were less serious and alarming than those of Spain. The ruling power anxiously endeavoured to keep the king in bondage; and his attempts to shake off the yoke concurred with the efforts of his adherents to create disorder and confusion. Riego presided in a session of the ordinary cortès; and that assembly pursued such a course as did not suit the feelings or the views of his majesty. At the close of the session, a military riot ensued, which, after some loss of lives, terminated in favour of the constitutional party. Elio, an active royalist, was now tried and put to death; but this act of rigour did not deter the king's friends from a continuance of their hostile operations. In Navarre, they were routed in several conflicts; in Catalonia, they suffered severely from the alacrity and vigour of Mina; and, in Arragon, they were also unsuccessful; yet they were not reduced to submission. Ferdinand, when he opened a session of the extraordinary cortès, affected to condemn the infatuation and obstinacy of the insurgents, while in his heart he approved and admired their exertions.

In Portugal, the revolution proceeded with unexpected tranquillity. The cortès, with an appearance of labour and industry, at length completed that constitution which, as it nearly resembled the new code of Spain, might have been brought forward with ease and expedition. But the joy of the assembly at this supposed triumph over despotism, was allayed by the loss of Brazil as a colony. The prince royal had been recalled from that government; but he disregarded the mandate, and called a council of deputies from the different provinces to deliberate on the affairs of the country. By the advice of these delegates, he assumed the title of constitutional protector of Brazil; and, his ambition being farther stimulated by the increasing zeal of the people, he consented to accept the title of emperor.

The Russian potentate, still viewing the disordered state of Spain with disgust and indignation, held with his brethren a congress at Verona, in which it was resolved that their representatives at Madrid should remonstrate with the rulers of the country on the subject of the late extraordinary proceedings, and promote such arrangements as might preclude the necessity of the interference of other powers. The prince had previously tutored his most Christian majesty to address the cortès in a high tone, and to insist upon the annulment of those revolutionary measures which menaced France with serious danger. In vain did the British envoy deny the right of controlling an independent nation, and of dictating the system which it ought to adopt.

The allies persisted in their unjustifiable course, and a partial war was the result.

A.D. 1823. The preparations for the invasion were conducted on too small a scale for the conquest of a powerful or united kingdom, but were sufficiently formidable for the object which the court contemplated. About 70,000 men were put in a state of requisition, and the duke of Angoulême was selected by his royal uncle for the command of this army. But, before the commencement of the expedition, the king condescended to apply to the legislature for its weighty sanction. He opened the session with a speech which was only calculated for the meridian of Petersburg or Vienna; for he did not scruple to say, that war was inevitable, unless Ferdinand should be allowed to possess the discretionary power of giving to his people institutions which they could only hold from him;—in other words, he declared, that no public reform ought to take place in any country, and no system of tyranny to be annihilated, without the free consent of a despot;—a proposition so monstrously extravagant and absurd, that the very mention of it is a sufficient condemnation. It is true that men, when they originally formed communities for mutual security, relinquished that excess of freedom which would have been injurious to social order; but they certainly did not forfeit their claims to just and equitable government; they did not intend to subject themselves to the caprice or the cruelty of a tyrant, but merely entrusted their rulers with that degree of power which was requisite for general benefit and utility. There always have been, and probably ever will be, princes or rulers so fond of power as to make an ill use of it, and nations will connive at occasional acts of arbitrary injustice; but a flagitious series of tyranny can only be endured with tameness by a base and pusillanimous community. The people of Spain were justified in demanding a redress of multiplied grievances; and, if they were not inclined to trust to the grace and favour of their infatuated and misguided king, but were determined to check his violent career, no other nation had a right to interfere.

Although the British court remonstrated against the intended war, the French monarch continued his preparations. Both chambers supported him in his views, but not without a spirited opposition from many of the members. Manuel, an eminent professor of the law, who boldly condemned the “atrocious tyranny” of Ferdinand, was expelled from the assembly of deputies, sixty of whom protested against this unjustifiable act. A riot was excited at Paris in his favour; but it had no serious result.

However disgusted the Spaniards were at the misrule of Ferdinand, they did not rise *en masse* to repel the invaders of their country. Trusting to their want of spirit, the duke of Angoulême had no doubt of speedy success; and, indeed, the campaign was rather a march than a series of conflicts. A party of French exiles, stationed on the Spanish side of the Bidassoa, pretended to dispute the passage; but they were quickly put to flight, and the hostilities of a detachment sent from St. Sebastian were equally fruitless. The main body of the invaders, advancing to the Ebro, passed it with little difficulty; and, while a strong division kept Mina in check, the duke approached Madrid, which, however, was not taken before the royalists, who had levied a force which they called the Army of the Faith, had indulged their animosity in a spirited action with the constitutionalists. He immediately desired the supreme council of Castile and the Indies to nominate five statesmen, who, as regents of the kingdom, readily assumed the exercise of power.

In the mean time, the cortès exhibited an air of spirit and resolution. Having coolly replied to the menacing notes of the princes of the holy alliance, and dismissed the ambassadors of those potentates, they declared their intention of resisting aggression with all the power which they could call into action; but, when they were informed of the seizure of the capital, they were intimidated into a retreat from the weakness of Seville to the strength of Cadiz. The king was at first unwilling to accompany the deputies in their flight; but he yielded to importunity, from an expectation of a speedy rescue.

His Gallic friends had not yet subdued the kingdom; but no extraordinary degree of energy or vigour was requisite for that purpose. Their operations were facilitated by the defection of Morillo and other distinguished officers, whom the intrigues of the French had seduced from the patriotic cause. They reduced Corunna and other towns, which were feebly defended; so harassed general Ballasteros that he was glad to submit; pursued and took Riego, and drove Mina into exile. They formed the siege of Cadiz, stormed an outwork called the Trocadero, assaulted San Pedro with success, and bombarded the city until confusion and terror prevailed within its precincts. The cortès now restored the king to full liberty; and, after an interview with the duke, he gave orders for the surrender of the town and its dependencies to the French. He had promised to consign to oblivion the whole conduct of the constitutionalists, and pardon every offence of which the courtiers might accuse them; but he

basely violated this promise, and, not content with annulling all their acts and proceedings, threw many of them into prison, and put Riego to death. He meanly suffered the French to garrison the chief fortresses of his realm, and became, in effect, a vassal of the holy alliance.

Before the French crossed the Pyrenees, the new rulers of Portugal, alarmed at the rumours of war, applied to the British court for eventual aid, and received a favourable answer. But the danger of a counter-revolution in that country arose from internal machinations, not from foreign influence or hostility. The count de Amarante, disgusted at the new system, roused the northern provinces to arms; but his early operations were so unsuccessful, that he was glad to find refuge in Spain. His retreat did not ruin the cause which he espoused; for a regiment of the line also revolted, and Don Miguel, the king's second son, joined the insurgents, who were quickly countenanced by the greater part of the army. His majesty declared that, as a father, he would abandon the prince, and, as a king, would punish him; but this was mere affectation; for, when the municipality of Lisbon requested to be informed of his will and pleasure, he replied that he was ready to change the existing government. He immediately appointed new ministers: the cortès indignantly retired; and the people acquiesced in the counter-revolution.

Thus restored to the plenitude of power, the king anxiously directed his attention to the affairs of Brazil. The new sovereign of that country offered to the Portuguese the alternative of friendship upon terms of complete equality, or a most violent war, while the king earnestly wished to reclaim the colony. No agreement arose from the negotiations between the father and the son; and the power of the latter remained in an unsettled state. He was harassed by the divisions in his cabinet; the transactions of a congress which he had convoked gave him such disgust, that he dissolved the assembly; and symptoms of civil war, though of a transient nature, appeared in various parts of the empire.

The state of Italy was more tranquil than that of Spain or Portugal. In Naples and Piedmont, indeed, the prosecutions of malcontents and supposed revolutionists were not discontinued, though a magnanimous government would have scorned such vexatious jealousy and such illiberal revenge. In the territories of the church, a change of government arose from the death of
 Aug. 20. Pius VII., who had long filled the papal chair without
 entailing upon himself peculiar disgrace, but certainly

had not displayed the talents or the wisdom of an enlightened prince. The best part of his administration was that which was influenced by the counsels of Gonsalvi. His successor was the cardinal Della Genga, who, assuming the designation of Leo XII., began to rule in the style of a high-church bigot. The new pope was attached to every practice that was old, whether right or wrong, and was more enslaved by prejudice than friendly to reform.

The affairs of Germany, at this time, were not particularly important. The king of Prussia, after amusing his people for many years with the hopes of a regular representative government, now decreed that assemblies should be called into action, not only for the discussion of the concerns of each province, but (while no general council existed in the realm) for the investigation of the affairs of the whole nation; and that they should consist of representatives of the nobility, deputies for the boroughs, and yeomanry. But, as his majesty retained all power in his own hands, this scheme was rather an unmeaning mark of idle condescension, and a request of occasional advice, than an allowance of the just claims of his subjects.—The emperor of Austria not only continued to neglect the performance of his promise respecting popular freedom, but, under the pretence of some late resolutions in the German diet, checked in various instances the liberal spirit which actuated the kings of Wurtemberg and Bavaria, and concurred with the emperor of Russia and the king of France in recommending restrictions upon the liberty of the press in Switzerland, and the suppression of reading societies, in that haughty tone which enforces compliance.

In the kingdom of the Netherlands, a greater degree of attention was paid by the ruling power to internal improvement and the regulation of commerce, than to the political concerns or critical state of any other country. The king seemed to disapprove the interference of France in the affairs of Spain; and, with regard to trade, he was disgusted at the prohibitory system pursued by the French, whose imputed illiberality, therefore, he retaliated in a similar mode.

After the termination of the war in Spain, the subject of the new elections formed, for a time, the chief topic of public interest in France; and, when the two chambers met, the leading subjects of debate were these,—the reduction of the interest of the national debt, and the septennial renewal of the legislative body. The bill for the former object was rejected by the peers; but the other measure received the sanction of both

assemblies. Another subject of dispute, not in either of the chambers, but between the ministry and the public, was the freedom of the press, which seemed to the court to border so closely upon licentiousness, that an ordinance was promulgated for the revival of the censorship. The viscount de Chateaubriand, who had been dismissed from the cabinet for opposing the financial scheme of M. De Villele, distinguished himself on this occasion by a spirited pamphlet, in favour of that freedom which the people desired.

The king took little interest in these disputes; for his health was now so irreparably injured, that he fell a victim to the gout, Sept. 16. erysipelas, and perhaps to other disorders. He was not a 1824. man of great abilities or splendid talents, but possessed good sense and judgment: without acute sensibility, he was lenient and humane; without heroic courage, he could display dignified firmness; and, when we consider the extraordinary circumstances which preceded and attended his assumption of power, we may readily be disposed to allow that his general government reflected credit on his character. He was succeeded by his brother, Charles X., who immediately abolished the censorship, and pleased his subjects by other gracious acts, if those acts can be styled *gracious* which did not emanate from real good-will, or from any sense of honourable patriotism.

Secure under the protection of France, the king of Spain prosecuted a career of misgovernment. We need not specify the particulars of his impolitic course. It will be sufficient to state, that he readily submitted to the occupation of his fortresses by French troops, and was content to reign under the imposing authority of a foreign cabinet. His finances were at so low an ebb, that he could not, without being a borrower, defray the expense of a journey from Madrid to Aranjuez. He pretended to be placable and forgiving; but, when he published an act of amnesty, he made so many exceptions, that it was almost as much an edict of punishment as of pardon. He made an ostensible change in his cabinet; but, if he appointed men of moderate principles and upright intentions, he counteracted their views by adopting the sinister advice of bigoted churchmen, or of blind and obstinate ultra-royalists. He still wished to reclaim his colonial subjects in America; but, in that quarter, he had no chance of ultimate success. The people of Mexico derided his offers, proclaimed a republic, and promulgated a constitution evidently borrowed from the code of the United States. On the return of Augustin de Yturvide, who had acted for some time as emperor of that

country, but had lost his power and had emigrated, they acted with spirit against him, and even put him to death; and they then prosecuted their new career with renovated zeal. The friends of Ferdinand in Peru continued their operations, but did not effectually promote the interest of their unworthy master. Bolivar, the hero of Venezuela or Columbia, acted against them with vigour, and prevented them from triumphing, though they still retained a considerable part of the country under their sway.

Portugal, in the course of the year, felt some symptoms of commotion. The king's second son, Don Miguel, influenced by his mother, the sister of Ferdinand of Spain, complained of the lenity shown to the disorganizing party, alleged that the king was in a state of captivity, and declared his intention of saving the state from that ruin with which it was menaced. His majesty, not knowing how to act on this alarming occasion, as the prince appeared to be supported by a great part of the army, took refuge in a British ship of war; and the youth, unwilling to proceed to extremities, apologized for his conduct, sued for pardon, and retired to France.

In Germany, the influence of the allied princes still prevailed. An august congress was expected, but it dwindled into a mere conference of plenipotentiaries at Johannisberg, a villa of the Austrian minister. This, however, had its effect in strengthening the influence of the domineering potentates.

In Italy, few incidents worthy of notice occurred. One of the princes of that country died; but his death produced no political change. This was Ferdinand, grand duke of Tuscany, whose mild and upright administration kept his people in a state of good humour and content. That prince's brother, the emperor, exercised his arbitrary power in Lombardy, in the punishment of supposed conspirators, and, at the same time, pretended to show his moderation by withdrawing a part of that military force which had for some years overawed the Neapolitan realm.

The elevation of the brother of Louis XVIII. to the throne of France was as tranquil as if no breach had ever been made in the succession. The partisans of Napoleon did not dare to murmur on the occasion; or, if they did, their murmurs were lost in the general appearance of satisfaction. Yet the king's popularity declined on the enactment of a law against sacrilege, which A.D. 1825, was not only unnecessary, but unreasonably severe. He ought to have known that ecclesiastics are not the best advisers

of royalty: he might have preserved and evinced his regard for religion without listening to such counsellors.

Spain, though still partly occupied by a French army, was not free from commotion; for the contest was not discontinued between the liberal and fanatical parties. Zea Bermudez, a well-meaning minister, endeavoured to correct his master's arbitrary propensities; but he soon found that he could not effectually serve the people. Insurrections were excited in several provinces by the intrigues of those bigots who disapproved the liberality of the king's new adviser; and the result was the appointment of such a council of state, as would rather continue than redress grievances.

The influence of the British court was exercised in the settlement of all disputes between Portugal and Brazil. Sir Charles Stuart negotiated a treaty, in which the king transferred to his son Pedro the sovereignty of the South American provinces; and, in return for this favour, the young emperor granted to our countrymen the same commercial indulgences which he allowed to the Portuguese nation.

The different governments of Italy continued their course with little alteration. Ferdinand of Naples died in an apoplectic fit, when he had nearly completed the 74th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son Francis, who took an early opportunity of diminishing, by treaty, the number of Austrian troops in his dominions, and of fixing the spring of the year 1827 for the cessation of all foreign military influence.

The tranquillity of Germany was undisturbed. The king of Bavaria died, with the reputation of an able and well-disposed prince; but the character of his son and successor allayed the regret which his people felt on the occasion. In Hungary the diet addressed a remonstrance to the emperor on the subject of particular grievances, and received a plausible, if not satisfactory answer. The diet of Poland likewise met, and concurred in all the proposals of Alexander.

The affairs of Greece now demand my attention; and I have not interwoven them with the concerns of the rest of Europe, because it was my wish to preserve a continuity of subject in the account of the progressive revolution. The shocking tyranny exercised for ages over the Greeks had long been borne with remarkable patience; but it did not thence follow that such a degrading yoke was always to be endured. Some of their leading men conceived a hope of emancipation, when the Turks (in

1769) were involved in a war with the Russians; but they were not properly assisted by the latter in the first instance, and were basely deserted in the sequel. They remained quiet from that time until the congress of Vienna settled the affairs of Europe: and, as they were then disappointed in their hopes of a rescue from slavery, they formed a society (the *Hetæria*) with the view of promoting the attainment of independence, but for a time disguised their real object under the pretence of diffusing the means of education among the people. In 1817 they began to disclose their views; and Czerni George, the Servian chieftain, and count Galati, seemed ready to commence an insurrection; but, when the former had been murdered by a pretended friend, the latter desisted from his intrigues. The rupture between the grand signor and the pasha Ali, who had long acted as sovereign of Albania, and, though a cruel tyrant, was from motives of policy a friend to the Greeks, appeared at length to afford an opportunity of revolt; and the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, in which the Russians exercised a domineering influence, were selected as the first scenes of action. Alexander Ypsilanti, son of a former hospodar, endeavoured, in 1821, to rouse the Moldavians to arms, and, having levied a small force, declared himself, in an energetic manifesto, a determined opposer of Turkish tyranny. He had only augmented the number of his followers to 9000, when the approach of a Turkish army threatened him with ruin. He faced the storm with spirit, and was bravely supported by a corps of young men called the Sacred Band; but the rest of his force being thrown into a panic by the treachery of a body of cavalry, he retired from the field, was arrested by Austrian emissaries, and imprisoned.

This insurrection inflamed the rage of Mahmoud, who, pretending that all the Greeks were equally implicated in the revolt, ordered his provincial governors to disarm the Christian population, and check the progress of treason by the rigours of punishment. Horrible massacres ensued; the patriarch of Constantinople and other prelates were hung up at the church-doors; and thousands of unoffending families were wantonly murdered in various parts of the empire. These outrages did not check the spirit of revolt. The insurgents, taking Tripolizza by storm after a long siege, gratified their resentment by a cruel massacre, and extended their sway over the greater part of the Morea. They even brought some fleets into action, as the people of Hydra and other ports had been for many years suffered to create a mercantile navy; and they obtained considerable

advantages over the largest vessels in the Turkish service. Demetrius Ypsilanti, who now succeeded to his brother's authority, was eagerly desirous of the establishment of a general government of Greece, without which, he knew, the operations of the friends of freedom would be feeble, irregular, and desultory. He proposed the appointment of national deputies, who, meeting at Epidaurus, early in the year 1822, framed a constitutional code, providing for the election of a legislative body, and the nomination of a senate and an executive council. Mavrocordato, a man of talent, but not a profound politician, was chosen president of this council; and he took an early opportunity of seizing Corinth, which then became the seat of government.

As the ruin of the pasha Ali enabled the Turks to employ a greater force against the Greeks, the prospect was not very promising to the votaries of independence; and the acts of atrocious cruelty committed in the island of Scio tended to alarm them with the dread of extermination. A fleet anchored in the bay, a descent was made, and almost all who were found in the chief town were brutally murdered. The scene was terrific: in all parts of the island pillage, murder, and conflagration, raged for many days, and it is computed that 25,000 individuals of both sexes were put to death, and 30,000 women and children were carried off as slaves¹. It is also stated, that many Sciote merchants at Constantinople, without the least evidence of delinquency, were impaled by the particular orders of the sultan. Is it not a reproach and disgrace to other princes that such a tyrant should be suffered to pollute the soil of Europe?

In the progress of the war both parties were occasionally successful; but, near the close of the second campaign, the Greeks evidently had the advantage. They lost Corinth by negligence: but, under the conduct of Colocotroni, they harassed the grand army of the Turks with destructive effect between that city and Argos, and captured the important station of Napoli di Romania. Being unassisted, however, by the Christian powers (for their appeal to the congress of Verona was treated with contempt), they found that more vigorous exertions were necessary to save them from ruin, and, for the purpose of mature deliberation upon their state and circumstances, convoked a general council at Astros. Three hundred deputies met in a grove, in 1823,

¹ The capitan-pasha, who superintended the work of slaughter, soon after perished with his crew, when his ship had been attacked by a fire vessel.

Blaquiere's Account of the Greek Revolution.

and, having rendered their constitution more conducive to national unity and strength, declared that they would never renounce their claim to independence.

The third campaign was less important in its operations and effects than either party expected. After some conflicts of little moment, Marco Bozzaris, whose force scarcely amounted to 2500, attacked the enemy, whose number exceeded 11,000, near Carpenisa in Acarnania, and prevailed in the contest, but expired in the arms of victory, to the great regret of his countrymen, who admired his heroic spirit and his estimable qualities. Corinth was afterwards recovered; Mesolonghi, a town rising into dignity, was secured from an attack; and the island of Candia was ably defended.

The dissensions among the Greeks, occasioned by the ambition, selfishness, and jealousy of some of their leaders, obstructed the success of their arms. Lord Byron and colonel Leicester Stanhope, who zealously espoused their cause at this critical time, endeavoured to reconcile the contending chiefs. The enterprising peer took 500 men into his pay, and was invested with the command of 3000; but he could not, with all the influence of his name and talents, secure their obedience, or effectually promote the success of the war. By exposing himself to rain, he contracted a rheumatic fever, of which he died at Mesolonghi. A general mourning was ordered on the occasion, and other marks of honour were decreed to his memory, as if he had been the most distinguished native director of the rising republic.

The fourth campaign was not signalized by any operations of extraordinary importance; but, if it did not display the vigour of the Turks, it evinced their execrable barbarity. The chief town of the isle of Ipsara being taken rather by treachery than by force, the besiegers rushed into the place with furious eagerness, and murdered the majority of the inhabitants, not sparing even the women and children. These outrages exposed the enemy to the excusable severity of retaliation. A fleet sailed from Hydra to Ipsara, where the Turks had left about 1500 men, of whom not more than 300 were suffered to escape. All the Greeks who were found were then carried off by their countrymen to various places of refuge, and desolation has since marked the island.

The Greeks were so far successful in some naval engagements, that the captian pasha was glad to make his retreat to the Dardanelles, and Ibrahim, who commanded a fleet sent from Egypt,

was content to act merely on the defensive. On the continent of Greece little was done on either side. The pasha Omar failed in an attempt for the reduction of Athens, and the Greeks in vain endeavoured to make themselves masters of Modon and Patras.

The Morea, in 1825, was the chief seat of the war. The pasha Ibrahim, with 14,000 men, advanced in the full hope of crushing the rebellious interest. He attacked both the old and the new Navarino, and succeeded in both enterprises; and he then prosecuted a course of devastation, threatening that he would desolate the whole peninsula; yet, at the end of the year, the Greeks retained the ascendancy in that province. The next campaign was not decisive, for, though Mesolonghi was reduced, the Greeks still presented a firm front to their base enemies.

In the mean time, the Russian emperor, whose interposition might have effectually assisted the members of his own church, and who ought to have co-operated with the other powers of Europe in giving independence to the descendants of Pericles and of Leonidas, relinquished all concern in the affairs of the world, not from inclination, but because the hand of death struck him in his career of power. He was engaged in a survey of his territories near the Black Sea, when the influence of an insalubrious climate sent him to his grave.



LETTER XXXV.

From the Meeting of the New Parliament in 1826 to the Death of Mr. Canning.

A.D. AFTER a short session, the parliament was prorogued 1826. on the 31st of May, and dissolved the 2d of June following. The general election produced little excitement in England; candidates were tested by their opinions on the corn laws and catholic emancipation, but on neither subject was much warmth displayed, though the duke of York's memorable speech, and the intemperance of the orators who guided the catholic association in Dublin, had rendered the cause of the catholics unpopular in England. But in Ireland a political struggle commenced unparalleled in its agitated history, the evil

effects of which are even still to be traced in that unhappy country. To understand the nature of this struggle it is necessary, by a brief retrospect, to explain the situation of the contending parties. The Irish aristocracy, with that short-sightedness which has always characterized their policy, had been long forming around them a strong democratic power, which they fondly dreamed could be wielded as they pleased. Every gentleman thought that his respectability should be measured by the number of freeholders whom he could bring to the poll for the support of his favourite candidate. In order to increase his vassal host, he divided and subdivided his land among a pauper population, denominated freeholders, whom he regarded as slaves. The fall of prices consequent on peace was not followed in Ireland by a corresponding reduction of rents; and hence arose angry feelings between the landlord and tenant, the virulence and intensity of which were not diminished by the concealment which his circumstances seemed to impose upon the latter. To procure a redress of all the grievances by which Ireland was afflicted, was the professed object of the catholic association; to that body alone the peasants looked for protection and deliverance; and they regarded the government and the parliament as strictly identified with the cause of their landlords, whom they were fast beginning to regard as their enemies and oppressors. Men of far less abilities than the Irish agitators must have discovered that a powerful body was ready to place itself at their disposal, and must have grasped the sceptre almost thrust into their hands. But they could scarcely have "wielded at will that fierce democracy," had not other circumstances enabled them to give moral organization to the disorderly mass. They found in the catholic priesthood active agents, who gave unity and direction to the general movement.

The penal laws had driven the Irish catholic priests to seek education in foreign lands; they thus wrought a benefit which their framers never intended; the priests returned home, refined by travel, with their prejudices abated by absence, and their taste improved by intercourse with the world. When the greater part of the continent was banded against Britain, it was feared that the priests might imbibe principles hostile to the British government; and it was resolved that, for the future, provision should be made for their education at home. Rarely had any nation an opportunity of working such an

immense improvement as was then offered to the British government in Ireland. The establishment of a catholic faculty in Trinity College, Dublin, would have brought the youths of the rival protestant and catholic sects together on the neutral ground of literature; intercourse would have softened mutual asperities, and in no long time effaced groundless prejudices. Bigotry and pride were opposed to the blessing, and they prevailed. Protestantism, it was said, would be endangered by contact with popery, and the scions of aristocracy disgraced by a union with the vulgar. For these reasons, it was resolved to establish a catholic seminary at Maynooth, where the candidates for the priesthood should be prevented from acquiring kindly feelings towards protestantism and the reverse. The consequence has been a race of priests, intensely devoted to their church; fiercely democratic, because closely identified in origin, feelings, and sympathy, with the mass of the community. Two circumstances tended also to exasperate the Romish priesthood in Ireland: raised by education and clerical rank above the station to which they had been born, they felt bitterly the exclusion from the higher ranks of society to which they were subjected; and their theological rancour was roused by the efforts of persons possessing more zeal than knowledge, who at missionary societies and reformation meetings made fierce and violent speeches against the Romish church.

The general election suddenly called these hostile principles into action; the tenants, directed by their priests, voted against their landlords for the nominees of the catholic association. Before this new confederacy, the ill-acquired power of the Irish aristocracy crumbled into dust; in three out of the four provinces the popular party carried the elections at their pleasure, and not the least remarkable victory was the signal defeat of the Beresfords in the county of Waterford, a county which they had been accustomed to regard as a family borough.

The deficiency in the harvest induced the ministers to throw open the ports by an order in council, and parliament was prematurely assembled in November to pass an act of indemnity. The royal speech principally referred to the conclusion of the Burmese war and the pacification of India. Some censures were directed against the omission of any distinct statements respecting domestic policy, but the addresses were carried in both houses by large majorities. The dulness that followed the debate on the address was relieved by an unexpected event, which excited

the attention of all Europe, and was the first great proof that England had not only deserted the principles of the holy alliance, but was about to take her position as the head of a more liberal political system. Portugal, the ancient ally of England, had long been distracted by a contest between the advocates for a liberal constitution and the supporters of the ancient despotism. The latter was the more powerful party, for it was supported by the great body of the clergy, who, conscious that despotism is the surest support of superstitious bigotry, persuaded the ignorant populace that liberty was heresy. John VI., king of Portugal, died on the tenth of March, 1826, and the right of succession devolved on his son Don Pedro, who had become emperor of Brazil. Compelled to choose between the empire and the kingdom, Pedro selected the former; but he sent to Portugal a constitutional charter, and a formal resignation of the crown in favour of his daughter, Donna Maria, whom he designed to marry to her uncle Don Miguel. Miguel had been already distinguished by a spirit of ferocious bigotry and lawless ambition, which led him to conspire against the life of his father; and he was zealously encouraged by his mother, the queen dowager, and sister of the Spanish king Ferdinand. The machinations of mother and son against the constitution were encouraged by the Spanish and French cabinets; several Portuguese regiments were encouraged to desert across the frontier, and there to proclaim Don Miguel as absolute king. Remonstrances were addressed to the court of Spain; the proceedings on the frontier were disavowed, but arms and military stores were secretly and perfidiously supplied to the rebels. Under these circumstances, the Portuguese minister in London applied to the British government for aid, according to the stipulations of ancient treaties; and, on the eleventh of December, lord Bathurst in the lords, and Mr. Canning in the commons, presented a message from his majesty, calling on parliament to assist in maintaining the independence of Portugal.

Mr. Canning's speech on this important occasion was one of the finest and most effective ever delivered in a deliberative assembly: it contained a bold exposition of the situation and policy of Britain, placed as a mediator between the conflicting opinions that convulsed Europe; and it was felt as a solemn warning by the monarch who had combined to crush liberty throughout the world. "I dread war," said the orator, "not from a distrust of our powers and resources to meet it, but because I am conscious of the tremendous power which this country possesses of pushing

any war in which she may now be engaged to consequences, at the bare contemplation of which I shudder. I fear that the next war in Europe, if it should spread beyond the compass of Spain and Portugal, will be a war of the most tremendous nature, because it will be a war of opinion ; and I know, that if the interests and honour of this country should oblige us to enter into it, although we might enter it, as I trust we shall always do, with a firm desire to mitigate rather than exasperate,—to contend with arms and not with opinion,—yet I know that this country could not avoid seeing ranked under her banners all the restless and all the dissatisfied, whether with or without cause, of every nation with which she might be placed at variance. I say, sir, the consciousness of this fact, the knowledge that there is in the hands of this country such a tremendous power, induces me to feel as I do feel. But it is one thing to ‘have a giant’s strength,’ and another thing ‘to use it like a giant.’ The consciousness that we have this power keeps us safe: our business is not to seek out opportunities for displaying it, but to keep it, so that it may be hereafter shown that we know its proper use, and to shrink from converting the umpire into the oppressor. Sir, the consequence of the letting loose those passions which are all chained up, may be such as would lead to a scene of desolation, such as no one can contemplate without horror, and such as I could never lie easy upon my couch, if I were conscious of having by one hour precipitated.”

Only four persons voted against the address ; with such speed was the expedition hurried forward, that on the twenty-fifth of December, the first division reached the Tagus. Its effect was decisive. The French diplomatic agent was recalled, the cabinet of Spain compelled to abstain from intrigues, and Portugal restored to temporary tranquillity. The fame of the speech spread throughout Europe ; it terrified the despots of Madrid, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, and it gave courage and confidence to the liberal party throughout the continent, who now regarded Mr. Canning’s ministry as the surest ground of hope for political amelioration.

A favourable change had also taken place in the internal condition of England ; the nation had recovered from the panic into which it had been thrown by the bankruptcies of 1825, commerce began to revive, and the manufacturers resumed their usual activity. But a party more formidable from influence than numbers, was secretly opposed to Mr. Canning ; and, indeed, to every advocate of liberal measures. At its head was the duke of York,

who had acquired popularity by his administration of the army, but who had unfortunately become the advocate of the most exclusive and intolerant principles. He demanded from his royal brother the dismissal of Mr. Canning, but before his influence had time to operate, he was struck with mortal disease ; and with him died the strength of the old ultra-tory party.

When parliament re-assembled, two questions of great importance were expected to occupy its attention,—catholic emancipation, and the corn laws. Sir Francis Burdett introduced the question of the catholic claims into the house of commons, where it was unexpectedly lost by a majority of four ; principally because many of its former supporters resented the intemperance of the catholic agitators in Ireland. The debate was rendered remarkable by a personal contest between Mr. Canning and his intimate friend, sir J. Copley, the master of the rolls. The latter had been returned by the anti-catholic party in the university of Cambridge, and thought it necessary to show his gratitude by a speech in support of exclusion. He derived the greater part of the topics in his oration from a clever, but impertinent, and by no means candid, pamphlet, written by a reverend polemic¹, in the shape of a letter to Mr. Canning. The secretary was unprepared for the attack made upon him by his ancient friend, and treated as disingenuous the blame bestowed on him for not having arranged securities. He stated with great wit and causticity his ironical defence for not having negotiated a *concordat* with the pope ; assigning as a reason a grave law opinion signed by the master of the rolls, when solicitor-general, declaring that Mr. Canning would incur the penalties of a *præmunire*, if he replied to a complimentary note, addressed by the pope to the king of England soon after his election. The master of the rolls attempted twice to interrupt the reading of this document, but Mr. Canning persevered, and the friends left the house with feelings of alienation.

The resolutions submitted to the house of commons on the subject of the corn laws, were framed in a spirit of moderation, well calculated to conciliate both the agricultural and manufacturing interests. The ministerial measure was stated by Mr. Canning in a speech remarkable for sound principles and clear details. The prices of wheat were to be taken weekly ; when the average was sixty shillings per quarter, wheat was to be admitted at a duty of twenty shillings ; and the duty was to

¹ The reverend Dr. Philpotts, afterwards created Bishop of Exeter.

increase if prices fell, and decrease as they rose. Similar regulations were made for the importation of oats and barley. It had been designed that similar resolutions to those proposed by Mr. Canning in the commons, should be brought forward by the premier, lord Liverpool, in the upper house; but this arrangement was frustrated by his sudden illness. The disease soon assumed a form which rendered his recovery hopeless, and the cabinet was now without a leader.

Every man was now convinced that the time had arrived, when an English ministry, with a merely nominal leader, and constructed of parties nicely balanced, could no longer exist. The wonder was, that it had lasted so long; a wonder only to be solved by the temporizing and conciliating politics of the earl of Liverpool. The nation generally, but especially the members of the house of commons, looked to Mr. Canning as the future premier, though it was well known that the most powerful portion of the aristocracy had leagued against him, and that his secret enemies enjoyed the private confidence of the king. It is known that efforts were made to prevail upon Mr. Canning to resign his own claims, and nominate the duke of Wellington as premier, though his grace subsequently declared that he never coveted the situation, and that "he should be mad to think of such a thing." Three noblemen of ducal rank, who possessed large control over boroughs, are said to have threatened the government with their opposition, if Mr. Canning should become chief of the cabinet; and efforts were made less openly to awaken the prejudices which the king was known to entertain on the catholic question. The firmness of the minister brought him through all these difficulties, and at length he received the king's commands to form an administration. The struggle had been protracted to the eleventh of April; parliament was to adjourn on the twelfth, and it was necessary that both the house of commons and the country should be relieved from this state of uncertainty. Six members of lord Liverpool's cabinet sent in their resignations simultaneously, but, as they subsequently declared, without previous concert. This attempt to intimidate, for credulity itself could scarcely believe the disclaimer of confederacy, completely failed; the king confirmed Mr. Canning's appointment, and the announcement was made in the house of commons amid loud and general cheers.

Two resignations particularly attracted the public notice; those of the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel; the former was thought to have materially injured his high fame by yielding to

the dictates of petty jealousy, and exhibiting an angry petulance in his correspondence with Mr. Canning, while many did not scruple to accuse him of having shared in dark intrigues to raise himself to the premiership. Mr. Peel acted with more candour, and from the beginning declared that he could not take a share in the new ministry. His determination was regretted, on account of the excellent manner in which he had managed the affairs of the Home Office, and of his honourable exertions to introduce those reforms into the criminal code which had been originally proposed by the lamented sir Samuel Romilly. The reason assigned by Mr. Peel was the additional strength that the question of catholic emancipation would receive from a ministry whose leader advocated the cause. He little thought that ere many months had elapsed, catholic emancipation would find in himself an equally zealous and more successful advocate.

Mr. Canning supplied the vacancies of the cabinet with equal promptitude and success. Lord Melville's place at the admiralty, the last vacated, was the first filled. On the following morning, his royal highness the duke of Clarence was appointed lord high admiral of England, to the great surprise and dismay of the new premier's opponents, who little expected that the ministry would have been supported by the heir-apparent. Sir John Copley, who had so recently appeared as an antagonist to Mr. Canning, was appointed lord chancellor, with the title of baron Lyndhurst; the alienation resulting from the debate on the catholic question, having lasted but for a day; a negotiation was opened with the whigs through the marquis of Lansdowne, no official appointments resulted, but a great part of the old opposition generously volunteered to support the ministry without being included in its arrangements.

The house of commons presented an extraordinary scene when parliament re-assembled; the old supporters of the former ministry ranged themselves on the opposition benches, where they looked and felt very much out of place; the bulk of the old opposition had gone over to the ranks of the treasury, and indulged in much merriment on their removal. Mr. Hume, however, did not accompany his former associates; he seemed as firmly fixed in his position, as the pillar near which he was seated, but he looked rather awkward in the society of his new companions. A long and uninteresting scene of explanations followed, chiefly remarkable for an ostentatious display of mutual good feeling between the premier and Mr. Peel, which contrasted strangely with the violence and fierce animosity shown to the new ministry

by Mr. Dawson, the brother-in-law of Mr. Peel. The house of lords was also the scene of explanations and disclaimers; the duke of Wellington stated some particulars respecting his resignation, which were neither very intelligible nor very consistent, and in some instances were far from being candid. The marquis of Londonderry and one or two other noble lords attacked the new premier with a vulgar virulence, by no means calculated to increase the respectability of the peerage.

In the house of commons Mr. Canning ruled paramount; the opposition there was confined to some inferior members of the late administration, who felt that they owed their former influence to position and connection, but that by the late changes they had been thrown into insignificance. Their orations were violent, but destitute of strength, and out of doors they were disregarded. But in the lords the case was very different, and there the administration received a sudden shock from a quarter whence it was least anticipated. Lord Grey formally declared that he withheld his confidence from the administration; and the moderate tone in which the declaration was uttered greatly increased its effects within and without the walls of parliament. It may have been that his lordship felt wounded by not having been consulted, as the leader of the whig party, when Mr. Canning formed his ministry, but he could not have been justly offended at being excluded from official power. Earl Grey well knew that he was personally disliked by the king; and he could not be ignorant how deeply-seated was the feeling, and with what recollections it was connected. An attempt to force Earl Grey on a monarch who feared and hated him, would have broken up Mr. Canning's cabinet, and thrown the power of the state into the hands of the most inveterate tories. The zeal with which his lordship has ever supported liberal principles, forbids the accusation of treachery, but on this occasion, impatient ambition and mortified pride led him to play the game of his political enemies. The conduct of the duke of Wellington was more severely canvassed. When the corn-bill was in committee, the duke of Wellington proposed an amendment, wholly destructive of its principles, which he declared had received the sanction of Mr. Huskisson. The amendment was carried; Mr. Huskisson declared that he had never sanctioned the change: his grace persevered in his assertion, but was at length with difficulty brought to acknowledge a mistake obvious to the most ordinary intellect. The lords, however, resolved to retain a clause which had been carried, either through misapprehension or deception, and the ministers

abandoned the bill, but to prevent the evils that might ensue, a temporary measure was hurried through both houses of parliament, and soon after the session terminated.

The ministry of M. Villele was generally unpopular in France; the object of the chief was to re-establish, as far as possible, the despotic power of the crown, and to deprive the nation of the privileges so dearly purchased by the revolution. But these efforts engendered a spirit of resistance which threatened fearful consequences. In Portugal the princess regent showed herself hostile to the friends of the constitution, and the Miguelite party acquired fresh strength. The war in Greece threatened to disappoint the hopes of those who looked forward to the liberation of that country as a triumph of liberty and civilization over tyranny and barbarity. The arrival of lord Cochrane, to take the command of the Greek navy, and some brilliant exertions which he made, for a time cheered the Greeks; but the surrender of the Athenian Acropolis to the Turkish besiegers, and the devastation of the Morea by Ibrahim Pacha, reduced them almost to despair.

But the gloom which thus overspread Greece was soon illumined by a ray of hope: it was known that the European powers had interfered in behalf of their Christian brethren, and had made moderate but firm proposals to the Turkish government for averting further bloodshed. Russia, France, and England, united to point out the necessity of terminating a contest which for six years had exercised a pernicious influence over European commerce in the Mediterranean. In accordance with the illiberal and blinded policy which characterized the Austrian cabinet, that power refused to join with the allies, and it is not to be doubted secretly instigated the sultan to reject their intervention. At length, on the 6th of July, a treaty for the pacification of Greece was signed at London by the princes Polignac and Lieven, on the part of France and Russia, and lord Dudley on the part of England. By the articles of this treaty, it was provided that Greece should be formed into a state with a national government, of which the sultan should be the suzerain, or superior lord, and that a certain annual tribute should be paid to the Ottoman Porte as an acknowledgment of dependence: general heads of arrangement were added, but the limits of the new state were left to form the subject of a future negotiation. A secret article was added, that in case the Ottoman Porte refused compliance, measures of hostility should be adopted. The Turkish government peremptorily rejected the interference of the allied powers, and the

English admiral immediately blockaded the Egyptian fleet in the harbour of Navarino.

But before the results of the confederacy were known in England, its animating spirit was removed to another world. Mr. Canning's health had recently declined; the harassing cares of state, but more especially intrigues and vexations caused by the unjustifiable spleen of his political opponents, proved too much for his constitution. He died on the 12th of August, at Chiswick, the seat of the duke of Devonshire, in the same room in which Fox had breathed his last. England lamented over her best orator, and a leader from among the people; while Europe lamented the loss of a statesman who had the wisdom to support the cause of constitutional freedom, and the boldness to defy the banded advocates of despotism at home and abroad. Those who hated him when living, attempted to malign him when dead, but they were shamed into silence by the general disgust and indignation which their conduct excited, and even the more moderate of their own party said of the malicious effort—"this is too bad."

LETTER XXXVI.

From the Death of Mr. Canning to the Death of George the Fourth.

A.D. 1827. LORD Goderich, who had acquired some celebrity, when Mr. Frederick Robinson, succeeded Mr. Canning as premier. If integrity could atone for the want of firmness and vigour, a better choice could scarcely have been made; but at a moment when the cabinet was divided into two parties, whose reconciliation was but of recent date,—when a secret party worked against the ministry in the royal closet,—when dissension was within and treachery without,—it was easy to perceive that the amiable weakness of the new premier could not hold together such discordant materials. When lord Goderich went to the treasury, he was succeeded by Mr. Huskisson at the colonial office, but the chancellorship of the exchequer remained vacant. To the astonishment of the nation, and the undisguised disgust of no small portion of it, the appointment was assigned to Mr. Herries, whose connections with the enemies of the late premier were as notorious as his influence in the stock market. It is

generally known that he was nominated by the king, on the suggestion of a confidential physician, who gave political as well as medical advice to his majesty. The appointment was justly displeasing to the whig portion of the cabinet, and the marquis of Lansdowne instantly tendered his resignation. At the personal request of the king, he was induced to resume his office, but it became obvious that agreement in the cabinet could no longer be expected; and the king's refusal to receive lord Holland into the ministry, must have shown the whigs that their continuance in office rested on no secure foundation. A circumstance scarcely less ominous was the resumption of the office of commander-in-chief by the duke of Wellington, whose character for veracity was thereby subjected to no very honourable comments, since it seemed to prove that his former resignation arose from jealousy of Mr. Canning.

The cabinet arrangements had scarcely been completed, when a difference of opinion, on a point apparently trifling, threw the ministry into confusion. An investigation of the financial state of the country had been promised by Mr. Canning, and his successor proposed that the subject should be referred to a committee of the house of commons. Mr. Tierney, the most active whig member of the cabinet, proposed that lord Althorp should be nominated chairman of the committee, a proposal to which lord Goderich tacitly, and Mr. Huskisson warmly assented. The arrangements were made before Mr. Herries was consulted; but when the affair was mentioned to him, he acquiesced, but not cordially. On the following day he withdrew his tacit approbation, and declared he would resign unless lord Althorp's name was withdrawn; on the other hand, Mr. Huskisson threatened to retire if the nomination was not confirmed. The news of the victory at Navarino completed the distractions of the cabinet; lord Goderich found himself unable to reconcile adverse parties, and was not, perhaps, unwilling to quit a situation the perplexities of which were hourly increasing; he therefore resigned his office, and his imbecile administration expired.

In the east of Europe the treaty of the 6th of July produced consequences that the negotiators had not anticipated. The sultan not only refused to sanction the arrangements of the allies, but ordered his generals to pursue the war with fresh vigour, and made the greatest exertions to collect a force that would complete the subjection of Greece. A formidable Egyptian squadron entered the harbour of Navarino, before the day appointed for receiving the final answer of the Turkish government. When

that answer was known to be unfavourable, the allied fleets blockaded the Egyptians. At the same time a large Russian army collected on the frontiers, and two Russian ships of war appeared in the Hellespont, but these demonstrations failed to shake the resolution of the sultan; and he continued to set every remonstrance at defiance. In the mean time an armistice had been concluded between sir E. Codrington, the commander of the allied fleet, and Ibrahim Pacha. It was flagrantly violated by the latter, and the allied fleet entered the harbour of Navarino to enforce its future observance. A shot fired by a Turkish vessel at an English boat brought on a general engagement, which lasted four hours, and terminated in the complete destruction of the Egyptian armament. The news of this decisive proceeding, so far from intimidating the sultan, only strengthened his former obstinacy; the ambassadors, after vain efforts to change his resolution, demanded their passports, and quitted Constantinople, which was virtually a declaration of war.

In Russia and France the victory of Navarino was hailed as a national triumph; in England it only increased the embarrassments of lord Goderich's distracted cabinet. It was not determined in what manner the event should be noticed, and the A.D. ministry was consequently dissolved before the meeting of 1828. parliament. The duke of Wellington undertook the task of forming a new administration; so soon was his declaration that "he would be mad to think of such a thing" forgotten. The duke found little difficulty in forming a new cabinet; but the nation, with surprise and disgust, beheld Mr. Canning's friends retain their offices under the new premier. Mr. Huskisson's character especially suffered in the estimation of the public, and his explanations, or rather his attempts at explanation, only rendered matters worse. In a speech to his constituents at Liverpool, he declared that he had obtained guarantees from the new premier: this was indignantly and even contemptuously contradicted by the duke; and Mr. Huskisson made a paltry excuse to cover his submission. The appointment of Mr. Goulburn to the exchequer, in the room of Mr. Herries, who became master of the mint, led to suspicions, probably not unfounded, that the instrumentality of the latter personage in subverting the late cabinet, was not accidental.

In the king's speech, the victory of Navarino was called "an untoward event," and hence it was suspected that the cause of Turkey was more likely to find favour with the new cabinet than that of Greece. This opinion, whether well or ill founded, had

no small effect in precipitating the war between Turkey and Russia. The motion for a finance committee was made by Mr. Peel, who stated the pecuniary situation of the country with great clearness and ability. The committee was appointed, but very little practical benefit resulted from its labours. A motion for the repeal of the test and corporation acts was made by lord John Russell, and opposed by the ministers; yet it was sanctioned by a large majority of the house of commons. The ministers on this withdrew their opposition, and in some degree adopted the bill; it therefore passed through both houses of parliament with little difficulty. An attempt to extend the same indulgence to the catholics which had been thus conceded to other dissenters succeeded in the commons, but failed in the lords. The tone of conciliation, however, which the ministers adopted in the debate, served to raise the hopes of the friends of emancipation.

No very long time elapsed before Mr. Huskisson discovered that by his submission to the duke of Wellington he had injured his character with the public, and had not succeeded in acquiring the confidence or favour of the premier. Bills had been brought into the house of commons for disfranchising Penryn and East Retford, two notoriously corrupt boroughs: the first was lost in the house of lords, the evidence of corruption being declared insufficient. If both boroughs had been disfranchised, it was agreed that the representative rights of one should be given to some large town; but it now became a question whether the franchise of East Retford should be given to Birmingham, or thrown open to the adjoining hundred. The effect of the latter mode of proceeding would be to add that borough to the list of those already possessed by the duke of Newcastle. It was therefore violently opposed, but was pressed by the ministry. On this occasion Mr. Huskisson, fettered by a previous promise, voted against his colleagues; and in consequence wrote a letter to the duke of Wellington, placing his office at the disposal of the duke. Without loss of time, the duke laid the letter before the king as a formal resignation, and informed Mr Huskisson that his offer to resign had been accepted. This was a consummation which the colonial secretary had not expected; he declared that his letter was private, and not official, and deputed lord Dudley to wait on the duke of Wellington to explain the mistake. The duke, with military promptitude, replied, "it is no mistake, it can be no mistake, and it shall be no mistake." Lord Palmerston made a second effort to alter the resolutions of the

premier with as little success. Unfortunately for his fame, Mr. Huskisson addressed some letters of remonstrance and apology to the duke, and found his weakness punished by further humiliations. The duke's determination could not be shaken; in fact, he manifestly rejoiced in having found a pretext to free his cabinet from a colleague, whose knowledge and abilities prevented him from being sufficiently subservient. The rest of Mr. Canning's friends retired from the cabinet with Mr. Huskisson; but not before they had sullied their reputations by supporting a corn-law, contradictory to that which had been brought forward by Mr. Canning. Some exertions were made to introduce reforms into the administration of the civil courts, and commissioners were appointed to inquire into the state of the common law and the law of real property. The session was closed on the 28th of July. Seldom did a session terminate in which so much was said and so little done.

In England little opposition was made to the Wellington ministry; some murmurings were heard from the mercantile classes, on account of the unsettled state of foreign affairs, but the great body of the nation seemed pleased by the manly and decided character of the military premier. In Ireland a formidable opposition was displayed which threatened to impede, in no ordinary degree, the operations of government. With more prudence than they usually displayed, the leaders of the catholics remained in a state of quiescence during the administration of Mr. Canning, convinced that agitation might embarrass their friends without advancing their cause. They began to resume their activity when lord Goderich became premier, for though he was also a friend to emancipation, yet they doubted his firmness and the stability of his government. But when the reins of power were entrusted to the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, the pledged opponents of the catholic claims, they revived the association in a form by which the law for its suppression was evaded, and declared war against the ministers and all their supporters. The duke of Wellington's friends at first affected to deride what they regarded as an effort of impotent hostility, but the catholic association soon showed that it possessed immense power, which it was determined to exercise. On the resignation of Mr. C. Grant, the presidency of the board of trade was given to Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, the representative of the county of Clare, who by the acceptance of office, vacated his seat in parliament. It was supposed that his re-election would be a mere matter of form. An individual more amiable did not

exist; Ireland could boast no better landlord; he had been a zealous and distinguished supporter of the catholic claims, and was universally beloved in his own country. Notwithstanding all these advantages, the association determined that he should be rejected because he was a supporter of the duke of Wellington, and issued their mandate to the electors accordingly. There was apparently some difficulty in procuring a rival candidate, but this was remedied by the great leader of the catholics, Daniel O'Connell, coming forward in person, and pledging his professional reputation that, if elected, he could legally take his seat. This declaration was heard with astonishment, and even now it is difficult to believe that a sound lawyer like Mr. O'Connell could have been so grossly misled as to believe that, under the existing laws, he could sit in parliament. The declaration received implicit credit from the Irish peasants, who indeed would have believed even greater absurdities if propounded by the same authority. Organized by their parish priests, and by emissaries sent down from Dublin, the freeholders set their landlords at defiance, and crowded to the poll to vote for "the man of the people." After a brief contest, Mr. Fitzgerald, seeing that success was hopeless, retired, and O'Connell was declared duly elected. The association followed up the victory, by preparing a schedule of pledges to be proposed in future to every candidate for an Irish county or borough.

The government was now in a dilemma; the temper of the times forbade its proposing a return to the old system of penal laws, and to allow things to remain in their present state was virtually to transfer the government of Ireland to the catholic association. It is not exactly known at what time the ministers resolved to capitulate with their opponents, and concede emancipation, but the first intimation of their design was given by Mr. G. R. Dawson, at a public dinner in the city of Londonderry. The proceeding was, in spite of its importance, superlatively ludicrous. Mr. Dawson was the brother-in-law of Mr. Peel, and he owed his advancement to the abilities he displayed in opposing the catholics. Mr. Dawson had recently spoken against the measure in terms so resolute as to be almost violent. The dinner was given in honour of the victory obtained by the protestants over the catholics in the reign of James II., chiefly in consequence of the heroic resistance made to that degraded monarch by the gallant garrison of Derry; and, as a necessary consequence, it followed that the great majority of the company consisted of persons violently opposed to the catholic claims. Mr. Dawson's

speech, announcing his change of sentiment, was received with manifest disapprobation; the orator lost his temper, and lapsed into a more decided tone than was necessary or prudent. He was answered by several of the orangemen present, who spoke with great violence.

The effect of the speech throughout the country was beyond description; the catholics hailed it as a proof that their cause must at no distant day be triumphant; the supporters of protestant ascendancy saw that their cause was in danger, and resolved, like the catholics, to combine and agitate. Brunswick clubs sprang up to rival the catholic association, and the violence of the language used in the hostile debating clubs threatened to involve the country in civil war. The news of a meeting held on Penenden Heath, in Kent, for the purpose of petitioning against further concessions to the catholics, roused both parties to fresh exertions; it inspired the protestants with hope, but it did not drive the catholics to despair. During the remainder of the year, nothing but the catholic question was debated in private or public discussions.

In France the administration of M. de Villele had gone out because it lent itself to the despotic designs of the court and the bigoted intentions of the church, instead of consulting the growing spirit and intelligence of the nation. The new ministers thus forced upon the king by the triumph of the liberal party, professed moderate principles, but they possessed only moderate talents. They were forced forward by the liberal majority in the chambers, and induced to make large additions to the popular privileges. In their foreign relations they also exhibited the altered policy of the French government, by sending an expedition to enforce the surrender of the fortresses still retained by the Turks in the Morea, by recalling the French troops from Spain, and by acknowledging the independence of the South American states.

Far different was the success of liberal principles in Portugal. When Don Pedro had appointed his brother regent of that kingdom, he hoped that he would thus secure the rights of his daughter and the constitutional privileges that had been granted to the Portuguese. Before Miguel quitted Vienna, he took an oath to observe the charter; when he visited England, he repeated his assurances of devotion to the constitution, and of his regard for the rights of his niece; indeed, the only cause that could have led to a suspicion of his sincerity, was the strength of his protestations. He sailed for Lisbon, after having deluded

the English ministry into a belief of his fidelity, and obtained a promise that the British troops should be withdrawn from Portugal. The queen-mother soon persuaded him to a different course. Accustomed from his childhood to obey the precepts of this woman, the curse of her family and her country, Miguel engaged in a plot for the subversion of the constitution at the very time he was swearing to it allegiance. The measures of the British ambassador forced him reluctantly to delay for a season ; but there was no longer a liberal administration in Britain ; the English troops were withdrawn from Lisbon, and Miguel was proclaimed absolute king by a bigoted rabble, instigated by the priesthood. The constitutionalists organized a resistance at Oporto and in the island of Madeira, but their efforts were badly directed and worse supported. They were finally defeated, and Miguel commenced a bitter persecution against all who had been conspicuous for their advocacy of liberal opinions. The principal powers of Europe manifested their detestation of such treachery by withdrawing their ambassadors from the court of Lisbon.

England and France were idle, but not unconcerned spectators of the great contest between Russia and Turkey in the east. The campaign was, on the whole, unfavourable to Russia, but more so in appearance than reality. Varna was taken rather through the treachery of its governor than the valour of the besiegers ; but the Russians were forced to raise the siege of Shumla, and retire with precipitation. In Asia they were more successful, and conquered a great part of ancient Armenia.

At the close of the year 1828, the duke of Wellington A.D. had written to Dr. Curtis, the catholic primate of Ireland, 1829. that he saw no prospect of a speedy settlement of the catholic question, and recommended him for a time "to bury it in oblivion." He recalled the marquis of Anglesea from the government, for having, in a letter to the same reverend gentleman, recommended a contrary course. Yet, in the first week of 1829, rumours were circulated that the ministers had, with great difficulty, wrested from the king a consent to the cession of emancipation, and that the measure would be distinctly recommended in the royal speech at the opening of parliament. There was something so disingenuous in this conduct, that it is not surprising the indignation with which the intelligence was received by the zealous supporters of protestant ascendancy was so great. They were particularly violent against Mr. Peel, whose advocacy of their opinions they had rewarded by a devoted adherence to his interests ; he was their favourite champion, he was decidedly

their most able leader, and his desertion was looked upon as a cruel blow, because the loss was irreparable. It must be confessed that the conduct of the ministers produced a very injurious effect towards themselves upon the public mind; it shook all confidence in public men and in political professions. Mr. Peel's denunciation of Mr. Canning for being favourable to the catholic claims was too recent to be forgotten, and too striking not to be remembered to his disadvantage. To some the change appeared so monstrous, that they refused to believe it until the king's speech, containing the distinct recommendation, was actually delivered.

The first measure introduced into the house of commons was a bill for the suppression of the catholic association; it was not opposed, because the friends of the catholics deemed the measure necessary to the success of the more important measure of emancipation, and every reasonable man in the empire was weary of the vituperation which formed the oratory of the Irish agitators. Before introducing the emancipation bill, Mr. Peel resolved to give the constituency of Oxford an opportunity of expressing their opinions respecting his change of principles, and accordingly resigned his seat. Though supported by Dr. Phillpotts, his hopes of being re-elected were disappointed; sir R. H. Inglis having been chosen by a large majority. It was as member for the nomination borough of Westbury, that Mr. Peel, on the 5th of March, for which day a call of the house had been ordered, moved "that the house resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of the laws imposing civil disabilities on his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects." In an able and eloquent speech of four hours' length, the secretary for the home department showed how nearly impossible it was that the government could be conducted without a speedy arrangement of the question; he feelingly deplored the disseverance of ancient friendships consequent upon the change in his sentiments, and concluded by stating the securities with which concession should be accompanied, of which the most important was the disfranchisement of the Irish forty-shilling freeholders. The principal opponents of the motion were Mr. Bankes and sir R. H. Inglis, whose speeches were neither remarkable for novelty nor ingenuity. The oratorical talent both of the ministerial and opposition benches stood arrayed on the side of concession, and the anti-catholics had no tolerable speaker to lead them. The motion was carried by a majority of 188, which decided the fate of the measure in the house of commons. The advocates of

protestant ascendancy, however, continued to struggle even against hope, and displayed obstinacy, if not talent. Two speeches in opposition to the measure, on the second reading of the bill, attracted a more than ordinary share of public attention; those of Mr. Sadler, recently returned for Newark, and sir C. Wetherell, the attorney-general. Mr. Sadler's oration raised expectations which his subsequent efforts did not fulfil; the fierce personality with which the attorney-general assailed his former colleagues, was of course followed by his dismissal from office. Three weeks after its introduction, the bill reached its last stage, and finally passed the lower house by a majority of 178.

During a number of years the house of lords had rejected every measure for the relief of the catholics by large majorities. Great curiosity was excited respecting the mode in which the new bill would be received, though most persons felt convinced that the duke of Wellington was too good a general not to have secured success before opening the campaign. The debate on the second reading began on Thursday the second of April, and was continued by adjournment to Friday and Saturday. More energy and eloquence were exhibited on this occasion than during any of the debates in the commons. A little before twelve o'clock on Saturday night, the house divided, when there appeared against the bill, 112; for it, 217; a majority much greater than could have been anticipated. The bill then passed rapidly through the remaining stages, and finally received the royal assent. It is now sufficiently notorious, that the king's assent was extorted from him with difficulty; and that he frequently, during the progress of the measure, showed a disposition to retract it.

Soon after the passing of the catholic relief bill, Mr. O'Connell appeared to take his seat in the house of commons. On his refusal to take the old oaths, a debate arose, which terminated in his rejection. A new writ was issued for Clare, and he was re-elected. In what manner he explained his former pledge and declaration is not known; but this was not the only instance in which the great agitator had made hazardous assertions. The rest of the session presented nothing remarkable, and the parliament was prorogued on the 24th of June.

The hopes entertained that the concession of the catholic claims would lead to the immediate tranquillization of Ireland were not fulfilled. The vanity of O'Connell was wounded by *the refusal to allow him to take his seat*, and never did any

ministry make a more paltry exhibition of jealousy and resentment than in enforcing his exclusion. He made violent harangues against the government at various public meetings, and used his power over an excitable population to the very utmost. On the other hand, the leaders of the Orange party could not hide the resentment which their recent defeat inspired; they increased the number of their lodges, and determined that their nonsensical processions, on the 12th of July, should be celebrated with unusual splendour. The mutual irritation of parties led to collisions which did not terminate without bloodshed. In England, want of employment and general distress, about the same time, led to several formidable riots in the manufacturing districts.

The French ministry that had been formed by compromise at the end of the last year, was similar, both in its strength and its weakness, to that of lord Goderich in England. It possessed not the confidence of the king, it was bitterly opposed by those who claimed to be identified with the court and the church, while by the popular party it was barely tolerated. Its brief career was marked by concessions to the different oppositions, for which the ministers were thanked by neither, and were heartily despised by both. After the chambers had been prorogued, the French king thought that he might try the experiment of an ultra-loyalist government; he accordingly dismissed the moderate cabinet and formed a new ministry, at the head of which he placed prince Polignac. In every part of France opposition to the new ministry appeared in a form that menaced danger; but the court affected to despise popular discontent. Not the least influential motive that urged the French nation to declare war against their new premier, Polignac, was the suspicion that he owed his situation to the secret influence of the duke of Wellington. The suspicion was wholly unfounded; still more groundless was the surmise, that the duke and the prince had secretly conspired to unite England and France in supporting the principles of the Holy Alliance; but over the greater part of the continent these surmises were deemed "confirmation strong as proof of holy writ." Polignac thought that by gratifying the national vanity of the French, and indulging the passion of his countrymen for military glory, he might be able to divert their attention from domestic politics, and he therefore took advantage of the outrages perpetrated by the dey of Algiers to declare war against that barbarous potentate.

At the conclusion of the preceding campaign, the Russians

had, in the opinion of most European politicians, been completely defeated in their enterprise against Turkey, and the alarm excited by the prospect of that empire being dismembered had gradually subsided. No one anticipated that before the close of another year, Turkey would have been prostrate at the feet of Russia, and Constantinople owe its safety, partly to the czar's affectation of forbearance, and partly to his fear lest a coalition of the European powers should be formed to check his ambitious projects. The opening of the campaign promised no such results, the Russians indeed surprised Sizeboli, and laid siege to Silistria; but the prompt advance of the grand vizier, and his vigorous attack on the army of general Roth, forced Diebitsch, the Russian commander-in-chief, to leave Silistria to one division of his forces, and advance to the relief of his colleague with the main body of his army. Diebitsch proceeded with such secrecy and rapidity that the Turks were completely surprised, but still they lost not their courage; the battle was fierce and long, and terminated to the doubtful advantage of the Russians. That the Russians were by no means satisfied with the victory is manifest from their having immediately after attempted to commence negotiations. When their offers were rejected by the vizier, who confided in his impregnable position at Shumla, Diebitsch continued quietly to observe the Turkish position until the surrender of Silistria liberated the division which had been employed in its siege. It was captured on the last day of June; but it was the middle of July before the concentration of the Russian army enabled him to commence the enterprise he meditated. This was to mask Shumla, and with the main body of his army force a passage across the mountains to the Balkan. So successfully did he conceal his march that the vizier sent a strong division to defend the pass of the Kamtchih, two days after the passage had been effected. The Russians encountered but little resistance; Aidos was taken by storm, and such was the consternation with which the Ottomans were filled, that a large army fled before an advanced corps of one hundred Cossacks.

The vizier saw that it was useless to retain his position at Shumla, and removed his quarters to Selimno. On his march he was encountered by Diebitsch and totally defeated. The very soldiers that had recently fought the Russians for seventeen hours, now scarcely withstood them for as many minutes; they abandoned their fortifications and the town itself with the utmost precipitation. Few prisoners were made, but the moral supe-

riority of the Russians was established, and to this no other advantages could be an equivalent. Diebitsch immediately advanced against Adrianople, and obtained possession of the second city in the Turkish empire without firing a shot. The successes of the Russian fleet, and of the army commanded by Paskewitch in Western Asia, kept pace with those of Diebitsch; and the sultan at length felt that further resistance would only hasten his ruin. He signed a treaty on the 14th of September, by which he recognized the independence of Greece, and granted to Russia very considerable advantages and a guarantee for paying the expenses of the war. Greece indeed was now virtually free; a French expedition had driven the invaders from the Morea, and the Greeks themselves had pushed their conquests in the north. But neither Greeks nor Turks were pleased to find that their differences were to be adjusted by a congress in London, at which neither party had a representative.

Few English ministers ever occupied so extraordinary a position as the duke of Wellington at the opening of the new parliament in the commencement of the year 1830. By the aid of the whigs he had carried the Catholic Emancipation Bill triumphantly through both houses of parliament, in spite of all the opposition of the party that had raised him to power; but when the struggle was over, he found that he had irrevocably offended his old friends, and had not conciliated his former enemies. A coalition between the ministers and the whigs was generally expected and desired, but the duke feared that the party was too powerful to be as subservient to himself as he wished, and he resolved to divide and break their strength. With the exception of the duke, Mr. Peel, and sir George Murray, the cabinet scarcely contained an individual whose talents were above mediocrity, and hence it was felt that the ministers must be subjected to great disadvantages during the debates of the ensuing session. A reconciliation with the old Canning party would indeed have given to the administration a large accession of political and oratorical talent, but Mr. Huskisson's expulsion from the cabinet was too recent and too ignominious to allow of its possibility. The premier made the hazardous and clumsy experiment of negotiating with a few of the leading whigs as individuals; to gratify the duke of Devonshire, his legal adviser, Mr. Abercromby, was appointed chief baron of the exchequer in Scotland; sir James Scarlett was appointed attorney-general; and the marquis of Cleveland consented that his son, lord Darlington, should move the address in the house of commons.

These arrangements further irritated the old tories, and were so far from gratifying the whigs that they stigmatized the new adherents of the ministry as deserters from their party.

The new attorney-general commenced his career very inauspiciously. The portion of the press which was under the controul of the old tories had vented the dissatisfaction of that party upon the duke's conduct on the Catholic Question in very vehement, and very imprudent terms. Some allowance perhaps may be made for the irritable feelings of men who found themselves deserted by those whom they had raised to power, on the very question for which they had given them implicit confidence. The conduct of the ministry too was open to animadversion, and libels never wound so deeply as when there is a consciousness that they have not been wholly undeserved. The Morning Journal, a paper to which the praise of talent and consistency is due, was the most merciless assailant of the cabinet; but its circulation was limited, its influence very small, and its invectives would speedily have been forgotten. Against this journal sir James Scarlet filed no less than four informations, and prosecuted them with a vindictive severity which disgusted every thinking man in the empire. Mr. Alexander, the editor, was found guilty and sentenced to a heavy fine and a long imprisonment; but the attorney-general had no reason to boast of a victory that inflicted degradation upon his name for ever.

The session was opened by a royal speech as vague and uninteresting as was ever delivered from the throne. The only tangible point was the extent of the public distress, which the ministers endeavoured to extenuate. The debates on the address were almost wholly confined to this point, and were very animated in both houses of parliament. In the upper house, the address was carried by a majority of seventy-one to nine; but in the lower house the numbers were 158 in favour of ministers, and 105 against them, and even in this small majority were to be reckoned some leading members of the regular opposition. Motions for inquiry into the state of the nation were subsequently made and decisively rejected in both houses; the movers having united with their motion a tacit recommendation of returning to a paper currency. Some steps to afford relief were taken by the government; the public expenditure was diminished by a million, and taxes to the amount of three millions and a half were remitted. In general, the financial measures of the ministry encountered but feeble opposition: there was one exception; pensions unmerited by any services appeared in the navy estimates

for Mr. Dundas and Mr. Bathurst, but they were refused in the commons by a majority of eighteen.

A committee had been appointed early in the session to investigate the East India trade, prior to the discussion of the renewal of the company's charter. A ridiculous circumstance called public attention to the state of our eastern possessions, and involved one of the ministers in no very pleasant predicament. A dispute had arisen between sir John Malcolm, governor of Bombay, and the supreme court of that presidency, respecting the extent of jurisdiction possessed by the latter. During the controversy two out of the three judges died, and sir J. P. Grant alone remained. Lord Ellenborough, the president of the board of control, wrote a letter to sir J. Malcolm on the occasion of filling up the vacancies, in which he stated that the new judges would be more subservient than their predecessors, and that, if sir J. P. Grant proved refractory, he would be "like a wild elephant led between two tame ones."

By some unknown means a copy of this letter was obtained and published in all the newspapers. The jocular phrase about the elephants was made the subject of severe animadversion within and without the walls of parliament; not because it was regarded by anybody as a matter of much importance, but because lord Ellenborough was unpopular with every party. Even this trivial incident added to the unpopularity of the cabinet, by giving some verisimilitude to the report that the premier had been guided in the choice of his associates more by their flexibility and submissiveness than by their attainments. But the evil effects were in some degree remedied by the general satisfaction which was felt at the removal of the beer tax and the restrictions that had been imposed on the trade in that article.

The state of the representation gave rise to several debates during the session. The marquess of Blandford, who had been a violent opponent of the Catholic Bill, proposed a reform of parliament, professedly on account of the disrespect with which public opinion had been treated in the adjustment of that important measure. The proposal was as unintelligible as the alleged cause of its introduction was absurd, and it was naturally rejected. The transfer of the franchise of East Retford to Birmingham was again debated, but ministers exerted all their influence to prevent such a decisive change, and merely opened the borough to the neighbouring hundred. On the third reading of this bill, Mr. O'Connell moved "that the votes of the electors should be given by ballot;" he could only muster twenty-one

votes, but in this minority were lords Nugent, Ebrington, and Althorpe. The idea of voting by ballot was introduced in consequence of the asserted intimidation to his tenants, which the duke of Newcastle exercised to secure the return of his favourite at Newark. Mr. O'Connell moved for the adoption of a complete radical reform, including triennial parliaments, universal suffrage, and vote by ballot; a scheme so utterly impracticable obtained only thirteen votes in a house of more than three hundred members; resolutions embodying a much more moderate and feasible plan were moved by lord John Russell, and rejected by a large majority. The only other measure proposed affecting the legislative body was Mr. R. Grant's bill for emancipating the Jews, which was lost on the question of the second reading.

The revision of the laws regarding forgery and libel, and a change in the administration of justice in Wales, occupied a large share of the attention of parliament, until the interest of these and all other public questions was absorbed in the alarming indisposition of the king. But before relating the progress of the disease and its fatal termination, some account of an interlude must be given which afforded both wonder and amusement to the public in the early part of the year.

Count Capo d'Istrias, who presided over the government of Greece, felt little inclination for resigning his authority, and while he professed grateful submission to the three powers that had become the protectors of his country, secretly plotted to disconcert their arrangements. The crown of the newly-erected state was tendered to Leopold, prince of Saxe Coburg, and accepted: but this, which seemed the conclusion, was only the commencement of difficulties; the Greeks were dissatisfied with the boundaries assigned them by the allies; they declared that they were deprived of a frontier necessary to their military defence, and complained that their brethren of Crete and Samos, who had bravely struggled for liberty, were again abandoned to the oppressors. Exaggerated accounts of the general dissatisfaction, and over-charged pictures of the miserable and distracted condition of Greece, were transmitted to prince Leopold by the crafty Capo d'Istrias. He knew that the prince was fond of tranquil pleasures and elegant enjoyments; he therefore described the hardships to be endured in colours so dark as completely to revolt his correspondent. After much negotiation with the ministers composing the conference, Leopold rejected the proffered diadem, and the crown of Greece was placed again at the disposal of the allies.

During the last two years, the king had lived in a state of almost perfect seclusion at Windsor; every precaution was used to prevent the public from beholding him in his drives between Frogmore and Virginia-water,—not from any despotic feeling, but from a natural anxiety to shield his growing infirmities from vulgar curiosity. In the beginning of the year, his illness became severe, but it was studiously concealed; and if mentioned in the newspapers, was officially contradicted. The first circumstance which excited alarm was the postponement of the drawing-room, announced for St. George's day; bulletins began to be issued on the 15th of April, and rarely has common sense been outraged by such unmeaning and vague statements as those issued by his majesty's medical attendants. At length, on the 24th of May, the dangerous condition of the king was fully revealed by a message to parliament, stating that his majesty found it inconvenient and painful to sign with his own hand those documents which required the sign manual, and requesting the parliament to find means for the temporary discharge of that function of the crown, without detriment to the public service. A bill for the purpose was rapidly passed through both houses. His majesty's disease, ossification of the heart, was incurable, but his dissolution was accelerated by the bursting of a blood-vessel during a violent fit of coughing. He expired on the 26th of June, about three o'clock in the morning.

An impartial character of George IV. could scarcely be drawn while his decease is yet recent, and the parties who acted with and under him, for the most part, alive. His friends dwell on the glory of his regency, his enemies on the unpopularity of his reign; but it may be safely said, that his worst errors arose from the peculiarities of his position, while to himself alone belong the merits of his better qualities.

The duke of Clarence was proclaimed king, with the title of William IV., in London and Westminster, on the 28th of June, amid the loudest acclamations of all classes. Rarely has a new sovereign at once gained such popularity as William in the very first week after his accession: he exhibited himself to his people, conversed with them, and shared in their tastes and amusements. Unlike his predecessor, his habits were economical, and his manners familiar. He retained his brother's ministers, and openly expressed his confidence in their zeal and ability; but as he was connected by marriage with some leaders of the whigs, reasonable hopes were entertained that the exclusive system which had been so carefully maintained during the reigns of the two

last Georges would be for ever set aside. His majesty's instant promotion of some of his old friends, such as sir Sidney Smith, his well-timed generosity, and the disregard he showed for party distinctions in receiving homage, afforded the most cheering promises of a reign at once beneficial, popular, and prosperous.

The death of George IV. seemed to be the signal for the dissolution of the hollow truce which had hitherto tacitly existed between the whigs and the administration. In the debate on the address, earl Grey moved that its consideration should be deferred until the ministers had declared their plan of a regency, in the possible case of the king's death before the election and meeting of a new parliament. The proposal took the duke of Wellington by surprise; and his embarrassed feelings were not at all diminished, when he saw the motion supported by the heads of different sections of the tory party, who all declared that they voted for the amendment because they could not repose confidence in his majesty's ministers. The novel sight of lords Harrowby, Mansfield, Eldon, Winchelsea, and Wharncliffe, the marquis of Londonderry, and the duke of Richmond, zealously supporting the proposition of the great leader of the whigs, if not the result of a coalition, had every appearance of one: but the charge was indignantly denied by the several parties, who were thus acting together for the first and last time. The amendment was negatived by a majority of forty-four. There were fewer speakers on the same question in the commons, but the language of the orators was more bitter and personal. Mr. Brougham especially denounced the duke of Wellington's supporters in terms of unmeasured violence, for which he subsequently made a very indistinct excuse. It was clear that this debate was a virtual declaration of war by the whigs against the cabinet, and that the ministerial majority of forty-six, in a house of more than three hundred, was less an evidence of strength than of weakness. The formal business of the session was then hurried through with all possible dispatch; parliament was prorogued by the king in person on the 23d of July, and dissolved on the following day.

LETTER XXXVII.

From the Revolution in Paris, to the meeting of the first Reformed Parliament of Great Britain.

FRANCE during the early part of this year was so disturbed, that it was plain to every impartial observer, nothing but a change in the system of government could avert a convulsion. The cabinet of prince Polignac was assailed with a violence to which the annals of political struggles under a constitutional government furnish no parallel. The actions of the ministers had afforded no room for censure, yet their opponents attacked their presumed designs and intentions. One-half of the topics selected by the opponents of Polignac for their invective, if not a much larger proportion, consisted of falsehoods, many of them so absurd, that they seemed invented for the purpose of trying to the utmost the extent of public credulity. It was said that Polignac was chosen prime minister on the recommendation of Metternich and Wellington; and that he was about to overthrow the constitutional liberties of France, in compliance with their recommendations. It was boldly asserted that the ministers did not intend to assemble the chambers, and the slander was repeated daily until the ordinance for their convocation had been officially published. The next charge was, that they designed to re-establish the censorship of the press, which was repeated until every one was weary of the subject.

That there would be a majority against ministers in the chamber of deputies, was generally anticipated. The journalists reasoned upon it as a fact, discussing not its probability, but its consequences. Articles appeared on the nature and extent of the royal prerogative, on the controlling power possessed by the legislature, and on the right of the chambers to demand the dismissal of ministers against whom they could allege nothing but vague suspicions. The few papers that advocated the cause of the ministry assumed a high, despotic tone, which served to strengthen the opposition by lending force to their accusation. Hence, when the chambers met, the ministers had suffered nearly as much from injudicious advocacy, as from bitter enmity. The royal speech was as gross a blunder as was ever perpetrated by a besotted administration; it contained an assertion of the royal prerogative

scarcely consistent with constitutional government, and a threat which was notoriously impotent, and therefore ridiculous. The effect of the speech was to strengthen the opposition. In the chamber of deputies a plain indication was given of the side to which the majority inclined; for the president, vice-president, and secretaries, were all taken from the ranks of the opposition. The debate on the ministerial address, and on the amendment proposed by the liberals, was very animated; but it was chiefly remarkable for the extreme doctrines advocated by the contending parties; while on one side the divine right of kings, and the duty of passive obedience, were maintained by the ministers, the arguments of their opponents closely approached republicanism. Finally, the opposition address was adopted by a majority of forty.

A change of ministry was the only means by which the king could reconcile himself to the nation; but with that rashness and obstinacy which ever marked his character, he resolved to preserve his cabinet, and ordered the chambers to be adjourned to the following September; thus depriving the French for more than twelve months of the advantages of a representative government. The infatuated monarch was led to believe that the military fame likely to be acquired by the expedition against Algiers would gratify the national vanity, and that a dissolution of the lower chamber in the moment of victory would secure the return of deputies more favourably disposed to royalty. In order to ensure the reduction of Algiers, care was taken in the equipment of the expedition, which consisted of 64,000 men, including both the military and marine forces. The expedition was successful: the Turks and Arabs were routed in the field; Algiers itself surrendered after a brief resistance; the dey was sent a prisoner to Italy, and his vast treasures remained at the disposal of the conquerors. Even had there been a chance of conciliating the French people by the glory of the Algerine expedition, it would have been destroyed by the measures which, in the mean time, prince Polignac adopted. On the 17th of May, there appeared an ordinance for dissolving the chambers, and on the 20th of the same month the only two moderate members of the cabinet were dismissed, and their places supplied by the most unpopular men in France. The elections soon engaged undivided attention; both the ministers and the liberals were unwearied in their labours. Neither perhaps kept strictly within the pale of constitutional exertion; but at the close Polignac could only muster one hundred and forty-five supporters, while his opponents were sure of

two hundred and seventy votes, without reckoning their share of fifteen that were considered doubtful.

The crisis had now arrived to adopt a decisive resolution, and the ministers, believing that by the victory at Algiers they had secured the army, if not the nation, resolved by a bold stroke virtually to annihilate the constitution. They veiled their operations in profound secrecy; three ordinances were prepared and copied by the ministers themselves, without the intervention of secretaries or clerks. By the first the chamber of deputies was dissolved before it had assembled; the second changed entirely the law of elections, and disfranchised the great body of electors; the third imposed a rigid censorship on the press. The very day on which the ordinances were signed there was a levee at the palace, and none of the numerous visitors that crowded the court, save the ministers themselves, had the remotest notion that such a desperate stroke of policy was in contemplation.

The appearance of the *Moniteur* with the ordinances, on Monday the 26th of July, excited at first more astonishment than indignation. It was late before the intelligence was generally circulated throughout Paris; the ministers passed the day tranquilly at their hotels, receiving the visits of their friends as usual, and felicitating themselves on the delusive quiet that prevailed. But the day was not lost by the active leaders of the liberals; dispatches were sent by their friends to all the deputies who were within a day's journey of Paris, among others to general Lafayette and M. Lafitte; and the representatives who had reached the city held a private meeting at the house of one of their number. The principal journalists concerted a protest against the ordinance restricting the press, which was couched in language that would have subjected them to the accusation of treason had the contest terminated differently. This bold manifesto was signed by forty-four literary gentlemen, and concluded with the following energetic declaration: "The government has lost to-day that legal character which commands obedience. We shall resist it, therefore, in all that relates to us; and it rests with France to judge how far her own resistance must proceed." In the evening mobs attacked the hotel of Polignac and the minister of finance, but did not do them much injury.

The news of the virtual abolition of the charter had spread over Paris by Tuesday morning. Few of the journals had obtained permission to appear from the minister of the interior; the publication of the others was prevented by the police. The

absence of the daily papers was a more striking proof of the despotic designs of the government than any other that could be exhibited; and the dismissal of the printers sent into the streets a body of vindictive rioters. The proprietors of several large manufactories in the suburbs of Paris closed their establishments and dismissed their workmen, thus throwing loose an insurrectionary force whose anger and courage were even more formidable than military discipline. The first exhibition of force was at the printing-offices of two leading journals: the proprietors locked their doors and refused to admit the police; they even proceeded to publish the declaration in presence of the armed force, flinging the copies gratuitously from their windows to the anxious crowds that waited to receive them. Much time was lost, for all the mechanics in the neighbourhood refused to aid in picking the locks, and the police were obliged to send for the unfortunate wretch employed in riveting the chains on the galley-slaves. Some needless outrages were perpetrated when an entrance was effected; the presses were broken, the types scattered, and the machinery rendered unserviceable. Nothing else remarkable occurred in the forenoon; the streets indeed were filled with angry crowds, but no demonstration of resistance was made, and Charles so little anticipated an approaching insurrection that he went on a hunting-match to Rambouillet, accompanied by the dauphin. The ministers displayed similar infatuation; they had not strengthened the garrison of Paris, which consisted only of twelve thousand men. It was not until the morning of Tuesday that marshal Marmont received his commission as military governor of the capital; and four in the evening had passed before orders were sent to the barracks to put the troops under arms. The only act of violence yet committed, which could be regarded as an omen of the war about to commence, was the disarming of the guard and burning of the guardhouse in the square of the Exchange.

The appearance of the military to reinforce the gendarmerie between six and seven o'clock in the evening was the signal for the commencement of the contest. The detachments of the guards which advanced from the *Carousel* to the *Rue St. Honoré* were hailed with insults and shouts of *Vive la charte!* The royal cavalry brutally avenged the seditious cries by riding into the crowd, trampling all down they met, and striking them with their sabres. On the other hand the people assailed the guards with stones, tiles, and other missiles, by which some of them were severely hurt. A fowling-piece is said to have been fired

from the English hotel in the *Rue St. Honoré*, which was answered by a volley that killed an English gentleman and his two servants. At a barricade formed by throwing down an *omnibus* in the same street, the guards met a vigorous resistance, but finally surmounted the impediment. It is said that the Swiss regiments were remarkably sanguinary in their attacks on the multitude. By one of their volleys a woman was killed, whose body was carried through the streets to stimulate the public vengeance. The troops of the line began early to show their reluctance to act against their countrymen. A detachment of the fifth regiment had, in fact, entered into a compact with the mob, not to fire, although ordered to do so; yet the efforts of the troops were so far successful that the multitude was dispersed before night fall. The soldiers marched back to their barracks; Marmont wrote a letter to the king, congratulating him on the restoration of tranquillity; and the ministers concerted their last ordinance, declaring the capital in a state of siege. The operations of the day concluded with the destruction of every lamp in the city, by which means the citizens secured the protection of darkness in making their preparations for the struggle of the next day.

With the early dawn of Wednesday it became evident that the citizens had resolved on war. Arms were procured from the gunners' shops, the theatres, and the station-houses of the gendarmes. The arsenal and the powder magazine were in the hands of the people; small parties in the uniform of the national guard appeared among the mob; the tricoloured flag was waved from the towers of the cathedral; and barricades were erected across the principal streets. Alarmed by these demonstrations, Marmont wrote to the king, describing the state of affairs and recommending a pacification. He received no answer, and therefore prepared to act on his previous orders. Noon had almost arrived when the troops began to march. With incredible folly Marmont divided his troops into four columns, moving at such a distance from each other that there was no possibility of mutual co-operation, and at the same time he left almost unguarded the Louvre, the Tuilleries, and the Champs Elysées. The first column performed its circuitous march without doing or receiving injury.—Far different was the fate of the second; it advanced through the *rue Richelieu*, along the Boulevards, until it reached the *porte St. Denis*, where it was exposed to a sharp fire of musketry, from the side-streets, the houses, and the top of the arch. As it continued its advance towards the Bastille the fire

became so heavy that the column was forced to return it with artillery. The barricades rendered the movements of the troops, and especially of the cavalry, tedious and difficult ; no sooner had they passed, than the barricades were perfected, so that their return by the same route was rendered impossible. At the *place de la Bastille* a sanguinary engagement took place ; the officer in command finding he could not advance through the *rue St. Antoine* as he had been directed, nor return by the way he came, marched towards the Boulevards of the East, and, crossing the bridge at the *Jardin des Plantes*, regained his quarters by passing along the other side of the river. Thus the second column suffered much and effected nothing.

The third division had to proceed to the *Marché des Innocens*, through the heart of the bravest and poorest population of Paris ; it was exposed to a dreadful fire from the houses, the corners of streets, the alleys and the passages along its line of march. On reaching the market, a detachment was sent to the *porte St. Denis*, which accomplished its orders after encountering great difficulties and suffering a severe loss. The remainder were inclosed in the market, exposed to a heavy fire, barricades rising round them in every direction, and increased masses of armed citizens cutting off their retreat. Fresh assistance from the Tuilleries was necessary to extricate this column from its dangerous and useless position.

A regiment of the line had been ordered to secure the *place de Grève* and the *Hotel de Ville*, but it did not obey orders. The position was consequently occupied by the insurgents, who here assumed the semblance of discipline, and acted under regular leaders. The column of guards sent to dislodge them proceeded by a circuitous route, without meeting any opposition until they reached the *pont de Notre Dame*, where it was met by a body of the citizens drawn up in regular array. The officer attempted to parley with his opponents, but they fired on his troops, and shot the adjutant by his side. A few discharges of grape-shot, however, cleared the quay, and the column took up its destined position. Here was fought the most murderous conflict of this eventful day. For six hours the troops were assailed from the windows and tops of houses, from behind barricades, and from the corners of streets, with a fire which they could only return ineffectually. The parapet of the quay on the opposite side of the river had not been secured, as had been ordered, by the fifteenth regiment of the line ; it afforded a safe position to the insurgents, and they fired from thence with murderous effect.

The column was reinforced late in the evening, but it was finally overpowered, and the soldiers were forced to seek refuge in the *Hotel de Ville*. This they evacuated about midnight, and made good their retreat with great difficulty over the barricades; had they remained an hour longer, not a man would have escaped. Thus when evening closed, the troops had been beaten on every point, and they returned to their barracks, wearied and dispirited. Nor was this all; no provision had been made for the refreshment of the soldiers, after such severe labours under a burning sun; while every family in Paris vied in supplying the insurgents with all they needed.

No situation could have been more unfortunate than that of Marmont; he disapproved of the ministerial ordinances, he despaired of success, but he felt that it was his duty as a soldier to obey orders. He sent a dispatch to the king by his aid-de-camp, and received in reply the unexpected command "to persevere; to assemble his forces on the *place du Caroussel*, and the *place de Louis XV.*, and to act in masses." But neither the monarch nor the dauphin appeared to thank the soldiers for their services, and thereby stimulate them to fresh exertions.

The morning of the third day found the citizens strengthened by the accession of numerous recruits, among whom were the students of the polytechnic school. The troops occupied nearly their former positions, but Marmont resolved to follow the king's advice and act in masses. The Louvre was fiercely attacked on both sides with a desperate heroism, more honourable to the courage of the people than any other encounter in which they were engaged. Marmont continued the contest with obvious reluctance, and was eager to find some excuse for ordering the carnage to cease. The marquis of Semonville, grand referendary of the chamber of peers, had waited on the marshal at seven o'clock in the morning, to insist on forwarding to the king a representation of the true state of Paris, and to procure from his majesty such concessions as would check the further effusion of blood. At eleven o'clock the ministers went in a body to Saint Cloud and tendered their resignations, which were accepted with obvious reluctance by the infatuated monarch. Marmont had, in the mean time, sent as many of the mayors as he could assemble to announce to the citizens a suspension of arms.

But these measures were too late: two regiments of the line, in the *Place Vendôme*, unfixed their bayonets about noon, and went over to the people in a body. A battalion of the guards was withdrawn from the Louvre to occupy the important position

deserted, and the garrison, thus weakened, was unable longer to resist the fierce assault of the populace. The loss of the Louvre was followed by the total defeat of the royal army; the cavalry and infantry in the *Carousel*, and garden of the Tuilleries, suffered dreadfully from the fire which was opened upon them by the new occupants of the Louvre; their assailants from the opposite side of the *Place* saw them waver, charged with resistless impetuosity, and they were driven to a precipitate retreat. The marshal and his staff escaped with difficulty; his troops were pursued to the *Champs Elysées*, and even as far as the *barrière de l'Etoile*. So sudden was the retreat, that there was no time to call in the detachments in the adjacent streets, and the greater part of them was either captured or massacred. Before three o'clock, Paris was tranquil, and the victory of the people complete. The most remarkable feature in the history of "the three glorious days" is, the total absence of all those excesses which usually mark ebullitions of popular violence; no injury was offered to property, and there was scarcely a single instance of an act of dishonesty.

The populace had won the victory, and now it became the duty of the national representatives to turn it to advantage; a number of them assembled at M. Lafitte's in the evening of Thursday, where they drew up a congratulatory address to the Parisians on their victory, and nominated a provisional government, consisting of the duke de Choiseul, general Lafayette, and general Gerard. Lafayette immediately took possession of the Hotel de Ville, surrounded by an immense number of the citizens. A deputation from Saint Cloud, with proposals for an accommodation, was very summarily dismissed. Thenceforward Charles X. was virtually deposed; his troops refused to act, his servants deserted, and he was finally dismissed to a contemptuous exile by the national commissioners.

The deputies were anxious to avoid the dangers of anarchy threatened by the differences which soon appeared among the chief actors in the late revolution. The young and inexperienced were anxious for a republic, a form of government which it was clear to every rational being could not have endured a week; a portion of the military wished to see the son of Napoleon on his father's throne; there were a few anxious to preserve hereditary right, and give the throne to the son of the late duke de Berry; but the majority of those who possessed influence and property were anxious for the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, and that the duke of Orleans should be the new

sovereign. On Friday evening the duke was appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and the revolutionary government began to assume the appearance of stability. The proclamations issued by the lieutenant-general did not perfectly satisfy the republican party; but further concessions were made to gratify popular feeling, and the clamours of enthusiasm were quieted at a time when they might have been dangerous.

The chambers met on the 3d of August, pursuant to the original writs of convocation. On the 7th, the chamber of deputies, ostentatiously neglecting to consult the chamber of peers, voted the deposition of the Bourbons and the vacancy of the throne, and elected to the sovereignty the duke of Orleans, with the title of Louis-Philip I. king of the French. The charter was then modified, the constitutional rights of the people greatly extended, and the church irrevocably dissevered from the state. These arrangements were not made without violent demonstrations of opposition from the republicans; but the influence of Lafayette calmed their ebullitions, for which he would deserve the highest praise, were there not reason to expect that he had tacitly encouraged, if not directly instigated, their violence. On the 9th of August, Louis-Philip took the appointed oaths in the chamber of deputies, and was received with the loudest acclamations by his new subjects. In the rest of France his accession was hailed as the surest omen of liberty and tranquillity. But the new monarch did not find his revolutionary throne a bed of roses: there were dangers on every side of him, which taxed to the utmost his firmness and talent. Scarcely had a new cabinet been installed, when an almost total change was made in the subordinate officers of government: seventy-six prefects out of eighty-six were dismissed; and out of two hundred and seventy-seven sub-prefects, only eighty-one retained their places. It is doubtful whether the government was strengthened by the change; the number of patriots who became candidates for those vacancies, and demanded places as rewards for their love of country, was amazing. The French cabinet found, by bitter experience, the truth of the aphorism, "by bestowing a place, a minister makes one ingrate and ten enemies."

Few obstacles were offered to the acknowledgment of the new French sovereign by any court but that of Russia. The Scythian autocrat forbade the French flag to appear in his dominions, and recalled his subjects from a country polluted by a revolution; he even tried to concert a French invasion with his allies, but meeting little encouragement, he ungraciously renewed the creden-

tials of his ambassador at Paris. But this circumstance of Russian hostility tended to strengthen the new French government; for it forced the ministers to neglect nothing that would tend to place them in a secure position. The organization of the national guard proceeded with a rapidity truly wonderful, and its increase was equally striking in Paris and the provinces. It was fortunately not required to act against foreign enemies; but it had to repress the remnant of turbulence, which of course existed after a successful insurrection; to put down the riots of the workmen and artizans, whom want of employment had hurried into violence; to close the doors, and disperse the meetings of revolutionary clubs; and to resist the attempts made by the republicans, to precipitate the lower class of the population in a mass upon the authorities and institutions of the country. In all these embarrassing circumstances, the utility of the national guard was severely tested, and it passed through the ordeal not merely with safety, but with honour.

The new government made no effort to seize the delinquent ministers, and would probably have rejoiced at their escape. But four of them were apprehended by the zeal of the public and the national guards, at great distances from Paris, under fictitious names, and with false passports. Though the government had not sanctioned the arrest, it was obliged to order their trial; especially as a motion for their impeachment had been made in the chamber of deputies, before the news of their apprehension had arrived. On the 30th of September, the managers elected by the deputies presented the bill of impeachment to the chamber of peers, and the 15th of December was appointed for the trial. It was not merely the trial of the accused, it was, in fact, more a trial of the existing order of things; and its result was to determine whether France should have a settled government, or become the victim of incurable anarchy. Republican agitators, disappointed that their speculative schemes had not been adopted, friends of the Bonaparte family, speculators on the wreck of public or private fortune, were ready to take advantage of any popular confusion to raise themselves into consequence. The trial lasted a week, and on the last two days the apprehended tumults burst forth; immense crowds, chiefly of the lower rank, filled every street, avenue, and place, leading to the tribunal; persons of better condition were thinly scattered through the groups, who joined in the seditious cries, but avoided any share in the excesses of the rabble. Clamour for the blood of the accused was mingled with denunciations against the constituted

authorities. Peace, however, was preserved by the exertions of the national guard; and the only ominous circumstance was the attribution of political importance to the youths of the polytechnic school, who, holding at one time the balance between anarchy and order, took advantage of their position to gratify their vanity and ambition. These vain hotheaded youths acted as a kind of political association, and the necessity of courting their aid gave, for a time, a factitious importance to their assumption of mediatorial authority between the king and the nation; but their claims soon became harmless, because they were pushed so far as to become ridiculous. The ex-ministers were condemned to perpetual imprisonment and civil death, and were removed from the capital to a distant prison. Tranquillity was restored on the morning of the third day, and a brilliant illumination celebrated the restoration of order.

In Belgium the excitement of the French revolution was felt most forcibly; the compulsory union of the country to Holland at the congress of Vienna, was an arrangement that could not be permanent. The Dutch and Flemings differed in language, in habits, and in religion; their commercial interests were opposed; their national antipathy ancient and inveterate. In such a case, the personal character of the monarch could alone secure unity. But though possessed of considerable talents, William, king of the Netherlands, possessed no small share of the love of uncontrolled power common to the house of Orange, and a more than ordinary portion of the obstinacy characteristic of the Dutch nation. He was a Protestant; his Flemish subjects were for the most part Catholics; they were persuaded by their priests that their sovereign's plans of national education were covertly designed for the overthrow of their religion. A strong republican party existed among the higher and middle ranks of the Belgians; but common hatred of their Dutch governors induced all parties to form an anomalous alliance. Von Maanen, William's prime minister, was at the least as arbitrary as prince Polignac; before the French revolution was anticipated, he had procured the banishment of some leaders of the opposition to his government, on charges which were by no means proved. Of these, the most remarkable was De Potter, an able pamphleteer, who would scarcely have attained notoriety, much less political importance, but for the unwise severity of his Dutch persecutors.

A formidable riot broke out in Brussels on the night of the 25th of August; the Dutch authorities and troops displayed extraordinary incapacity, indecision, and confusion of intellect. To

save the city from pillage, the respectable inhabitants formed a burgher guard, and obtained arms from the arsenal; but no sooner had they suppressed the riot than they commenced a revolution, and removing the royal flag, displayed the colours of Brabant from the *Hotel de Ville*. A truce was made between the Belgic national guard and the Dutch troops until an answer could be received from the sovereign, to whom an embassy had been sent, demanding a redress of grievances. The king unwisely hesitated about dismissing the obnoxious minister; while the deputies acted as if reconciliation was not their object. It was finally resolved that the prince of Orange should be sent with his brother to Belgium, and the princes were entrusted with power to redress grievances and with an army to restore the royal authority. But before his arrival the republican party was dominant in Brussels: its chiefs received the prince with apparent respect but subjected him to studied humiliations. They proposed, however, the only measure which, under the circumstances, could remove all difficulties, the separation of Holland and Belgium.

The prince of Orange returned to his father's court, and on his representations the king convoked the states-general. From the beginning of the session there was a coolness between the Belgic and Dutch deputies, which augured badly for their coming to any amicable arrangement, even if it had not been rendered impossible by the proceedings of the republicans at Brussels. They had now organized a committee of public safety, which openly exercised the functions of sovereignty. But the measures of the committee were too moderate to gratify the fanatics of the day; they were deposed by the mob, and anarchy reigned triumphant. Prince Frederick then advanced with the royal troops to recover the capital, but his proclamation of amnesty contained such a sweeping clause of exception, that it was almost tantamount to an edict of proscription. For four days the possession of Brussels was contested with equal incapacity on both sides, but with somewhat more bravery on the part of the insurgents. On the fourth day the Dutch were defeated and forced to retreat. The prince of Orange was then commanded to announce the royal consent to a separation of the kingdoms; but before the 10th of October every town and garrison in Belgium was subjected to the provisional government, except Venloo, Maestricht, and Antwerp. The propositions of the prince were rejected by the Belgians, and disowned by his father; he was forced to leave Antwerp a few hours before it was occupied by the insurgents;

and the subsequent bombardment of that city, equally cruel and useless, severed the Belgians for ever from the house of Nassau.

In Germany there were several insurrectionary movements; the young duke of Brunswick, whose capricious tyranny seems to have resulted from an unsound mind, was driven out by his subjects, and the sovereignty transferred to his brother William. The king of Saxony was also forced to resign in favour of his nephew, and the elector of Hesse was compelled to grant a constitutional charter. An attempt on Spain by Mina signally failed, and proved beyond a doubt that the natives of that country are not yet ripe for freedom. In Portugal, the monster Miguel remained secure on his throne. Insurrectionary movements in Switzerland were promptly suppressed by the concession of the just and necessary reforms demanded by the people.

Poland was the last country to catch the flame of insurrection, but there was no other nation that had such injurious wrongs to redress. The Poles had been mocked by the form of a constitution, which subjected that country, in defiance of the treaty of Vienna, to the increasing despotism of Russia. Its government was administered by the archduke Constantine, a ferocious barbarian, who united the craft of civilized life with the sanguinary disposition of the savage. The insurrection was unpremeditated, but it was not the less effective; Constantine was forced to fly, and in a few days Poland was liberated. The chiefs elected by the people limited their demands to the fulfilment of the charter that had been guaranteed to them by the sovereigns of Europe. They were answered by the Russian despot with a sanguinary declaration of war, in which blasphemous appeals to heaven were mingled with denunciations of fire and slaughter. The gallant Poles were not intimidated, and resolved single-handed to encounter the gigantic power of Russia, while the European governments looked on as if they had been strangers to the stipulations of the treaty they had guaranteed.

England did not escape uninjured from the contaminating example of popular insurrection. As in every other country, so in this, the friends of freedom must frequently expect to find themselves cursed by the support of factious demagogues, equally bankrupt in fortune and reputation, who are anxious to trade on political commotions. Belgium is not the only country which produces such politicians as De Potter; in every free state, and especially at the moment of a constitutional struggle, we must expect to find among the advocates of the popular cause, men

animated solely by the love of power or pelf, who are anxious to rest their dictation on the prejudices or passions of the ignorant multitude, and to draw their profit from the pockets of the population. Such were to be found at this crisis both in England and Ireland; they acted in their iniquitous vocation by studiously misrepresenting the causes of the general distress to the agricultural population of both countries, and it was owing more to their want of courage than inclination that Ireland at least was not involved in all the horrors of a predial war.

There is little need of dwelling on the rick-burnings which disgraced Kent and the southern counties of England; they did great mischief, but they were suppressed by a judicious mixture of prudence and severity. But the agitation in Ireland was of a more extensive character; Mr. O'Connell called for the repeal of the Union,—whether with any serious hope of effecting his object may fairly be questioned; he found active supporters in the priests, who hoped that the revenues of the established church would fall into their hands, and in the shop-keepers of Dublin, who expected that the return of a parliament to that city would afford them a more profitable market for their goods. Such a mad project was opposed by nearly all the wealth, property, and respectability of the empire; but it was zealously advocated by most of the orators, stationary and itinerant, who had flourished in the days of the Catholic Association, and who, of course, hoped to figure as members in the new Irish legislature. The benefits derived from the concession of Catholic emancipation were thus wantonly sacrificed; and the political and religious rancour which has been always the most substantial evil of Ireland, and the great aggravation of all the others, was fearfully increased.

The opening of parliament was expected with great anxiety; it required little political foresight to see that unless a change was made in the cabinet, the fate of the Wellington administration was sealed. But the premier had resolved on making no changes; he seemed determined to reign alone, and to defy all opposition. The king opened the parliament in person, with a speech of great firmness and moderation. It contained, however, one injudicious passage, which gave rise to much angry discussion, and some, not unreasonable, suspicion. “I have witnessed,” said his majesty, “with much regret, the state of affairs in the low countries: I lament that the enlightened administration of the king should not have preserved his dominions from revolt, and that the wise and prudent measure of submitting the desires and complaints of the people to an extraordinary meeting of the

states general, should have led to no satisfactory result. I am endeavouring, in concert with my allies, to devise such means of restoring tranquillity as may be compatible with the good government of the Netherlands, and with the future security of other states." Report attributes this singular clause, which at once says too much and too little, to the earl of Aberdeen, whose diplomatic career had connected him closely with the politics of the Holy Alliance. But perhaps nothing more was intended by the declaration than that means should be taken to prevent the union of Belgium and France.

The debates in both houses were more than usually animated; the whigs assailed the administration with a vigour and confidence which promised uncompromising hostility, and proved they entertained no faint hope of overthrowing the cabinet of the duke of Wellington. In the lower house, Mr. Brougham, who had been elected by the great county of York, denounced the ministers as "the most feeble of any ministers into whose hands, by a strange combination of circumstances, the government of this country ever fell." Earl Grey, in the house of lords, uttered a declaration of hostility more moderate in tone, but firmer in purpose; he strongly urged the necessity of adopting measures for improving the representation, as the only means of insuring the country against a revolution. The duke of Wellington made a memorable reply. Having declared in strong terms that he regarded the English system of representation as perfect, and that any interference with it would be hazardous and impolitic, he added, "I therefore am not prepared with any measure of parliamentary reform, nor shall any measure of the kind be proposed by the government as long as I hold my present position."

This declaration—stronger than the occasion seemed to demand—filled the parliament with astonishment and the people with anger. It had been circulated by some avowed partisans of the ministry, that a moderate plan of reform had been prepared in the cabinet, and would be brought forward with all the influence of government. It was said, that a portion of the ministry was not indisposed to reform; and it is now known that some of his colleagues urged the premier to gratify the general desire of the nation. They found him utterly inflexible, and the strict subordination in which he kept his cabinet prevented the use of any remonstrance. Indeed, the word "shall," in the sentence quoted above, seems addressed as much to his associates in the council, as his opponents in the senate.

The whigs were not slow in perceiving the advantage which

this defiance of popular opinion had given them, and they were by no means scrupulous in using it to the utmost. The duke of Wellington was represented as a military despot, eager to show his contempt for the people, and anxious to confine constitutional freedom within the narrowest limits. It was said, that he had insulted the nation : and the falsehood met a general belief. His opposition to the popular claims was unwise, and his declaration, under all the circumstances of the case, was highly imprudent ; but the assertion that he wished to establish any thing like despotism in England was as foul a calumny as was ever devised by the spirit of party. In the midst of the controversy occasioned by the speech of the premier, some circumstances, trifling and even ridiculous in themselves, precipitated the ruin of the ministry.

The king had been invited to dine in the city with the new lord mayor on the 9th of November, and preparations were made for his reception. All classes of the citizens vied with each other in the means of testifying their loyalty on so gratifying an occasion. Never, perhaps, was public astonishment greater than when it was announced, on the morning of the 8th of November, not only that the king's visit had been postponed, but that there would be neither the usual civic procession nor the public dinner, in consequence, as was alleged, of some seditious conspiracy. The first effect of the announcement was a general panic ; the funds fell four per cent. in one day, and for several hours the city of London was in a state of the greatest alarm. But suspicion and alarm changed into ridicule, when it was discovered, that no grounds existed for apprehension, and that the whole originated in an officious communication made by the lord mayor elect to the duke of Wellington, warning his grace that he would probably be insulted by the mob, and that it would be prudent for him to come protected by a guard. Every body laughed at the idea of being terrified by the mockery of a revolution and an assassination of the king, because a mob had threatened to pelt an obnoxious minister, and a foolish lord mayor had desired the duke to come to dinner with a troop of horse. The prudence of the step taken by the ministers on such information cannot be doubted, and that there was nothing to condemn in their conduct, but the abrupt and alarming manner in which the postponement of the royal visit was announced. The new police had been but recently organized, and its efficiency in restraining the turbulent and the vicious had confederated against it the idle, the depraved, and the riotous. Many persons who should

have known better, joined in the outcry against this useful institution ; some because it was an expensive establishment, others because they believed that it gave a dangerous power to the government. In the vast multitude that would have assembled to witness the regal procession, thieves and pickpockets would naturally have mingled, and the attempts of the police to preserve order would have led to a collision with the populace, that could scarcely have terminated without bloodshed. In such a case, had the police force been passive, it would have been blamed for inefficiency ; and if it made any active exertions, it would have been still more vehemently accused of cruelty and barbarity. The scenes at Manchester and Bristol present both branches of the dilemma too forcibly to justify a condemnation of the ministers, for removing the pretext for a tumultuous assembly in the long nights of November.

When the arrangement of the civil list was proposed, sir H. Parnell moved for a special committee of inquiry : as the success of his motion implied that the ministers no longer possessed the confidence of the country, or at least of the parliament, the fate of the cabinet was involved in the decision. After a calm debate, conducted with a moderation on both sides which could hardly have been anticipated, the house divided, when there appeared for the motion 233, against it 204 ; leaving in a full house a majority of 29 against the ministers. They consequently resigned on the following day, and earl Grey received his majesty's commands to form a new administration.

The new ministry was composed of the whig opposition and the leaders of the Canning party. The latter section no longer numbered Mr Huskisson among its members ; he was accidentally killed at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester railway, just when there was a chance of the country deriving advantage from his varied talents. It had men well acquainted with the management of state affairs, combining active habits of business with respectable powers of parliamentary eloquence, and enjoying a merited character for talent and energy. Too many members of the cabinet, however, though in general men of abilities, wanted experience in the art of government ; an objection of more importance was, that the list of the ministry presented too many titled names, the premier reserving too large a share of power and emolument for his own family and relatives. The important office of chancellor of the exchequer was given to lord Althorp, who unquestionably possessed sound sense and considerable knowledge of parliamentary business, but whom

exclusion from office had kept in ignorance of financial details. Sir James Graham had never spoken but in opposition, and lord Melbourne had no preparation for the Home Office but a brief apprenticeship as secretary in Ireland. Embarrassments resulting from their former position, threatened future dangers to the ministers, which could not easily be avoided. While in opposition, they had on some occasions proposed reductions which would scarcely have been prudent, and suggested plausible measures of improvement not always practicable. There were those among them who had been ambitious to "wield at will the fierce democracy," and who had consequently inspired popular expectations, some of which it was difficult, perhaps impossible, to fulfil.

The greatest difficulty which the new premier had to encounter in the outset was the management of Mr. Brougham, to whose exertions the overthrow of the late ministry was chiefly owing. Possessing great talents, but notoriously capricious in his mode of exercising them, ambitious of power, but still more ambitious of popularity, eager to obtain the highest prize in the legal profession, yet thirsting for the fame of despising title and place, his indiscretions rendered him dangerous as a friend, and his powers of oratory still more dangerous as an enemy. His declaration in the house of commons, when with apparent reluctance he consented to postpone his motion for reform, exposed him to the same charge of inconsistency which he had vehemently urged against the duke of Wellington's declaration, that "he would be mad to think of becoming a minister." "No change," said the learned gentleman, "that may take place in the administration can by any possibility affect me;" words which implied either a fixed resolution never to take office, or a belief that no cabinet could venture to trust his discretion. His acceptance of the office of lord chancellor, and his elevation to the peerage a few days after, furnished an edifying comment on this memorable declaration.

As soon as the king had formally sanctioned the new administration, earl Grey stated the principles of his government in a speech to the house of peers. They were, he declared, economy and retrenchment at home; non-intervention with the affairs of other states; and a reform in the commons' house of parliament. This announcement diffused joy throughout the nation; satisfaction and confidence everywhere succeeded to alarm, suspicion, and discontent. Parliament showed that it was disposed

to give the new ministers a fair trial, by adjourning for a short interval, in order that they might have time to mature their plans.

In the mean time the elections in Belgium had terminated, and a national assembly was convoked. Great was the mortification of the republican party to find themselves excluded from the national council, and deprived of all hope of profiting by a revolution which they had mainly effected. Even M. de Potter, though at the head of the provisional government, failed to be one of the twenty-eight representatives of Brussels. But this was the only example of good sense in the proceedings of the Belgians, and it was due to the exertions of their bigoted priests; the deliberations of the national council were a satire on all legislation; the only point which seemed fixed was the independence of Belgium, and the final exclusion of their former rulers. M. de Potter, having seen the end of his popular influence, fled into exile, to escape being torn to pieces by that multitude of which he was so recently the idol.

A.D. Parliament reassembled on the 3d of February; earl 1831. Grey took the earliest opportunity of declaring that "ministers had succeeded in framing a measure of reform, which they were persuaded would prove efficient, without exceeding the bounds of that wise moderation with which such a measure should be accompanied." The 1st of March was the day appointed for stating the nature of the proposed measure, and ministers in the interim presented their plans for the arrangement of the civil list, and of the finances. The first of these was on the whole satisfactory; the heads of expenditure were classified, a reduction effected of £20,000 annually, and all charges not immediately connected with the royal establishment subjected to the control of parliament. The same praise cannot be extended to the unfortunate budget brought forward by the chancellor of the exchequer. Lord Althorp stated that ministers had abolished two hundred and ten places in England and Ireland, and that further reductions were contemplated in the colonial department. He then proposed to reduce the duties on tobacco, newspapers, and advertisements; to abolish totally the taxes on coals, slates, printed cottons, and sundry other articles; and to equalize the duty on wines and timber. The relief to the public by these reductions he estimated at about four millions, and the loss to the revenue at about three. To supply the deficiency, he levied new taxes on raw cottons, steam-boat passengers, the sale of land, and the transfer of funded property. The two last

articles were a clumsy expedient for compelling the land-holders and fund-holders to contribute their fair proportion to the public revenue; it was too indirect to be efficacious, and it would practically press more heavily on the distressed than on the wealthy. The entire plan seems to have been badly digested, and the most important parts of it were ultimately abandoned.

On the 1st of March, lord John Russell brought forward the important measure of parliamentary reform, and explained its details. He proposed that every borough not having a population of 2,000 should cease to send members to parliament, and that boroughs having a population under 4,000 should only return one member. The right of sending members to parliament thus taken from the boroughs was transferred to the large towns which were unrepresented, and to the four metropolitan districts of Marylebone, Finsbury, the Tower Hamlets, and Lambeth. The elective franchise was extended to all householders rated at £10 per annum, and non-resident voters were disfranchised. Two additional members were given to some of the larger counties, and some judicious arrangements made to obviate the enormous expense of county elections. Of these the most important were the division of the counties into polling districts, and shortening the time of the election. Similar changes were proposed for Scotland and Ireland, and a small addition was made to the number of representatives returned to the imperial parliament by those portions of the empire. Such is a brief outline of the measure by which it was proposed to invigorate the British constitution.

A debate for seven nights ensued, after which the bill was read a first time, without a division. The discussion on the second reading was more animated, though not of equal length; it was carried only by a majority of one. Ministers were subsequently defeated in two divisions, and had consequently no alternative but to resign their situations or dissolve parliament. They placed their situations at the disposal of the king; but his majesty ordered them to resume their offices, and declared his resolution of dissolving parliament in person. The confusion which the certainty of immediate dissolution produced in both houses on the last day of their meeting, reflected little credit on either branch of the legislature. The house of lords, usually the most orderly, far surpassed the house of commons in the display of unseemly excitement. Order was scarcely restored by the entrance of the king, and rarely was a royal speech delivered so unpleasing to the majority of its auditors. The most

important sentence was that which referred to the great question of reform. His majesty said, "I have been induced to resort to this measure (the dissolution of parliament) for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of my people, in the only way in which it can be most conveniently and authentically expressed, for the express purpose of making such changes in the representation as circumstances may appear to require, and which, founded upon the acknowledged principles of the constitution, may tend at once to uphold the just rights and prerogative of the crown, and to give security to the liberties of the people."

The event of the elections exceeded the most ardent expectations of the reformers; in most of the counties, and nearly all the cities and large towns, ministerial candidates were returned by triumphant majorities. Past services, family connexions, and the influence of property, were lost in the excitement of the moment, and the only recommendation to a popular constituency was joining in the cry of "the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill." The victory of the popular party was so complete, that many zealous reformers became alarmed at the extent of their own success, and thought that when the people could thus return such a majority of popular representatives, there could be no predominant necessity for strengthening the democratic branch of the constitution.

The new parliament assembled on the 14th of June, and the reform bill was introduced on the 25th. The great struggle took place on the question of the second reading; the debate, one of the most interesting that ever took place in parliament, began on the fourth of July, and lasted three nights. On the third night the house divided, when there appeared for the second reading, 367; against it, 231; giving to ministers a majority of 136. The bill was subjected to a long, a tedious, but by no means a useless scrutiny in committee; every clause was keenly examined, and closely discussed, errors and imperfections were discovered, acknowledged, and remedied, and some modifications introduced which rendered the measure less harsh, without weakening its efficiency. Many enthusiastic reformers felt indignant at the delay, for these tedious deliberations were protracted to the middle of September: they called upon the ministers to use their strength and press the measure rapidly through the house; but the dangerous advice was neglected, the ministers very properly feeling, that a measure so important could not be too accurately canvassed. During this period the coronation of their majesties took place; the ceremonial was less osten-

tations than was usual on former occasions, and was much improved by the curtailment. The reception of their majesties by the people was enthusiastic, and the illuminations in the evening were more general and brilliant than any that had been previously displayed in the metropolis.

On the 22d of September the reform bill was first read in the house of lords, and on the 3d of October, earl Grey moved the question of the second reading in a speech that was a model of eloquence and argument. The debate was continued five successive nights. On the morning of the 8th of October, the house divided, and the bill was rejected by a majority of forty-one. The popular disappointment was very great; but the promptitude with which the house of commons, on the motion of lord Ebrington, passed a vote of confidence in ministers, and pledged itself to persevere with the great measure of reform, calmed the national agitation. Unfortunately riots took place at Derby and Nottingham, which were productive of considerable mischief.

Few opponents of the reform bill had shown such bitter hostility to the measure as sir Charles Wetherell, the recorder of Bristol. When he announced his intention of visiting that city in his judicial capacity, fears of riot were naturally entertained. Yet it was resolved by the corporation, that the judge should enter the city with the pomp and circumstance of a triumphal procession. The cavalcade no sooner came within sight of the inhabitants, than execrations, yells, and groans resounded on every side, and several volleys of stones were thrown. The tumult became formidable, the civic authorities possessed neither conduct nor courage, the military were paralyzed for want of explicit orders, and the rioters proceeded to commit the most frightful outrages. Taking advantage of the absence of the troops, who had been withdrawn on Sunday morning, after remaining on duty for nearly twenty-four hours, the mob again assembled, forced and plundered the mansion-house, set fire to the gaol, the bridewell, the custom-house, and forty-two private houses, and wantonly destroyed much public and private property. On the Monday the troops, of their own accord, cleared the streets, and the citizens coming forward to act as special constables, tranquillity was restored.

The great excitement occasioned by the discussions on the question of reform, led to the establishment of associations called political unions; they were at first encouraged by some zealous reformers in the higher ranks of life, but these individuals soon

discovered that it is easier to excite than to assuage the angry passions of the populace. These unions were almost confessedly instituted for the purpose of establishing a democratic control over the government; in other words, for transferring the powers of the state from the representatives of the people to irresponsible clubs, formed by discontented parties, and directed by factious individuals, who felt that they could rise into notice only by taking advantage of public confusion. But the interest of that and of almost all other subjects was soon absorbed in the dread occasioned by the appearance of a new pestilential disease in the country. It was called the Asiatic cholera; from its having first appeared in India, from whence it gradually extended in a north-western direction to Europe. Though its ravages in England were not so great as in some parts of the continent, yet it proved very destructive. Art was found to be of little avail in arresting the progress of the disease.

The state of Ireland during the entire year was wretched in the extreme; the peasantry, driven to desperation by famine and by oppression, practised deeds of nocturnal violence. Even mid-day murders were frequent; while special commissions produced the tranquillity of intimidation, but left the sources of the evils untouched.

The aspect of foreign affairs during the discussion of the reform bill, was far from being gratifying. The Poles, after a most heroic contest, fell before the gigantic power of Russia. Treachery accelerated the downfall of the patriots; but without external aid, their success under any circumstances was hopeless.

France was not so tranquil as could have been wished, but the promptitude with which the national guards suppressed all tumults strengthened the new government; and the enthusiasm with which Louis Philip was received during his tour through the provinces, showed that the French nation is not insensible to the advantages of a fixed government. Advantage was taken by the republicans of the general dissatisfaction diffused by the overthrow of the Poles, to excite some formidable riots, but they were quickly suppressed. At Lyons, however, the tumults of the distressed manufacturers assumed the form of open insurrection; the equivocal conduct of a portion of the national guard, and the imbecility of some of the military officers, enabled the insurgents to gain possession of the city, and retain it for several days. The insurrection was at length suppressed, but the wretched artisans discovered that their insane efforts had only aggravated their distress. The alarm excited by these tumults

greatly strengthened the ministry of M. Casimir Perrier, whose cabinet had been previously on the point of dissolution. In obedience to the will of the nation, the hereditary peerage was abolished in France.

The progress of the Belgic revolution excited general disgust; the Belgians did not know what use to make of the independence they had gained. They first offered the crown to the second son of Louis Philip, by whom it was rejected. Next they confided the regency to M. Surlet de Chokier, who proved utterly unfit for the situation. Finally, they proffered the kingdom to the prince of Saxe Coburg, by whom it was, after some delay, accepted.

Leopold had scarcely arrived in his dominions, when the king of Holland notified his intention of renewing hostilities against the Belgians, and the new sovereign applied to England and France for assistance. Before the auxiliaries arrived, he resolved to march in person against the Dutch invaders, who had advanced to Louvain. "The brave Belgians," as they called themselves, fled almost at the first shot, and Leopold narrowly escaped. He was, indeed, almost the only person who returned from the battle with unsullied honour. The advance of the French troops to Leopold's assistance, compelled the Dutch to retreat, and agree to another armistice; and the settlement of the Belgic question was once more referred to countless protocols and interminable negotiations.

Southern Europe presented during this period little that was remarkable; Spain and Portugal continued under the iron rule of Ferdinand and Miguel, and the faint efforts of the constitutionalists only served to strengthen the thrones of the tyrants. But Miguel was forced to make abject concessions both to England and France for the outrages which his piratical supporters committed. In Italy there were some revolutionary movements, which the new pope, Gregory XVI., vainly endeavoured to check by the old ecclesiastical weapon of excommunication. Ninety thousand Austrians proved more effective; they marched into the peninsula, deposed the new governments, and restored the ancient authorities. Greece during this year was in a state of anarchy; the president, Capo d'Istria, while labouring to establish something like a regular government, was assassinated. He was succeeded by his brother. In Turkey, the sultan introduced some enlightened reforms, that gave offence to his subjects, and provoked a formidable rebellion, which was ultimately suppressed. A circumstance which occurred beyond the Atlantic must close this cursory view of foreign affairs; don Pedro, the

liberal emperor of Brazil, was deposed by his subjects, and forced to return to Europe. He came to England, under the ancient family title of duke of Braganza, and directed all his energies to obtain for his daughter the hereditary crown of Portugal.

The British parliament met for the third time during the year on the 6th of December; and the third reform bill was introduced on the 12th of the same month. On the 18th the second reading was carried by a majority of 162, after which the house adjourned to the 17th of January.

A.D. 1832. The progress of cholera during the spring and summer was alarming; every precaution that prudence and science could suggest was taken by the government, and prayers were offered up in the different places of worship, humbly beseeching Divine Providence to avert the evils which threatened the land. Towards the end of autumn the virulence of the disease sensibly abated, and at length it slowly disappeared. Its ravages in Ireland were greater than in England, and they were aggravated by the dislike which the people entertained to the early interment of the dead. In some parts of the country, dread of the disease, and ignorance of its nature, gave rise to scenes of a frightful character.

After the re-assembling of parliament the reform bill advanced through the committee at a steady pace. The third reading was carried on the 22d of March, by a majority of 116, and on the following day it passed the lower house without a division. Great anxiety was felt respecting the success of the measure in the house of lords; it was generally known that the ministers had gained the temporary support of a numerous rather than a powerful party, very felicitously designated "waverers," who had agreed to support the second reading of the bill, reserving to themselves the right of altering its details. It was reported that the premier had obtained from his majesty, in case of necessity, the power of creating such a number of peers as would ensure the final success of this important measure. There were few who expected that the bill would be rejected, but it was confidently anticipated that its efficiency would be considerably impaired. The debate on the second reading commenced on the 5th of April, and was continued through four nights. At seven o'clock on the morning of the 14th of April the house divided, when there appeared for the ministers a majority of nine. The debate was remarkable for the great discrepancy between the statements of the ministers and their new allies "the waverers;"

while the former declared that they would not compromise any of the great principles of the bill, the latter emphatically declared that they supported it only because they expected that it would be materially changed in the committee. The following sentence in lord Grey's concluding speech was one of deep significance: "As to the exercise of the royal prerogative, I must certainly look upon it as a last resource; but it is always one of which I would constitutionally avail myself in an extremity, to fulfil the lawful wishes of the people."

That the ministerial majority was utterly insufficient to secure the final success of the measure was obvious to every man in his senses, for more than twenty of those who had supported the second reading were pledged against the main clauses of the bill. Parliament adjourned from the 18th of April to the 7th of May, and during this interval much surprise and dissatisfaction was expressed at the ministers not strengthening their ranks by a new creation of peers. The truth was at length unfolded, that his majesty entertained insuperable objections to an increase of the peerage. The knowledge of this fact strengthened the opposition. Scarcely had parliament re-assembled, when lord Lyndhurst, on the motion for committing the bill, moved an instruction to the committee which virtually took the measure out of the hands of its proposers. The motion was carried by a majority of thirty-five, and ministers were thus driven to the alternative which they had hitherto so artfully, perhaps wisely, avoided.

After his defeat earl Grey moved an adjournment of three days, which was of course granted. He then, in conjunction with his colleagues, proposed to the king a new creation of peers, and, as he had probably foreseen, received a peremptory refusal. The ministers then tendered their resignations, which were accepted; and the duke of Wellington received, through lord Lyndhurst, his majesty's commands to form an administration. His grace expressed his willingness to undertake the task, on the condition that he should not be placed at its head.

But all arrangements were rendered futile by the extraordinary state of excitement which arose. The house of commons, by a majority of eighty, voted an address to his majesty, praying that he would call to his council only such persons as were likely to carry through a bill in all respects as efficient as that which had just passed the house. The common hall of the city of London voted an address to the king in the form of a remonstrance more remarkable for firmness than temperance. The householders of Westminster met and petitioned parliament to stop the supplies;

the inhabitants of Marylebone went a step farther, having voted that if the supplies were not stopped by the house of commons, they would resist the payment of taxes. Nor were these resolutions merely emanations from political unions or factious clubs; they were the voice of the people. Men who had never mingled in political discussions,—the industrious tradesmen, the quiet shopkeepers, even the citizens who had retired from business to enjoy the fruit of their labours, came zealously forward to join in one great association for securing the blessing of reform. The tranquillity of the metropolis was preserved, because its inhabitants were all but unanimous; it was useless for the reformers to exert any violence, because they could not find opponents. They were therefore content with the demonstration of their strength, and waited the event in an attitude of haughty confidence. The agitation throughout the country was equally violent, and the resolution exhibited by the people of Manchester and Birmingham had an effect equally imposing and formidable.

Under existing circumstances the task undertaken by the duke of Wellington was hopeless, even though he consented to introduce a measure of substantial reform. Sir Robert Peel was offered the situation of premier, but he rejected it promptly, stating his reasons with sincerity. “I have never ceased,” he said, “to oppose the bill, and have argued against its revolutionary character. I cannot consent to pass it as it is, and I cannot hope to modify it with such a majority against me.” The duke of Wellington therefore resigned the commission with which he had been entrusted, and advised his majesty to renew his communication with his former ministers. On the 18th of May, earl Grey in the house of lords, and lord Althorp in the house of commons, announced that ministers had resumed their functions; it was added, that they had an assurance from his majesty, that as far as he was concerned the means of bringing the bill to a successful issue should not be wanting. It seemed that a secret compact had been formed for giving up the creation of peers, provided opposition to the bill was withdrawn. In fact, the greater part of its opponents absented themselves while the measure passed through its remaining stages. It received the royal assent on the 7th of June. The Irish and Scotch reform bills attracted but comparatively little notice.

Far different was the case with respect to the bill proposed by Mr. Stanley, the Irish secretary, for enforcing the collection of tithes, associations against the payment of which had been formed in several Irish counties. It was bitterly attacked in Ireland.

It would have been wiser, if Mr. Stanley's bill had been accompanied by some measures for relieving the people of Ireland from those ecclesiastical exactions of which they justly complained; though as they were promised, it would not have been unfair to expect that they would have waited for one year with patience. But the population of the sister kingdom felt too much enraged at a measure that gave efficiency to an obnoxious law, to wait for the redress of grievances which a very few months would have brought them.

A stone thrown by a madman at his majesty during his visit to Ascot races, shewed that the affection of the nation for its patriotic monarch had been only obscured during the excitement occasioned by the resignation of earl Grey. Loyal addresses poured in from every quarter, couched in language that proved them not to be mere formalities, but the genuine offerings of the heart. The proceedings of parliament after the passing of the reform bill excited little attention, though some of them were of importance. Two valuable reports on the bank charter and on the ecclesiastical courts were presented to parliament, and published; a law was passed for regulating the supply of subjects to students in anatomy, and capital punishments were abolished in cases of forgery and minor felonies. The state of the finances was unfortunately far from being favourable, and great depression was felt in every branch of trade.

The Carlists and republicans in France jointly opposed the government; but their plots were ill contrived, and their tumults easily suppressed. The great bulk of the nation was determined upon the maintenance of order, and the civic guards every where came forward to support the government. The devastations of the cholera in Paris were far greater than in London; its ravages extended to the higher classes, and some men most distinguished for their talents in science, literature, and state affairs, were among its victims. Soon after, a Carlist insurrection was announced in the south of France, in consequence of which several districts were placed under martial law; and to increase the embarrassments of the government, a tumult, which took place at the funeral of general Lamarque, in a few hours assumed the aspect of civil war. The riot appears to have been excited by the treasonable speeches of some republican agitators. But the partisans of disorder were by no means adequate to the effecting a revolution. They consisted chiefly of the lowest ranks of society, with whom were mingled some enthusiastic young students. The king arrived at Paris from St. Cloud, and imme-

diately proceeded to review the troops of the line and the national guard; he was received with great enthusiasm, and the troops, both regular and civic, resolved to use their utmost exertions for the suppression of the rebellion. Tranquillity at one time seemed to be restored; but the combat was renewed, until the insurgents were routed with great slaughter. An ordinance was issued, declaring Paris in a state of siege, dissolving the corps of artillery belonging to the national guard, and disbanding the pupils of the polytechnic school. The offices of some obnoxious newspapers also were entered by the police, the formes broken, and the types scattered. Notwithstanding these harsh measures, the king was loyally received by the citizens of Paris, when he rode through the streets; they felt that the energetic measures of the government had saved the city. The capture of the duchess of Berri soon after put an end to the war in the south; she was sent a close prisoner to the castle of Blaye. It was subsequently discovered that she was in a state of pregnancy, which she attributed to a private marriage; this circumstance destroyed the romance of her chivalrous expedition, and covered her supporters with shame.

A new French ministry was now organized, with marshal Soult, duke of Dalmatia, as premier. Soon after the chambers were opened by the king in person, who narrowly escaped assassination from some ruffian in the crowd that witnessed the procession. This was, however, an isolated crime. Congratulations were addressed by all the public bodies to Louis Philip on his escape; and it became manifest, that though France contained a great number of discontented spirits, the great bulk of the nation was anxious to support the government established by the revolution.

The Belgic question “dragged its slow length along,” but at length the great powers of Europe interchanged the ratifications of a treaty for adjusting the separation of Belgium from Holland. The king of Holland refused to consent to the conditions, and after remonstrances had been tried in vain, the courts of France and England resolved to adopt compulsory measures. A French army laid siege to the citadel of Antwerp, which the Dutch, for no conceivable object, obstinately defended; while an English and French fleet blockaded the coast of Holland. Antwerp surrendered on the 24th of December, but the king of Holland, with characteristic obstinacy, refused to ratify the terms of the capitulation.

Don Pedro, after his return to Europe, diligently exerted him-

self to organize a force sufficient to wrest the crown of Portugal from his usurping brother. He was joined by volunteers from France and England, a great part of whom had served in the army or navy. On the 9th of July he effected a landing near Oporto with 8,000 men, and obtained possession of that city. No general insurrection in his favour took place, as he expected; the influence of the priests over the population having been exerted in favour of Miguel. Don Pedro was consequently shut up in Oporto, where he was besieged by his rebellious brother. The contest between Pedro and Miguel excited but little interest, because the characters of neither presented any traits to inspire affection or esteem. It was expected that Ferdinand would have supported the cause of Miguel, but he transmitted to the English court assurances of his resolution to maintain a strict neutrality; and domestic circumstances probably led him to sympathize with Don Pedro. Ferdinand's only child was a daughter, and to secure her succession he abolished the Salic law, which had been introduced into Spain by the Bourbon dynasty. This gave offence to the partisans of Don Carlos, the king's brother, whose ferocious bigotry had engaged for him the support of the priesthood. A conspiracy in his favour was detected and punished, but the crimes of the Carlists did not induce Ferdinand to favour the cause of the constitutionalists.

Disturbances in the papal states, and the entrance of the Austrians into that territory, gave the French a pretence for seizing the citadel of Ancona. The pope excommunicated all the liberals in his dominions, but soon discovered that his fulminations, once so formidable, were now ridiculous. The French evacuated Ancona at last, and left his holiness to be protected by a body of mercenary Swiss, which he found it difficult to pay. Otho, the son of the king of Bavaria, was nominated king of Greece, and placed under the protection of the allied powers; but the youthful sovereign occupied a very unenviable throne.

The progress of liberal opinions in Germany alarmed the rulers of that country, and despotic measures were adopted by the diet at Frankfort to prevent their further diffusion. Poland, having been again reduced under the sway of Russia, continued subjected to tyrannical cruelties, which it is impossible to describe in adequate terms. In the existing state of the continent, however, it would have been difficult for France or England to interfere in behalf of Poland, without precipitating a war of opinion the consequences of which none could foresee. The influence of Russia had been displayed in a still more alarming manner in the

south-east of Europe. Mohammed Ali, the pacha of Egypt, threw off his allegiance to the sultan, and sent his son Ibrahim to invade Syria. As the Egyptian ruler had introduced many European improvements into his navy and army, and disciplined his soldiers according to the advice of the European officers he had invited to his court, he easily overcame the Turks, bigoted to their old institutions, and utterly averse to discipline. There was reason to fear Ibrahim would advance to Constantinople, when the Russians interfered as protectors of the Turkish empire, and sent an army and navy to the assistance of the sultan. By accepting this treacherous aid the sovereign of the Ottoman empire rendered himself little better than a vassal to Russia.

While the question of reform was agitated in England, the colonies in the West Indies and the Mauritius were exposed to a slave insurrection, and involved in a serious dispute with the mother country, by their refusal of legal protection to the negroes. The violence of the colonists injured their cause; the English people raised a cry for the abolition of slavery, which exercised a powerful influence over the elections. This was the more unfortunate, as the West India interest was suffering great distress, and looked to parliament for relief; at such a period it was little short of madness in the colonists to defy the whole British nation.

On the 3d of December parliament was dissolved, and writs issued for the assembling of the first reformed parliament. The elections were over before Christmas, and were greatly in favour of reform members.

LETTER XXXVIII.

From the Meeting of the first Reformed Parliament in Great Britain to the beginning of 1836.

1833. THE reformed parliament was convened this year in January. The king delivered the speech in person; it contained little that was novel, merely glancing at continental affairs, and slightly touching upon those questions which it was expected would principally occupy the attention of the legislature during the sitting: such were those of the Bank Charter, that of the East India Company, the abuses in the Church, and the state

of Ireland. The debate on the address was rendered memorable by its continuance for four days, in consequence of an allusion in the speech to certain coercive measures for repressing the spirit of insubordination in that country. To the bill for this purpose the Irish members afterwards made a strenuous resistance for six days, before it was carried up to the peers, where it speedily passed into a law. A quaker was, for the first time, introduced into the house of commons this session upon his simple affirmation, a remarkable example of the increase of the benign principle of toleration. A bill for regulating the Irish church was an important measure introduced by the ministry, as it affected a good deal of the existing church patronage. Some step of the kind was necessary, as all parties agreed in admitting, and the bill passed the commons; but was flung out in the upper house, because the surplus revenue from suppressed sees and the like, should it was proposed be directed to the object of general education. The lords contended that the church revenue of Ireland should still be shared by the church exclusively, though levied on a major population of a different creed. A large grant of money was advanced as a loan to the clergy of the establishment in the sister island, who could not collect their tithes until some settlement of that important question took place.

The statement of the finances occasioned much debate in the house of commons, a contest for the reduction of taxes being energetically maintained by the popular party. The Bank of England charter was renewed upon a new basis; and a bill for the continuance of the East India Company, but shorn of its former injurious effects on the commerce of England, was also passed. The friends of humanity were this year gratified by resolutions tending to the extinction of negro slavery. Motions were made for shortening the duration of parliaments to the old triennial limit, and for removing the disabilities of the Jews, by conferring upon them civil rights; both these motions were lost. The king closed the session in person on the twenty-ninth of August.

The reform of the house of commons made considerable changes in the state of political parties. The house might be said to contain four divisions of politicians; namely, the whigs and liberals, or popular party, distinguished in a general way more by the measure of extension to which they would carry certain principles than by the principles themselves. The tories, on the other hand, were divided into ultras and moderates; the last

admitted a certain measure of reform of which they, and not the people, were to judge; the first asserted no change to be necessary, and that an uncompromising resistance should be offered to what might be called the "spirit of the time." These distinctions did not always operate in divisions, because each great division was denominated whig-radical and conservative. The subdivisions of the former, feeling union necessary to keep out their opponents, made common cause together on any question which involved danger to the whigs as ministers. This naturally produced a similar re-action on the part of the tories. The popular interest gained ground this session at the expense of the party so lately all powerful in the government, a necessary consequence of the reform act.

The French chambers were opened twice this year, but the interval of prorogation was so short as scarcely to admit of such a division. The duchess de Berri, whose capture had so much perplexed the government that it would willingly have suffered her to escape out of France, had been relieved from its dilemma by the discovery that she was with child, and her name from that moment had become divested of its political importance; since the heroine had sunk into the woman. After her delivery of a daughter, which she acknowledged to be by a Neapolitan count, named Palli, to whom she said she was married, an escort to the frontiers, and her embarkation for Palermo, put an end to her public career in France for ever, subjecting her advocates to much ridicule. The numerous petitions presented on her behalf to the chambers, some of them treasonable, adding to the embarrassment of the government, now lost all consequence. Debates, however, were warm in the chambers on the question of introducing military tribunals; and now might be observed the dawn of that series of aggressions upon the existing laws of the kingdom, and upon individual liberty, by which the wily Louis Philippe afterwards endeavoured to assimilate his own rule to that of the unconstitutional European states, in direct violation of the compact which placed the crown upon his head. Fortifications were proposed by the ministers to surround Paris, which the popular party contended were in reality to be used for over-awing the city, and not for defence. They were to consist of detached redoubts, and not lines, each redoubt being a little citadel in itself. The grants for the expenses of these works were refused. The budget, for the year 1834, exhibited a reduction of four millions and a half sterling. The warfare against the liberties of the press was continued. The chamber of de-

puties created itself judge and jury in its own cause, and proceeded to avenge the ministry upon the press in the most prodigal manner, imprisoning and fining its conductors beyond any former precedent. These impolitic proceedings gave rise to the formation of societies inimical to the government; thus reacting upon another order of persons, and creating new enemies for the state.

The foreign policy of France was entirely in the hands of the king. The foreign secretary had no power, and was merely the holder of an office filled by another. France joined England and Russia in the guarantee of a loan to king Otho, who had been elevated to the throne of Greece, but the measure was only carried by a small majority of the chamber of deputies in its favour.

In Spain the illness of the king had given hopes to the supporters of his brother, don Carlos, which were damped by the monarch's recovery. Symptoms of insurrectionary movements were perceived, notwithstanding the monarch's restoration, and don Carlos was ordered to quit Madrid. He retired into Portugal, and joined don Miguel at Lisbon, to whom he was connected by a family alliance. A desire had arisen in Madrid for a new and liberal political government. This desire was expressed by the queen, because her hopes for the infanta rested with the liberal party. The Carlists, during the king's illness, had plotted to exclude her daughter from the crown; but although the minister, Bermudez, was far from countenancing the liberal party, he saw the necessity of recognising the title of the infanta. This took place accordingly, the cortes having assembled for the purpose. On the 29th of September, 1833, Ferdinand VII. died of apoplexy. He left the queen guardian of his daughter, who was to succeed to the crown in due time, and her majesty immediately assumed the title and functions of regent. The friends of don Carlos made an insurrectionary movement in the north, and the royal volunteers of Madrid shewed considerable dissatisfaction, but were easily disarmed. The revolt in Navarre was also put down, and its few scattered adherents took refuge in the mountains. The principal supporters of don Carlos were the monks and other ecclesiastics, whose influence over the minds of the ignorant in Spain has always been great from the earliest times, and has suffered little diminution.

While the affairs of Spain were thus situated, her neighbour Portugal continued to be a scene of warfare. Don Pedro, who had landed from the Douro with a body of troops, composed of the na-

tives of several European states, had first confined his operations to the defence of Oporto. The siege was carried on by the usurper don Miguel with very little effect. On the 24th of January, marshal Solignac sallied from the town : an affair of little moment took place, in which the marshal was ill supported by the Portuguese troops, and after putting the army of Miguel to flight, he again entered the city, destroying a portion of the works of the besiegers. In the month of March following the Miguelites attacked the lines of don Pedro, but were repulsed with great loss. Pedro now quarrelled with his admiral, Sartorius, whom he had not paid according to stipulated agreement, sending sir John Doyle from Oporto to bring the admiral a prisoner to his presence. Sartorius arrested sir John, and threatened to blockade Oporto, upon which the pay was forthcoming, and the naval commander resigned the office of admiral to captain Napier. A part of the Oporto force was embarked and sent to the southward, while Miguel placed the French marshal Bourmont at the head of his army. In about a week Algarves was in the hands of don Pedro, and his troops moved upon Lisbon. Admiral Napier too fortunately fell in with Miguel's fleet, nearly double his own force, and took all but a corvette and some brigs. The garrison of Lisbon was beaten by the duke of Terceira, and the Miguelites flying from the city, it fell an easy conquest into Pedro's hands.

In the north the army of Miguel was not idle ; Oporto, with its weakened garrison, was attacked by Bourmont, but he was repulsed. Upon this he marched on Lisbon, where don Pedro and the young queen, his daughter, had arrived. There Bourmont was beaten by the forces of Pedro, and he threw up the command. England now acknowledged donna Maria as queen of Portugal. After a series of skirmishes in the pursuit of Miguel, the latter retreated upon Santarem, and thus closed the campaign. The faithless Miguel was every where baffled and disconcerted, and the triumph of don Pedro nearly completed.

Holland and Belgium, notwithstanding the capture of Antwerp, still continued their mutual ill offices. Conventions were held that came to nothing, and the renewal of negotiations for a definitive treaty were suspended by new obstacles, arising out of the cession of Luxemburg. In this manner the whole year was wasted in diplomatic interchanges of empty words, to the amusement or contempt of the other European states not interested in the matters at issue.

The state of Germany seemed by no means tranquil. The

Germanic diet during the preceding year had nearly annihilated what till then existed of the liberty of the press, and the state of Wirtemberg made a motion against the resolution of the diet. The king commanded the chamber to reject the motion. The chamber maintained its right to the free exercise of its judgment, and the king immediately dissolved it, clearly showing that the independent constitution of the Germanic states, said to be secured by the great powers of Europe, was in reality only a name. The diet consisted of the tools of the larger states, and its expressed will was no more in effect than the mandate of Prussia and Austria. The new chambers were no less refractory than the old had been, and those of Baden and the other lesser states exhibited similiar dissatisfaction ; disturbances ultimately ensued, but the arm of power bore down every opposition, and any freedom of discussion the chambers of the smaller states had before possessed terminated at this period. Switzerland too was not without intestine commotions. This arose from several of the cantons disagreeing with the general diet at Zurich. Blood was shed in consequence of the excitement arising out of these disputes. Neufchatel sent two deputations to Berlin from two different parties on the subject. The king of Prussia being prince of the cantons, one party prayed him to be united to Switzerland, and the other to be wholly separated from the Swiss confederation.

Italy, under the yoke of Austria, remained tranquil as far as that yoke and its iron power immediately extended, but conspiracies were discovered at Naples and in Turin. The first was betrayed by a feigned accomplice, and two of the parties concerned shot each other. The particulars of the plot in Turin remain unknown, further than its serving as the plea to arrest and put to death a number of guilty or suspected persons, both by the civil and military tribunals.

The emancipated territory of Greece received this year its king in the person of the youth Otho of Bavaria. That country continued tranquil, but Turkey was invaded by Ibrahim Pacha, who routed the army of the Porte, and threatened to march upon Constantinople itself. In this juncture of affairs the sultan had recourse to the aid of Russia, his bitterest foe : the Russian troops prepared to move, but the French and English interposed their offices in a different direction, and threatened to attack Mahomet Ali in Egypt, if he did not come to terms. Ali remonstrated with reason, and justice, against the threatened interference, and ordered Ibrahim to advance. Russia immediately put 16,000

men in motion, landing them at Scutari, while a Russian fleet defended the Bosphorus. The unfortunate sultan, who had both a concealed and an open enemy at his doors, made some concessions to Ibrahim of certain portions of his territory which the Egyptian had conquered, and thus concluded a peace, by which Russia alone of all the European powers had the skill to profit, while France and England were not even asked for their concurrence, or consulted in the affair.

While these events engaged the attention of the old world, the new was occupied in matters equally important, and intimately affecting the commerce of Europe. The United States were divided upon a new tariff, and the state of South Carolina in a particular manner displayed hostility to the measure, apprehensive of its affecting her prosperity. The president Jackson appealed to the Union for means of supporting the laws of the whole body. An endeavour was then made to modify the law, and a sort of compromise took place. The public deposits were withdrawn from the United States bank, against which the president showed an hostility not without good grounds. This caused a considerable excitement among the interests immediately affected, and Europe was drained by the demand for gold in America, naturally tending to enhance the price of that metal so as to affect in no slight degree the currency and trade of England and the other European states.

A.D. The next year, to turn once more to the affairs of Great Britain, the parliamentary session opened on the 4th of 1834. February. The speech from the throne contained nothing remarkable, nor were the debates in moving the address of any moment, except for some remarks on the foreign policy of the ministers made by the duke of Wellington, which were in themselves of little moment, but as they showed the particular cast of feeling displayed by the opposition. During this session there was an address carried up to the king, declaratory of the determination of parliament to maintain the union with Ireland. A motion by Mr. Ward for a reduction of the Irish church establishment was rendered remarkable this session by the secession of two of the members of the cabinet, Stanley and Graham. A bill for virtually suspending the freedom of the subject in Ireland was passed, but not without great opposition. It was afterwards withdrawn in the house of lords, and a modified measure substituted. Earl Grey resigned, and lord Melbourne was nominated to the office of prime minister. Various attempts were made by the new ministry to extend the liberties of dissenters and to re-

medy ecclesiastical abuses, but they were uniformly prevented from carrying them into effect, by divisions against them in the upper house. The same was the result with such measures as were intended for remedying municipal corruptions. Parliament was prorogued on the 15th of August.

Soon after the prorogation the ministry was suddenly dissolved. Upon what ground the king did this was not known. The event was sudden and unexpected. The duke of Wellington was the real head of the new ministry, although sir Robert Peel appeared ostensibly to direct the cabinet. Sir Robert was sent for from Italy, through a private secretary of the queen's, named Hudson. Sir Robert had been sojourning there, not apprehending such an event during his absence. On his arrival, the new cabinet commenced operations upon the 30th of December, by a dissolution of parliament. The act for the emancipation of the slaves in the British colonies came into effect this year; and certain military operations taking place in the East Indies were conducted with such success that the Coorg territory was subdued by the company's forces.

The French chambers met early in the season, and after the debates on the address, a bill was brought in enacting laws which in spirit were diametrically opposed to the charter of 1830. The policy of France in respect to the different kingdoms of Europe, rendered the state of Poland a subject of deep apparent interest to the government. There can be no doubt that all the European states, as well as France, were bound by the treaties of 1815. Russia, however, was suffered to violate this treaty without any other interference than a gentle remonstrance. In France laws were renewed to restrain the freedom of printing and publishing. This uniform contravention of the charter rendered the people discontented. Disturbances broke out at Lyons, and were not quelled without a great deal of bloodshed. The last shadow of an hereditary nobility was abolished by a law for the purpose in the chambers; but M. Broglie, the minister, being left in a minority on the payment of the debt of France to America, resigned office, and was followed by his coadjutors. The chambers were dissolved and a new ministry formed, the last having by no means ingratiated itself with the people. That which succeeded was still less likely to do so, being as little scrupulous in its enactments for restricting public liberty. An immense military force kept every refractory spirit in order.

The will of the king of Spain, it has been seen, was not admitted by don Carlos, and that prince armed himself, and took

the field. M. Zea, the minister of that queen, had endeavoured to steer the middle course between the liberals and the Carlists, and naturally fell, from want of support from one party or the other. Popular institutions were demanded of the queen at the very time don Carlos, countenanced by Miguel, was ready to enter Spain from Portugal. Discontent prevailed; armed bands appeared in different parts of the country: the cortès were assembled; but soon afterwards the forces of don Pedro drove Miguel from Portugal, and then Carlos took refuge in England, only that he might clandestinely remove and join some of his friends in the mountains of Navarre. In the mean while a bill of exclusion from the throne against Carlos was carried at Madrid, and military operations commenced in the north. The unsettled state of affairs required every attention on the part of the government, which continually betrayed its inefficiency, while its attention was distracted by civil dissensions. The foreign loans also became matters of great embarrassment. The government was without credit, owing to the faithless and impolitic conduct of Ferdinand respecting the cortès, and worst of all those to whom the destinies of Spain were committed seemed to be wanting in every quality required by the exigency of the moment. The leader of the Carlists was a guerilla chief named Zumalacarregui, who obtained advantages over the queen's troops, and though opposed by the celebrated Mina, who routed him, he in a few days after his retreat from the field again reunited his forces and became as formidable as before.

The cause of Miguel in Portugal continued to be more and more depressed. Lisbon in the possession of the forces of Don Pedro, as well as Oporto, left the tyrant no strong hold save Santarem; a position from which count Saldanha and the duke of Terceira caused him to attempt a retreat, when his forces were attacked and broken by the former general. A great part of them were cut to pieces, while the remainder again shut themselves up in the town. General Rodil, and a Spanish force that had moved down from Guarda to the Tagus, for the purpose of watching don Carlos, in pursuance of a treaty between the governments of Spain, to which France and Great Britain were parties, kept Miguel in check in another direction. Seeing his affairs desperate, Miguel agreed to leave Portugal in fifteen days, and never to return to any part of the Spanish or Portuguese dominions. He was allowed fifteen thousand pounds sterling per annum for his support. A British ship of war conducted him to Genoa. On his arrival there he protested against

the act to which he had so recently subscribed. The throne was now secured to the lawful heir, and peace again visited Portugal. Don Pedro assembled the cortès. A decree fixing the duties on foreign imposts, which affected the Methuen treaty with England, was issued, as well as several others of very dubious honesty respecting the currency. In the midst of these and other measures for maturing the fruits of his successes on behalf of the queen his daughter, the health of Pedro gave way, and he expired on the 22d of September,—the queen, before the usual age, having taken the oath prescribed by the constitution.

Don Pedro, whose life in the Brazils had been sensual, and marked by many extravagances, to be expected from a prince of a line where arbitrary power had always taken the place of education, retrieved his character in his expedition to Portugal, for the recovery of his daughter's rights. He displayed many valuable qualities in the moments of his adversity; and his perseverance and scorn of all toil and danger entitle him to honourable mention, at least in the dark volume of modern Portuguese history:

The cortès, count Palmella being minister, proceeded with the state measures so auspiciously begun. The queen was married on the first of December, to the duke of Leuchtenburg, the son of Eugene Beauharnois. The revenue proved deficient to about a fourth part of the expenditure required, but the appearance of the future rendered the raising the necessary supplies a matter of no difficulty. The government, however, which owed all to the British troops that had volunteered in the service of don Pedro, under a specific agreement, stained its triumph, by withholding the stipulated pay to the brave men who had reinstated the queen, leaving them to want and beggary.

The affairs of Belgium and Holland remained, as far as related to a final settlement of their disputes, much as during the preceding year. Dutch obstinacy has long been proverbial, but in the negotiations with Belgium it is most likely the king cherished the hope, by delay, that some fortunate accident would occur, and lead to the restoration of what he deemed his revolted kingdom, and which the duke of Wellington had so designated. A dispute arose about Luxemburgh, in the territory of which Belgium exercised a power that she had no right to hold: but this affair was speedily settled. The king of Holland opened the chambers with a long speech, expressing his disappointment that their affairs with Belgium were not arranged. A riot broke

out at a sale of the property of the prince of Orange in Brussels. Several houses were sacked, but order was soon restored, and some of the rioters imprisoned. The charges, however, could not be substantiated against the individuals arrested. The chambers of Belgium met, and with the usual fiscal business of the year, fixed the numbers of the army at 110,000 men, besides the civic guard.

An expedition of some exiles from Switzerland into Savoy, which they hoped to revolutionize, took place in the month of February; they were unsuccessful, and finding none to join them, they retreated again into Switzerland, where they were disarmed, and brought to trial. Austria, Sardinia, and the German diet, remonstrated on the subject with the Swiss cantons, and were satisfied with their reply. Some of the cantons, it must not be forgotten, were displeased with the answer; and the moment was seized to discuss certain domestic points of disagreement, which ended in an appeal to Prussia from Neufchatel, and another appeal from the Swiss cantons generally against that of Neufchatel.

Austria, Russia, and Prussia, concluded a treaty, which bound each power to deliver up to the others all persons charged with political offences. A congress took place at Vienna during this summer, but the discussions and results were alike unknown. This did not prevent troubles from breaking out at Frankfort. All the students of universities were, in consequence, ordered to quit that city in twenty-four hours. In Hesse Cassel, Hesse Darmstadt, and Baden, rigorous measures were adopted by the government against the press, and against every thing not agreeable to the reigning powers. In Bavaria such was the dread of the spread of free principles, that the king exhibited his fear of them by precautionary measures of more than usual weight, ordering all persons remotely suspected to quit Munich. The principality of Leuchtenberg was this year annexed to Prussia by the duke, in consideration of an indemnity. Prussia had been for some time endeavouring to form a system of commercial regulations among the lower German states, much to her own advantage. All who consented were to admit foreign goods on the same tariff. By this means she obtained a large market for her own manufactures; for the duties were to be equalized, or entirely removed, in the interior transit through the territories of the contracting parties.

Russia continued her barbarous measures against the Poles. Many of these gallant people were condemned to death, being

absent from home, and their property confiscated; others were sent to Siberia, and orders were issued that no Russians should reside out of the empire, or even journey without permission.

This was done lest Russian travellers might imbibe liberal principles. The property of any Russian breaking this law, was to be placed in the hands of trustees until his death.

Greece was this year the scene of certain political intrigues, which terminated in the condemnation of some of the chiefs who had worked out her liberty. Her neighbour Turkey concluded an alliance offensive and defensive with Russia. Insurrections broke out in different parts of the Ottoman empire, and yet the Sultan was only prevented from renewing hostilities with Mahomet Ali, in Syria, by the influence of his new ally, who refused to befriended him in a contest of his own seeking.

The dismissal of lord Melbourne's cabinet was followed, 1835. as already observed, by a dissolution of parliament. The ministry just formed was anxious by this measure to add strength to its efforts, nor did there appear any violent symptoms of popular feeling on the change, though the event showed that the anticipated benefit to the new cabinet was not what had been expected by those who had wrought out the change. Sir Robert Peel, the ostensible premier, (for the duke of Wellington was the moving power,) was left in a minority of ten, on the customary division for choosing a speaker. An amendment to the address was carried by a majority of seven against the cabinet; again the new ministry was beaten, on the question of a charter for the London University; the same effect followed on a motion for referring a petition from Chatham to a select committee, and finally on an appropriation clause of the first Tithe Bill, and this last by a majority of twenty-five, upon which sir Robert Peel resigned. The Melbourne ministry was now formed again, but no dissolution of parliament took place. Various measures, among them a bill for municipal reform, and for regulating the Irish Church, were passed, and sent up to the lords, who made some alteration in the first, and it became a law, but the second was thrown out by the commons, having been rendered inefficient in the upper house, to the main end of the reduction of the enormous Irish Church establishment. The Orange lodges were put down, by an address to the king, and an ineffective motion made to relieve the agricultural interest turned out to be abortive. A proposal was brought forward in the house of commons this session for a general revision of taxation. The member for Dublin, O'Connell, gave notice of a remarkable and novel motion,

in his intention to move for an inquiry into the best mode of reforming the house of peers. The prorogation took place on the tenth of September, and concluded a session of a novel character in the parliamentary history of England. The reform bill had wrought changes not foreseen by those who had long held the reins of government, and things were not to be judged in future by the rule of the past.

The French chambers met in the beginning of December; marshal Mortier having resigned, the duke De Broglie was made prime minister. The continued advance of the power of the crown was evident, in the state trials which ensued, of the Lyons revolvers. The right of trial by jury was taken away, and even the power of the political defendant to appoint his own advocate. The Lyons prisoners being very turbulent, in consequence of these denials of the right due to subjects put upon their defence, the house of peers proceeded to try them in their absence. They also proceeded to arraign offences for libel; and even the members of the chamber of deputies were made amenable at their bar. Convictions were certain in the absence of the parties arraigned, and by the injustice thus practised the public mind became inflamed. An attempt of a most diabolical character was made to kill the king on the day of the festival of July, 1830. A wretch named Fieschi placed a number of musket barrels in the window of a house on the boulevard St. Martin, charged to the muzzle. When the king came opposite the place, the volley thus prepared was fired at once by a train. The king escaped unhurt; but marshal Mortier, general Verigny, and upwards of twenty persons, were killed and wounded. The assassin had borne a bad character, and had no fellow conspirators of note, but one or two, who it seemed had cognizance of his design, were afterwards tried with him and executed. This event was made the plea for the utter destruction of the freedom of the press in France, although there was no connection between the assassin Fieschi and his schemes with the press, in the remotest way. Thus, by stifling the expression of opinion, and enacting laws unknown even in the time of Charles X., the sources of discontent pent up became wider extended than before. Disputes arose between France and the United States, relative to the payment of a sum of money claimed by the United States of America for injuries to subjects by the capture of her vessels. The American ambassador was on the point of quitting France, when the mediation of England was tendered and accepted.

The affairs of Spain about this time got more disturbed; as the

Carlists obtained strength. The weakness of the government and incapacity of the ministry increased the evil. Mina took the command of the queen's troops, but was soon obliged to resign it from ill health; and Valdez succeeded, but was compelled to retire to the Ebro. The ministers applied to France and England for assistance, and Spain was allowed to enlist troops in England. The Carlist leader Zumalacarregui was killed in action with Valdez, who now resigned the command of the royal army. At length the ministry itself also resigning, a new cabinet was organized, scarcely more capable than its predecessor. An auxiliary Portuguese force now entered Spain, but still no satisfactory results were obtained, and several massacres of obnoxious persons in the principal cities took place. Portugal this year proceeded to the sale of the national property, and the celebrated Methuen treaty with England was terminated, by a decree of the minister. The young queen lost her husband prince Augustus of Leuchtenberg. He died in March, and Donna Maria selected for a second a prince of Saxe Cobourg.

Though a riot of little moment took place in Amsterdam, both Holland and Belgium seemed to repose for an instant from their protracted disputes. Both had occupied themselves in revising their commercial regulations. The rivers and canals of both countries had become covered with steam vessels, conveying the intelligence and trade of a period of peace, throughout their dominions into the Rhine, in despite of the disputes of the two governments.

The Danube confessed the conqueror of its regal current, and even the rigid and arbitrary Metternich was not averse to the progress of steam navigation throughout the dominions of Austria. The Germanic diet, however, passed new laws against the press, and more restrictive measures than ever pressed the German states in whatever related to political subjects. The emperor of Austria paid the debt of nature on the 2nd of March, after a reign of forty-three years. He was the last of the emperors of Germany, and first emperor of Austria. His decease made no sensation in Germany nor in Europe, as prince Metternich had long been the real director of the affairs of that empire. Francis was succeeded by his son Ferdinand, and Metternich continued to be minister under the new sovereign.

The autocrat of Russia this year passing through Warsaw, seized the opportunity of delivering to the civic authorities of that unfortunate city one of the most insolent speeches ever spoken by any tyrant to a subjugated people. He said, they had

expressed a wish to see him, but he had wished to spare them a lie, for he knew their sentiments of dislike to him. He accused them of ingratitude, and realized all that poetry has conceived in the worst example of arbitrary power, by his haughty answer to this unfortunate people.

The venerated name of Athens at the close of 1835 became once more connected with the seat of Greek government, and again reappeared to the world from amid its renowned ruins, as the chief seat of the Greek empire. Judicial tribunals were this year established in Greece, yet the Greeks were discontented with the Bavarian military being retained among them. Turkey refused the passage of armed vessels belonging to France and England into the Euxine. The pacha of Egypt invaded Arabia, whence his army was obliged to retire, having been routed by the Arabs, while the power of Mahomet Ali exercised great influence all over the East: even this partial rebuff in Arabia rather stimulated than depressed a mind which nature, not education, had so admirably gifted.

A.D. 1836. This year, in the month of February, the British parliament was opened by the king in person. An allusion was made in the address to a municipal bill for Ireland of the same nature as that which had become law for England and Scotland. The opposition lords moved an amendment, destructive of the efficiency of the measure, which was carried against ministers, owing to the large majority constituting the tory party in the upper house. In the House of Commons an attempt to pass the same amendment was rejected by a considerable majority. The societies in Ireland, called Orange Societies, had secretly ramified into England, and were discovered to be of a most pernicious character. A committee was formed to report upon them. The duke of Cumberland was at their head, and they were found to have been secretly introduced into the army. Certain of the members of these societies had actually discussed the question of altering the succession to the throne; and, notwithstanding orders against such societies, issued by military authority, there was no hesitation in some regiments about setting such orders at defiance. These dangerous political societies were put down by proclamation. A bill for giving to Ireland the same measure of reform of municipal corporations, which had been granted to England, was brought in agreeably to the provisions of the royal speech.

The opposition in the Commons was overcome; the anti-ministerial party, while agreeing in the corruption of the Irish

corporations, proposed to abolish them altogether. The bill passed, and was sent up to the lords, who treated the measure of the ministers very cavalierly, and finally the commons threw it out altogether, the lords having entirely changed the nature of the measure, to ensure its failure. There was no valid reason why the municipalities of the empire should not be placed on an uniform footing, for to deprive seven or eight millions of Irish of the same privileges as the other subjects of his majesty, was a manifest degradation. This session a tithe bill for Ireland was also brought in. It contained a clause to the effect, that as a surplus above the ecclesiastical wants of Ireland accrued, it should be expended in general education. The ministry carried this bill through the commons, but the opposition majority in the lords so altered it as to force the commons to throw it out, contending, that let the amount of revenue in the protestant church of Ireland alone, levied on the catholic and protestant alike, be as large as it might, it should be divided in the church exclusively. A bill for the commutation of English tithes, and one regulating births, deaths, and marriages, passed both houses. In pursuance of the recommendation of a report from the Church Commission, the sees of the different bishoprics were equalized, the greater proportion being raised. It occasioned great surprise that the inferior clergy were still utterly neglected. A bill was brought in for the amendment of the English Corporation Act, in some of its details, which being of a popular character, and therefore obnoxious to the lords, they rejected. A conference was held with the commons upon this measure unsuccessfully, and the bill was abandoned. Various measures for reforming abuses in law were brought in, and a bill for the disfranchisement of Stafford, the gross corruption of which was proved in the clearest manner, passed the commons, but the lords flung it out.

Motions were made to exclude the bishops from parliament, and also to remove the civil disabilities of the Jews. The first was lost in the commons by a large majority; the second passed, but failed in the house of lords. A motion was made in the House of Commons, which had for its object the securing to Greece the payment of a loan of 60,000,000 of francs, guaranteed by Great Britain, France, and Austria. Of this sum 40,000,000 had been paid; but Russia, without any better reason than that the Russian government chose not to keep its faith, refused the last instalment. It appeared that the exports from England to Greece in 1831 were only eight ships, in all of one

thousand tons; in 1835, thirty-one ships. The value of these had risen from £535 in the first, to £30,077 in the last year; while the Greek exports in 1831 were only £38,000; but in 1835 had arisen to £117,000 in value. The motion was opposed violently, but was ultimately carried. The king in person dissolved parliament on the 20th of August.

The rejection of the municipal bill for Ireland by the peers was naturally felt as a stigma cast upon the Irish people, who were thus proclaimed unworthy of possessing the rights English and Scotch citizens possessed. This rejection by no means lessened the spirit of resistance to the other grievances which pressed upon the people there. The clergy determined to enforce the payment of tithes by an exchequer process of a most expensive nature, to which the poverty or ignorance of the parties sued would preclude the power of putting in a reply. The person was then secured by what was called a writ of rebellion, and old and young were alike arrested, taken far from their homes, and put into prison. This had rendered the exasperation of the people greater, and a subscription was at length raised to put in answers to the writs of rebellion, which involved those who had recourse to this means of getting their tithes in an expense far greater than the tithe sought to be obtained. Mr. O'Connell proposed to reform the House of Lords, in consequence of its rejection of all measures for tranquillizing Ireland; but his scheme was wild and impracticable. He now formed an association under the name of the General National Association, to support the great body of the people in their demands for justice. Agitation was resumed, but the healing and impartial conduct of lord Mulgrave, the viceroy, prevented any exhibition of turbulence. The resistance to tithes was passive rather than active, but it was equally effectual in its object. The voluntary donations for the expenses of the apostle of Irish freedom were also continued, and seemed to increase in amount. A system of poor laws for Ireland was proposed about this time.

In Canada, disputes between the executive and legislative bodies were continued with increased virulence. There were also disputes of a similar character in Jamaica, and in the latter colony the marquis of Sligo, the governor, resigned.

In France, the chambers opened in December. M. Herman minister of finance, brought in his statements in January, and soon after resigned, owing to a defeat on proposing to convert the five per cent. debt. An attempt on the king's life was made at the close of the sessions, by a man called Alibaud, of profligate cha-

racter. The traitor was secured immediately. This second attempt was followed by the trial of Fieschi, who, with two accessories, was now found guilty, and executed. The last declared their innocence on the scaffold; Fieschi died with unflinching hardihood. Alibaud was next tried, found guilty, and suffered death. The festival of the three days was on the point of celebration when the ministers advised the king not to appear at the intended review, and reports were ripe of plots which came to nothing, and fears which perhaps arose from the consciousness of the ministry that these things were but the re-action of their own violence towards public liberty, and of the breach of all the promises made, as conditions on the king's accession to the throne. A plot to proclaim prince Louis Bonapartè at Strasburgh as Napoleon II. was discovered, and the prince banished. In Algiers the French were this year by no means successful in their military enterprizes, being obliged to retire from Constantine. The death of Charles X. took place in November, from cholera. Louis Philippe at this time became shy in fulfilling the stipulations of the quadruple alliance, in order to please the northern courts. An insurrection in Spain, by which the queen was driven to accept the constitution of 1812, was the ostensible excuse for this conduct. The people of Spain were tired of the want of energy in the government. They wished to see Don Carlos put down, and some advances made towards a tranquil state of things, of which they had no hope under the existing ministers, and for this reason proclaimed the constitution, which they afterwards modified. The Queen took the oaths to observe it, at St. Ildefonso, in consequence of a revolt among the troops, urging the measure upon her majesty. The war between the Carlists and queen's party, was carried on with unabated fury at Barcelona; many Carlist prisoners were massacred in the way of reprisal for the atrocities of the Pretender's troops. The mother of Cabrera, a Carlist chief, was shot, and in return he butchered a number of Christinos, as they styled the queen's soldiers. A British squadron was instructed to aid the queen's army in the north. The British legion from St. Sebastian attacked the Carlist lines, and carried them gallantly. The cowardice or defection of the Spanish generals was evident. The queen refused to dismiss them, and the ministers resigned. The constitution of 1812 was proclaimed in Malaga, Cadiz, Saragossa, Seville, and Valencia, as it had been before in Madrid. A forced loan was made, and in the mean time Carlist bands almost unmolested, ravaged the country from end to end. One chief,

named Gomez, was remarkably bold and successful in his operations. The British legion, under the command of general Evans, maintained its advantages at Sebastian, but, for want of a combined system of operations, remained on the defensive. The siege of Bilboa, undertaken by the Carlists, was raised, in consequence of the reported advance of the queen's general, Espartero. That commander not appearing, in a little time they renewed the siege, but the garrison had been augmented during the interim.

In Portugal a change took place in the government. The queen re-established the charter of Don Pedro, which change was not maintained. Happily the counter-change was effected without bloodshed.

A.D. Parliament was opened this year by commission, on the 1837. first of February. The address was agreed to without any other opposition than some desultory remarks on the royal speech by the duke of Wellington. Soon afterwards, lord John Russell brought in a bill for the reform of the municipal corporations in Ireland. Having passed through the house, but not without great opposition, it was carried up to the lords, who postponed its consideration until the month of June, and again until the fourth of July, on finding that the commons postponed the bill relative to Irish tithes, to that day, it was presumed in consequence of the postponement by the lords, of the first measure. This difference between the two houses of parliament had the effect of again delaying the public business, so that no great public political measure was carried in the house of commons, if the church rate bill be excepted, and upon that in the lower house the majority in favour of the measure was small. The state of the session, which was expected to be of a very novel character, was entirely changed by an unexpected event. On the twenty-fourth of May, the princess Victoria, the daughter of the late duke of Kent, became of age to assume the royal authority, and on that very day King William IV. was taken ill. His disease was an ossification of the heart. On the twenty-fifth of June, the monarch expired at Windsor Castle, and England came under the sway of a youthful queen. William IV. was in his seventy-second year. His reign was a tranquil one, highly beneficial for his people, and celebrated for the passing of the parliamentary reform bill, into a law, his best epitaph. In private life, William IV. was exceedingly kind, and fond of doing good to the humblest who were around him. He possessed much plain good sense, and was utterly free from affectation or arrogance. He

came late in life to the throne, but he discharged the duties of his high station with scrupulous attention. A high eulogy to his memory was pronounced in the house of peers by lords Melbourne, Grey, Brougham, and the duke of Wellington, more particularly for the manly openness of his character, his freedom from every taint of guile, and his forgetfulness of every private feeling of dislike to an individual, in consideration of the public benefit. The regret at his loss, on the part of the people, was far greater than for any deceased branch of his royal house, if the princess Charlotte of Wales be excepted, and it was allowed that the good old monarch well merited the generous sorrow of his people. The revenue of Great Britain exhibited an increase in the year ending the fifth of January, of £2,570,957, a proof of the flourishing state of trade under the reign of the deceased king. Subsequently, considerable mercantile distress took place, and many houses connected with America failed, owing to the operations of Jackson's specie bill in that country. In January and February, a disease styled influenza attacked and carried off numbers of persons in England, and visited every continental kingdom with similar results.

In France, the conspirators who had taken a part with young Louis Napoleon, were acquitted, after being brought to trial at Strasburgh. A law was proposed, in the chamber of deputies, to punish those who might be found guilty of the non-revelation of any plot in which they might be concerned, or of which they might obtain knowledge. Such a law had been repealed in 1831, as contrary to the first principles of justice and equity. A dowry of a million of francs was proposed in the chamber for the queen of Belgium, and the fine estate of Rambouillet was demanded as a portion to the duke of Nemours. This last grant was much opposed, and finally withdrawn. In February the ministry was broken up, and the party styled the doctrinaires was thrown out. During these proceedings, the state of France was highly disaffected with the government. The person of the king was but feebly secured in restrictive laws, passed upon every outrage shown to himself or his ministers by desperate individuals. A law respecting the non-revelation of plots the ministers were forced to withdraw. A change of measures was inevitable, and some relaxation of the laws was necessary, as they rendered the government odious to the nation. The king had gone the round of all the leading political men of every party, and had sacrificed all in turn. The chambers would not submit to support any longer those ministers, in whose conduct they had no confidence.

All the men of talent insisted, as the price of their services, that the king should change his course, and adopt more liberal views. In this state of uncertainty for a time, Louis Philippe was left almost alone. His conduct towards a generous people, and his abandonment of Spain, had made him justly unpopular, and attempts on his life were frequent and fearful. At length the king gave way, and a more liberal ministry was formed. An amnesty for political offences was proclaimed, and the Polignacs, with those who had endeavoured to annihilate the liberties of France were included. A slight relaxation of the arbitrary conduct of the government was followed immediately by good effects, and Louis Philippe appeared again in public among his people, and was enthusiastically received, as if no conduct on his part had ever rendered him unpopular.

The affairs of Spain remained in much the same state as in the preceding year, notwithstanding the siege of Bilboa was raised by Espartero. Some movements took place in front of St. Sebastian, and advantages were gained by the queen's troops, and subsequently lost. At length Espartero came to the assistance of general Evans, and the Carlists leaving garrisons in the different towns nearest the French frontier, marched towards the Ebro. All the places the Carlists had left, were besieged, taken by Evans, and their communication with France cut off. No progress of moment, however, was made in quelling the rebellion in the other provinces, where civil war still continued to rage.

Hanover this year, in consequence of the death of William IV. of England, received the duke of Cumberland as king, and thus became disconnected with Great Britain. Some disturbances broke out in Greece, in consequence of the inhabitants of Patras refusing to pay certain taxes laid on by the government. The tumult was ultimately quelled without bloodshed.

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